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ON KOTZEBUE SOUND

THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN

BEING A SERIES OF VOLUMES PICTURING
AND DESCRIBING

THE INDIANS OF THE UNITED STATES, THE
DOMINION OF CANADA, AND ALASKA

WRITTEN, ILLUSTRATED, AND
PUBLISHED BY
EDWARD S. CURTIS

EDITED BY
FREDERICK WEBB HODGE

FOREWORD BY
THEODORE ROOSEVELT

FIELD RESEARCH CONDUCTED UNDER THE
PATRONAGE OF
J. PIERPONT MORGAN



IN TWENTY VOLUMES

THIS, THE TWENTIETH VOLUME, PUBLISHED IN THE YEAR
NINETEEN HUNDRED AND THIRTY

JOHNSON REPRINT CORPORATION JOHNSON REPRINT COMPANY LTD.
111 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10003 Berkeley Square House, London, W1X6BA

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Landmarks in Anthropology, a series of reprints in cultural anthropology
General Editor: Weston La Barre

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First reprinting 1970, Johnson Reprint Corporation

Printed in the United States of America

CONTENTS OF VOLUME TWENTY

	PAGE
ALPHABET USED IN RECORDING ESKIMO TERMS	x
ILLUSTRATIONS	xi
INTRODUCTION	xv
THE ALASKAN ESKIMO	3
Introduction	3
THE NUNIVAK	5
General Description	5
Social Customs	48
Warfare	54
Ceremonies	55
Bladder Feast	58
The Anúchchihkiyüm Ceremony	66
The Messenger Feast	67
Spring Hunt Ceremony, or the Consecration of the Kaiak	71
Hair-seal Ceremony	73
Summer Hunting Ceremony	73
Ceremony for a Boy on Catching His First Bird	73
Walrus Ceremony	74
Mythology	74
The Origin of Nunivak Island (as told at Cape Etolin)	74
How People Came to Cape Etolin	75
The Origin of Nunivak Island (as told at Nash Harbor)	77
How People Came to Nash Harbor	78
The Obtaining of Light	79
The Seal-spirits	79
The Flounder-spirit	80

The Wolf-spirit	82
The Cannibal Dwarfs	83
Spider Comes to Earth.	85
The Monster Serpent	86
The Woman in the Fish-skin Parka	87
How a Family Preserved Youth and Strength	88
The Fifth Brother Marries a Corpse	88
Raisers of the Dead	89
The Woman Who Went into the Sky	90
The Man Who Became a Fox	91
The Price of a Wife	92
The Penalty for Leaving the Puberty House	93
The Wife-stealer	94
ESKIMO OF HOOPER BAY	97
ESKIMO OF KING ISLAND	99
General Description	99
Mythology	105
Origin of King Island	105
The First Woman Comes to King Island	105
The Gleaming Belt-ornament	106
The Bird Woman	107
The Man Who Wished to Become a Medicine-man	109
The Ivory Tusk and the Fish Belly	109
The Story of Yúmük	110
ESKIMO OF LITTLE DIOMEDE ISLAND	111
General Description	111
Social Customs	119
Mythology	124
The Story of Manína	124
The Story of Úbuk	126
Sea-man and Moon-man	127
The Big Diomedé Medicine-man	129
Síuktínyi and Ángasuk	131
The Orphan Who Raised the Dead	132
Story of Ũngŭktúngŭk	133
Story of Ũnurútŭk	134
ESKIMO OF CAPE PRINCE OF WALES	135
General Description	135
Mythology	150
The Son of Óglazhúna	150

	PAGE
The Land of the Whale People	151
A Good Whale-hunter	152
Story of Putúgük	153
The Man Taught by Walrus	154
The Spirit Marks on the Men's House	155
The Woman Taught by Spirit Medicine-men	156
The Man Who Married a Polar Bear	157
THE KOTZEBUE ESKIMO	161
General Description	161
Legend of the Messenger Feast	168
Mythology	177
The Trap	177
The Lost Boys	179
The Spirit Wife	181
The Tree-man	183
Eagle-woman	185
Story of Kaiyónanít	188
Story of Ululína	190
The Trader	191
THE NOATAK	193
General Description	193
Mythology	197
Origin of the Messenger Feast	197
The Four Wolf-spirits	198
Sun-man	199
The Fisherman	200
The Serpent Killer	201
The Giant Mouse	203
Story of Ugúkník	204
The Kobuk Massacre	205
Warfare with the Kobuk	205
THE KOBUK	207
General Description	207
Mythology	214
Raven Brings Land	214
Raven Brings Light	216
The Kobuk Traveller	217
The Youth Who Slew the Serpents	220
The False Wife	221

	PAGE
The Youth Who Learned to Laugh	223
How Squirrels Came to Make Many Holes	224
THE SELAWIK (Síl'v'ík)	225
General Description	225
Mythology	228
The Rescuer	228
The Powerful Orphan	230
The Rescue of the Stolen Wives	232
The Hunter Who Went to the Moon	235
The Six Medicine-men	237
The Powerful Medicine-woman	239

APPENDIX

GENERAL SUMMARY	243
APPENDED LEGENDS.	245
Nunivak	245
Death of Crow	245
Squirrel's Skin Becomes Red	246
The Disobedient Field-mouse	247
Why Loon Has a Stiff Neck	247
An Exchange of Families	248
How Spotted Seal Became Humpbacked	249
Mouse Decides to Remain on Land	250
Adrift on the Ice-floe	250
King Island	251
Káhta, the Magician	251
The Mother-in-law Medicine-woman	251
The Wife-beater	252
The First Fish at King Island	252
Little Diomedé Island	252
Story of Ūņroásiuk	252
The Killerwhale-spirit	253
Cape Prince of Wales	254
The Youth Who Married a Crane	254
The Strong Young Man	256
The Spy	256
Kotzebue	257
Klĩnkálĩk	257

CONTENTS

ix

PAGE

The Youth Who Killed the Whale-man	258
The Ravenous Baby	259
Noatak	260
The Shouter	260
Kobuk	260
Fox and Bear.	260
Crow Finds a Caribou	261
Selawik	261
The Woman Who Became a Bear	261
An Indian Raid.	262
VOCABULARIES	264
INDEX	281

ALPHABET USED IN RECORDING ESKIMO TERMS

[The consonants are as in English, except as otherwise noted]

a	as in father	h	as ch in German Bach
ʔ	as in cat	k	a non-aspirated k
â	as in awl	k̠	velar k
ʌ	a greatly shortened ŭ	q	as kw
ai	as in aisle	hl	the surd of l
e	as in they	dl	fused d and l
ě	as in net	ŋ	as ng in sing
i	as in machine	sh	as in shall
ɪ	as in sit	ch	as in church
o	as in old	zh	as z in azure
ô	as in how	th	as in thin
ö	as in not	ts	as in hits
oi	as in oil	‘	a glottal pause
u	as in ruin	!	stresses enunciation of the preceding con-
ũ	as in nut		sonant
ʉ	as in push		superior vowels are voiceless, almost in-
h	always aspirated		audible

ILLUSTRATIONS

<i>On Kotzebue Sound</i>	<i>Frontispiece</i>
<i>Map Showing the Dialects and Hunting Territories of the Coast</i>	
<i>Eskimo of Alaska</i>	Facing page 3
<i>Mihkóyak, a Nunivak Village</i>	6
<i>Ground-plan, Roof-plan, and Section of Eskimo Men's House . .</i>	8
<i>Mihkóyak, Men's House at Winter Camp — Nunivak</i>	12
<i>At Nash Harbor, Nunivak</i>	16
<i>Báninagüh — Nunivak</i>	20
<i>Waterproof Parkas — Nunivak</i>	24
<i>Girl's Costume — Nunivak</i>	28
<i>Holiday Costume — Nunivak</i>	30
<i>Duck-skin Parkas — Nunivak</i>	32
<i>Fish-drying Racks — Nunivak</i>	34
<i>Nunivak Youth</i>	38
<i>Júkük — Nunivak</i>	42
<i>Kaiak Frame — Nunivak</i>	44
<i>Kaiak on Rack — Nunivak</i>	48
<i>Kaiak with Seal Hunting Equipment — Nunivak</i>	52
<i>Ready for the Throw — Nunivak</i>	54
<i>A Nunivak Hunter</i>	56
<i>Sled — Nunivak</i>	58
<i>Cháhali — Nunivak</i>	60
<i>Line Stretching Posts — Nunivak</i>	62
<i>Herring Racks — Nunivak</i>	64
<i>Kenówün — Nunivak</i>	66
<i>Dahchhítok — Nunivak</i>	68
<i>Júkük — Nunivak</i>	72
<i>Dishes — Nunivak</i>	74
<i>Baskets — Nunivak</i>	78

<i>Ceremonial Mask — Nunivak</i>	Facing page	80
<i>Maskette — Nunivak</i>		82
<i>The Ivory Carver — Nunivak</i>		86
<i>Hooper Bay Homes</i>		88
<i>Hooper Bay Man</i>		90
<i>Ůkowŭhhŭh — Hooper Bay</i>		92
<i>Drying Whale Meat — Hooper Bay</i>		94
<i>Food Caches — Hooper Bay</i>		96
<i>A Grave-post — Hooper Bay</i>		98
<i>King Island</i>		100
<i>Looking to Sea — King Island</i>		102
<i>On the Cliff Edge — King Island</i>		104
<i>Housetops — King Island</i>		106
<i>Nŭktaya — King Island</i>		108
<i>Drilling Ivory — King Island</i>		110
<i>The Bow-drill — King Island</i>		112
<i>Village at Little Diomedé</i>		114
<i>Home Structure — Little Diomedé</i>		116
<i>Underground Housetops with Whale-rib Drying Rack — Diomedé</i>		118
<i>Walrus Boats, Big Diomedé in Distance</i>		122
<i>Drying Walrus-hide — Diomedé</i>		124
<i>Sílŭk — Diomedé</i>		128
<i>Diomedé Girl</i>		132
<i>Tahópik — Diomedé</i>		134
<i>Home Structure — Cape Prince of Wales</i>		136
<i>Start of Whale-hunt — Cape Prince of Wales</i>		140
<i>Umiak and Crew — Cape Prince of Wales</i>		144
<i>Aíyäk — Cape Prince of Wales</i>		148
<i>Koáninök — Cape Prince of Wales</i>		152
<i>Óksiwik — Cape Prince of Wales</i>		158
<i>Berry Pickers — Kotzebue</i>		162
<i>The Beluga — Kotzebue</i>		168
<i>Cutting Up a Beluga — Kotzebue</i>		172
<i>Food Containers, Pokes — Kotzebue</i>		178
<i>Umiak Frame — Kotzebue</i>		182
<i>Umiak — Kotzebue</i>		186

ILLUSTRATIONS

xiii

<i>The Umiak — Kotzebue</i>	Facing page	190
<i>Noatak Village</i>		194
<i>Noatak Home</i>		196
<i>At Noatak Village</i>		198
<i>The Seal-hunter — Noatak</i>		200
<i>Noatak Man</i>		202
<i>Noatak Child</i>		204
<i>Bark Dishes — Kobuk</i>		208
<i>On the Selawik River</i>		226
<i>At Selawik</i>		228
<i>Kihsük — Selawik</i>		230
<i>Selawik Women</i>		234
<i>Selawik Woman</i>		236
<i>Selawik Girl</i>		238

INTRODUCTION

PURSUING the original plan of this work to include those native tribes of the United States, the Dominion of Canada, and Alaska, which still retain such of their aboriginal customs and beliefs as to make them worthy of special treatment, the study of the primitive peoples of this vast territory was brought to a close after a summer spent among the Eskimo of the Alaskan islands, coast, and inland waterways, in 1927.

Although it was not the intention to project the research to include every phase of Eskimo culture, which indeed extends from eastern Greenland to Siberia over a coastal strip exceeding five thousand miles, a glimpse of the general features of that culture may be had from the results of the observations in the territory immediately covered, namely, from the Aleutian islands to Point Barrow, a region occupied by the northwesternmost aboriginal inhabitants of the New World. The distance between the continents is not great: indeed from the Eskimo village of Kíngegán, at Cape Prince of Wales, to the Siberian coast one may, on a clear day, discern the faint outline of the Asian shore.

The Eskimo of this area, by virtue of the physiography of their domain, gain their livelihood chiefly from the sea, although during half of the year they suffer the usual rigors of the arctic winter, with little opportunity to obtain food from either land or water. With the coming of temperate weather, however, and the breaking-up of the great ice-fields, they go forth in their skin craft in quest of the food so long needed, buffeted constantly by sweeping gales and the treacherous, shifting, grinding ice-packs. None but the most expert canoe-men could survive the stress of these arctic conditions, let alone the acquirement of food in the face of every difficulty. The oft-repeated narratives of hunters who put out to sea in their frail skin kaiaks, never to return, afford one a faint idea of some of the vicissitudes of Eskimo food-seekers in a lone and inhospitable region.

Only the fittest, indeed, in such an environment could survive.

Yet, while many of the Eskimo visited and studied by the writer still retain much of their hardihood, they appear to have lost not a little of the vigor observed during his study of the coast Eskimo thirty years ago. As among so many primitive people, contact with whites and the acquirement of their diseases have worked a tragic change during this period. A notable exception was found in the natives of Nunivak island, whose almost total freedom from Caucasian contact has thus far been their salvation; and yet within a year of the writer's visit it was officially reported that the population decreased nearly thirty percent. In all the author's experience among Indians and Eskimo, he never knew a happier or more thoroughly honest and self-reliant people.

A characteristic of the Eskimo, which the student can not fail to observe, is his ready adaptability, even to the extent of desiring at once to assimilate, at least outwardly, the manners of the white men about him. In this respect the Eskimo stands in strong contrast to the average Indian, whose attitude, evidently because of the distrust he has learned to engender toward the whites, is that of contempt.

It can only be regretted that the descriptive text and the illustrations in this volume depict only the summer life of the Eskimo herein treated; but it was not possible, owing to the writer's state of health, to spend a winter at one of the isolated villages for the purpose of studying and picturing the winter life of its inhabitants. Throughout the work, including the preparation of the text, he has had the enthusiastic aid and coöperation of Mr. Stewart C. Eastwood.

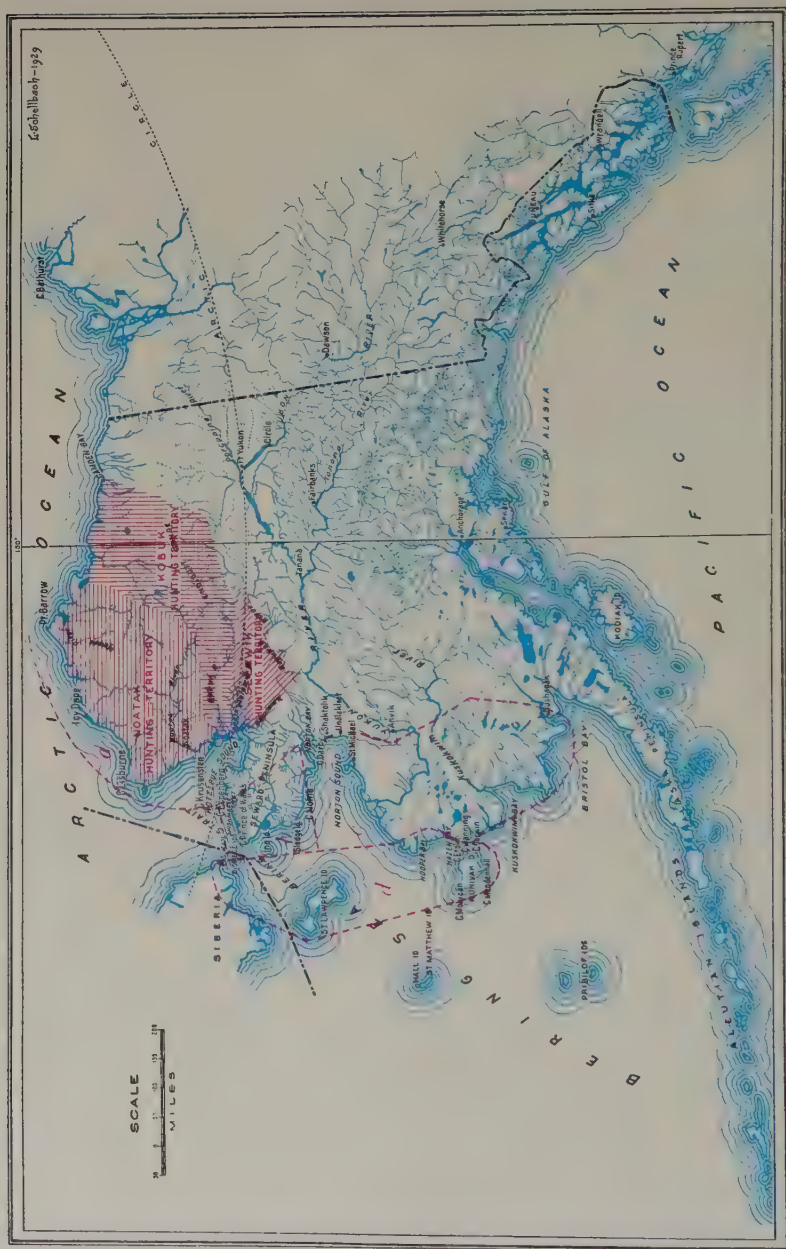
In this Introduction to the concluding volume of the series, the author recalls, with a sense of deep gratitude, those friends whose sympathetic interest made the inception of the work possible. Early in the history of the task the keen interest of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan was at once manifested when the opportunity was offered to present the plan and scope of the volumes and to exhibit some of the illustrations. Ever appreciative not alone of the esthetic, but imbued with a deep appreciation of everything tending to increase and disseminate knowledge, as so well exemplified by his constant patronage of scientific investigation and the accumulation of treasures in literature, art, and history, Mr. Morgan afforded much of the means for carrying on the work of which these twenty volumes of *THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN* are the result. The author will not attempt to say more in appreciation of Mr. Morgan's generous interest, which was duly noted in Volume IX, published soon after the passing of this beneficent patron. He must make this the opportunity, however, of saying that,

save for Mr. Morgan's encouragement and support the work probably could not have been completed; and it is extremely doubtful that if his son, the present J. Pierpont Morgan, had not inherited the father's love of the beautiful and that high sentiment from which arose the desire to bring the undertaking to completion, the volumes could hardly have been finished in their present attractive form.

In bringing to a close this result of thirty years of research the writer wishes also to record an expression of his gratitude to those other friends who offered every encouragement during the formative period of the work and who never lost faith in its ultimate fruition. Mere thanks seem hollow in comparison with such loyal coöperation; but great is the satisfaction the writer enjoys when he can at last say to all those whose faith has been unbounded, "It is finished."

EDWARD S. CURTIS

THE ALASKAN ESKIMO



DIALECTS AND HUNTING TERRITORIES OF THE COAST ESKIMO OF ALASKA

a, Okkūpiā dialect; *b*, Pimiult dialect; *c*, Únālt I dialect; *d*, Únālt II dialect. Based on information by Paul Ivanoff

The terms are in the Únālt dialect

THE ALASKAN ESKIMO

INTRODUCTION

THE Eskimo, a marginal people, who number somewhat fewer than thirty thousand, inhabit the coast and many islands of North America approximately from the Aleutian islands to eastern Greenland. The extent of the territory occupied by the Eskimo, with some exceptions, from the coast to the interior, is but a few hundred miles. When this vast territory is considered in connection with the relatively small population, it might be expected that many differences will be found in the culture of the various groups. Although such is the case, the similarities in the culture of the Eskimo as a whole are perhaps more uniform than are those of the people of any other American culture area.¹

The population of the Eskimo dwelling in Alaska is officially given as 12,405. Their territory includes the coast and adjacent islands from the Canadian border on the Arctic ocean to the Aleutian islands. Many dialectic differences occur in the Eskimo language spoken in this territory. The inhabitants of Nunivak island and St. Lawrence island, groups in the region of the Yukon mouth from Nelson island to Cape Smith, and some in the vicinity of East Cape, Siberia, speak a common dialect; the dialects of those who dwell in the coastal territory drained by the Kuskokwim and Yukon rivers, including part of the Norton Bay region, are barely intelligible to the people of the first group; a third dialect is spoken in the areas comprising the western half of Seward peninsula and including Little Diomed and King islands, and Cape Prince of Wales; the great expanse of territory from Unalakleet on Norton sound, embracing the eastern part of Seward peninsula and spreading wedge-like northward to Point Barrow, is inhabited by a number of groups speaking a still different tongue.²

¹ See Clark Wissler, *The American Indian*, 2d ed., page 229, New York, 1922.

² The linguistic information was obtained partly from the expedition's research and partly from Paul Ivanoff, of Russian and Eskimo parentage, a man widely travelled throughout Alaska and thoroughly conversant with the dialects extant. For the linguistic distribution of the Eskimo of the Alaskan coast, see the accompanying map.

In culture, the groups treated in this volume, namely the peoples of Nunivak island, King island, Little Diomedé island, Cape Prince of Wales, and those in the vicinity of Kotzebue sound — the Kotzebue, Noatak, Kobuk, and Selawik — are broadly similar. The mode of life of the Eskimo depends on the distribution and migration of game, whether it be mammal, bird, or fish, or all three; hence when different groups are dependent on different game foods, variations in culture occur. This is well illustrated by comparing the most important food products of Nunivak and King islands with those of Little Diomedé island and Cape Prince of Wales. The former islands lie directly in the path of seal and walrus migrations, both north and south, hence their inhabitants may be characterized as having a distinctive seal culture. Walrus and whales are deemed most important by the Diomedé and Cape Prince of Wales Eskimo, being more numerous than seal within the range of their villages: whaling indeed is the prime occupation of the latter. These groups, in turn, differ from those of Kotzebue sound, who hunt beluga and seal on the coast and caribou (now reindeer) along the streams. This variance is reflected strongly in their ceremonies and in certain phases of their social customs.

While it is desirable to outline the extent and number of the Eskimo as a whole, and to comment on the Alaskan Eskimo with respect to language, population, and similarity and differences of culture, nevertheless it is the detailed descriptions of the various groups herein presented that must furnish the basis for such general observations.

THE NUNIVAK

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

NUNIVAK island rises bluffly from Bering sea approximately at the intersection of 60° north latitude and 166° west longitude. The chart shows that the island lies about fifty miles to the westward of that part of the mainland between Kuskokwim river on the south and Cape Romanzof on the north, an extremely low, flat coast with many narrow, shallow inlets. Numerous inlets are a part of the intricate net of waterways which form the mouth of the Yukon and its delta.

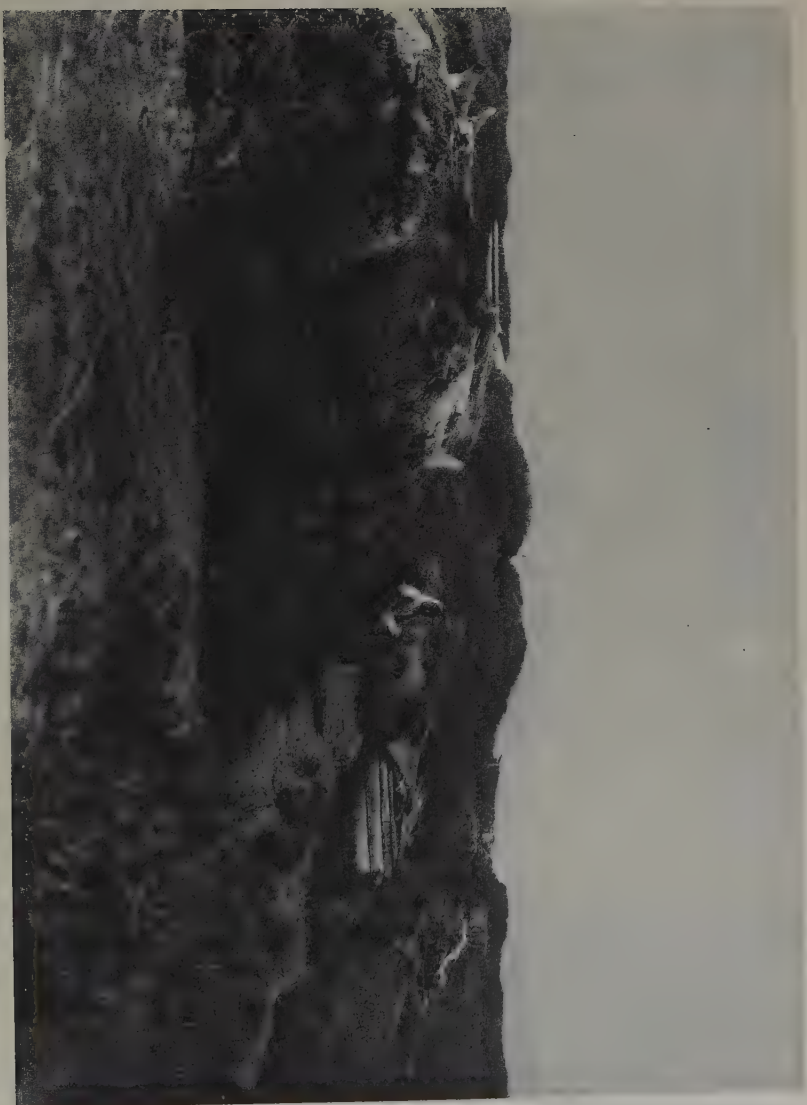
Nunivak island extends east and west about one hundred and twenty miles, with a distance of fifty miles between its most northerly and southerly points. The shore-line is bluff and rocky, and its few harbors are suitable only for small craft. Such harbors as are not obstructed by dangerous reefs or sandbars with tortuous ever-shifting channels offer little real protection and must be navigated with the utmost care. The interior of the island is comparatively level, with only a few mountains grouped in the southwestern end and one in the centre whose heights have been estimated to be between five hundred and eight hundred feet above sea-level. The entire area is treeless; the vegetation is tundra-grass, moss of several varieties, and edible herbs and roots. Over this bleak, cheerless island sweep the heavy winter storms, intensified because of the unbroken expanse of Bering sea in which to accumulate force from both north and south. Few Eskimo have penetrated the interior, which is given over to the recently introduced reindeer and to foxes and other animals. The natives prefer to dwell along the coast, where they are assured of a fairly abundant supply of birds, and sea mammals and other sea food, and where the broken coast affords a slight degree of shelter.

The villages on Nunivak island are situated with respect to accessibility of the food supply. Since the major part is derived from the sea, the inhabitants of each village erect their homes close to the

shore, facing the water. Again, because of dependence on the seasons for their various foods, it is necessary for each group of people to possess more than one village, thus moving with all their belongings from one place to another to take advantage of the seal run, the different fish runs, the bird season, the berry season, *et cetera*. The loss of one seasonal item of provision might entail serious hardship, even starvation, for if one should fail to reap the harvest, be it fish, bird, or berry, a full year would be required to make up the loss. Thus the people at Cape Etolin alone occupy five villages and camps. From December to the end of March is spent in the winter village, Mīhkóyak, containing permanent structures and the men's and women's houses. The season of April, May, and June finds them at the spring fishing village, Pungóhpūk, also permanent. The months of July, August, and September are spent in two widely separated fishing camps — Watáwiya, a village of temporary structures and not containing men's and women's houses, and Kúngiéhlŭ, both summer and fall and permanent. Another fall settlement is the seal-netting village, Akítóh, also permanent.

Most of the villages of Nunivak island, so far as known, are situated on the northern and eastern shores, especially on such prominent headlands as Capes Corwin, Manning, and Mendenhall. The people on each of these capes have at least two villages and camps. These settlements, or groups of villages, scattered as they are along the coast, contain only as many as about forty inhabitants each. A census of the whole island, made in 1926, gave one hundred and seventy-seven natives; in 1928 only fifty-two were reported.

The winter village at Cape Etolin, typical of all the permanent settlements, included eight structures, two of which were men's houses and two women's, all within an area of fifty by forty-seven paces. This small cluster was built on an incline facing the sea and a wide stretch of sandy beach. Behind and above the houses, etched sharply against the skyline of the hill, were a number of graves and grave-boxes. As observed from the water, the village appeared to be merely a group of grass-covered mounds or hummocks; only human figures and the evidence of human occupation betrayed the presence of a community. The structures were grouped irregularly, as follows: A men's house and a women's house side by side; obliquely to these were three ordinary houses in a row; parallel to these, and but a slight distance away, another men's and a women's house, with another ordinary house to the rear. A tunnel passed along the front of each row of houses, and the two were joined by an intersecting tunnel. The only



From Saryyaght' Photograph, 1928 by G. S. Davis

МИКОУАК, А НУНИАК VILLAGE

ingress to the village was through two shafts which descended into the tunnels by the men's houses at each end of the village. The tunnel permitted communication between the occupants of the houses without the necessity of appearing above ground, a great advantage in winter, as the inhabitants wear little clothing while indoors. Air and light are provided by means of smoke-holes in the individual houses. Evidences of a larger village in former times are seen in a row of grass-grown pits and demolished houses below the present site, with which it was connected by sloping tunnels.

The centre of activity in any village is the men's house (*gíyā*). Here ceremonies are performed, especially during the winter months; here the men make kaiaks, weapons, utensils of all kinds, and carve ivory; here they smoke, gossip, and have their sweat-baths. Such a house is built to contain a whole village on ceremonial occasions, each family being allotted a space at one of three sides of the room, with a lamp before it. Large villages boasted of two or more men's houses. During the spring, summer, and fall seasons, when the people move from camp to camp or from village to camp, and are sometimes scattered and busy gathering the year's food supply, the men's houses are largely unused. Men of family usually remain with their families, hunting, fishing, working, eating, sleeping, performing the various functions which make up their lives. Youths and young unmarried men may occupy the *gíyā*. In winter, most of the men, including heads of families, occupy their places in the men's houses. Above each man hangs his seal-bladders for the Bladder feast. From pegs depend gear of various kinds. Here he keeps weapons and tool-box, and his lamp burns before him. He sleeps here, with head on a wooden head-rest, and his wife brings his meals. In winter the numerous lamps and the warmth of the bodies heat this underground dwelling so that few clothes are necessary. The men's house is a community club house.

Somewhat similar in function is the women's house. In the winter the women gather there, work, sleep, eat, and prepare meals for the men. However, it has no part in ceremonial life, for all of this takes place in the men's house.

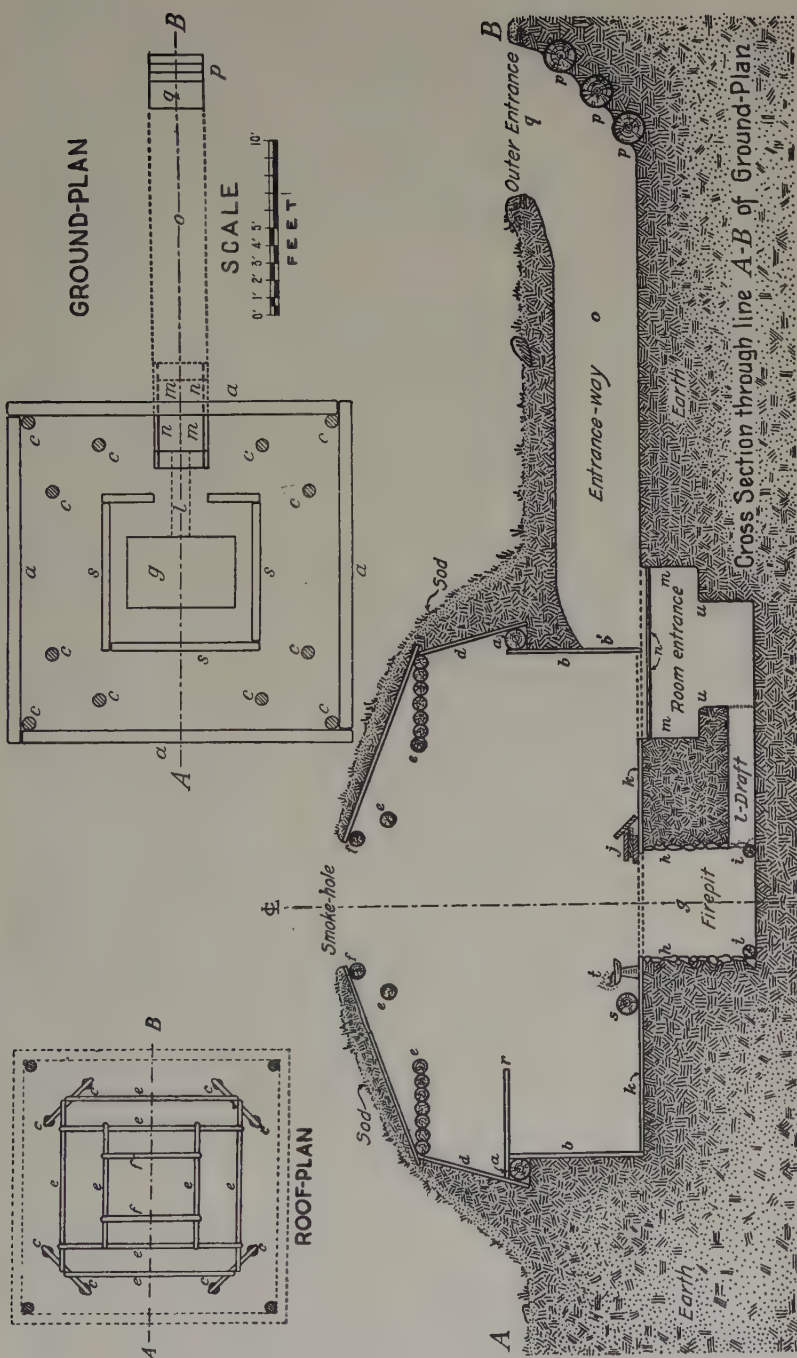
Other individual family houses are much smaller and are used more for storage of clothing, food, and various supplies than for actual habitation. Each family has such a house in each permanent village and camp, where are stored such food supplies from the particular season's catch as are not put away in the caches. They take back to the winter villages, where they remain longest, enough to last them

through the winter. These houses are used for dwellings in the summer.

In the construction of the men's house, a pit about eighteen feet square and four feet deep is first dug. Around the pit edges logs (*dúsět*) are laid (*a* in the plan). From these logs to the floor the pit walls are sheathed with split timbers (*b*). About three feet out from each wall and at each corner is a post seven feet high and about six inches square (*c*). Thus, in each corner are two adjacent posts. Each pair is connected at the top by a cap timber on which rest horizontal beams. Thus, the first framework, a horizontal square, extends three feet above ground and is three feet away from the pit edge, the first step toward the conical appearance of the roof. Split timbers (*d*) lean from the pit edge, logs against these eaves beams (*águlüt*). Then the rafters (*kanágüt*) are placed in position (*e*). Across the eaves beams stretch two parallel rafters, each about three feet from the corners of the framework. At right angles to these and again away from the ends are two parallel rafters. The final set (*f*) forms the square sides or sills (*kíitüh*) of the small smoke-hole (*tunnakiúm*), an opening four feet square covered in stormy weather with a sheet of gut, thus admitting light but keeping out rain. The rafters are overlaid with split timbers and covered heavily first with earth and then sod, rendering the structure impervious to stormy weather. The appearance of the finished house is that of a mound of earth.

In the centre of the room a rectangular firepit (*kanégiwih*) is dug, six feet long, four feet wide, and four feet deep (*g*). This is walled with stones (*h*) and edged with small logs (*i*). The firepit, for sweat-baths mainly, when not in use is covered with planking (*himugíahüt*) easily taken up or laid down (*j*). The floor (*nájitit*) of the room is of wooden planking (*k*). A draft (*chupühhün*) is bored through the ground to that part of the entrance which tunnels beneath the house wall (*l*).

The entrance (*lúyüh*) to the room (*m*) is tunnelled four feet deeper than the floor and extends on each side of the house wall (*b'*). This has wooden hand-rails (*ayápühíyüh*), which become highly polished from constant use (*n*). The outer passageway (*ámih*) is at the same level as the floor of the house, that is, about four feet under ground, and extends out about eighteen feet (*o*). At the farther end are three log steps (*p*) and a square opening (*q*) at the top. One first descends through the outer opening, creeps along the passageway, swings down and under the house wall, and finally pulls himself up into the room. In cold weather the inner entrance is usually covered with a mat (*pahótti*).



GROUND-PLAN, ROOF-PLAN, AND SECTION OF ESKIMO MEN'S HOUSE

a, Logs about pit edges; b, split wall timbers; c, posts; d, split timbers; e, rafters; f, smoke-hole sill; g, firepit; h, stones; i, small logs; j, planks for firepit covering; k, flooring; l, draft tunnel; m, room entrance; n, wooden hand-rails; o, outer passage; p, log steps; q, square opening; r, bench; s, small log head-rests; t, lamp-stand and lamp; u, steps. Scale of ground-plan, six feet to the inch.

Along three walls, at the height of the eaves, extends a bench (*r*) about three feet in width. This is used as a seat during ceremonies; at other times it forms the sleeping platform for boys and youths. Around the three sides, on the floor, about five feet out from the walls and parallel to them, are small logs (*s*). In the space thus formed, matting (*asliikat*) is laid. Upon this men work, recline, and sleep, using the wooden rails as head-rests (*agítút*). Before each man, outside the head-rest, is his lamp-stand (*nuníglu*) with lamp (*kúmün*) on top (*t*).

The women's house (*n'na*) is built in the same manner, but the interior furnishings vary. Light sticks are laid across the lower rafters for the suspension of fish, meat, or drying sealskins. Two long hooks (*wiúlichitt*) depend and swing over the fire for roasting meat. On the rear wall is a shelf at eaves height for cooking-pots, and a second shelf two feet above the floor to hold food about to be cooked. Similar shelves extend on each side of and above the entranceway to accommodate clothing, sewing bags, and various household utensils and oddments. The other two walls have sleeping benches (*áčhit*), raised some two feet above the ground and extending five feet into the room, covered with matting and having the usual head-rests. The fireplace near the rear wall is a square mound, two feet high, walled with stones and the interior filled with earth and ashes. The top is edged with stone, and in the enclosure the fire is built. Because of the scarcity of wood, the greater part of the cooking is done over oil lamps.

The individual houses follow the same general method of construction, but are much smaller, about eight feet square, with the entrance opening into the tunnel. While the winter village of the Cape Etolin people was tunnelled, the spring village consisted of separate houses, each with its own outside entrance and not connected in any way with the men's and women's houses.

The most important garment of the Nunivak, and of the Eskimo generally, is the parka. This is a frock, made of animal, bird, or fish skins, which is slipped over the head and reaches about to the knees. The general style for men and women is similar, except that while the bottom hem of the men's garment is regular all the way around, the parka of the women has a deep slit or open seam on each side, in much the same manner as a white man's shirt. Parkas for outdoor wear, for travelling or hunting, and for winter use, are provided with a hood, which may be drawn up to cover the head, or thrown back at pleasure. Such a hood, made of the same material as the parka itself, usually has a strip of long hair, wolf or wolverene commonly, attached to the

edge for ornamentation, so that the wearer, with hood up, seems to have a halo of long hairs outlining his face.

The Nunivak have a variety of parkas, each for its own purpose. Indeed there is seemingly no limit to the number and kind that a person may possess. Of the bird-skin parkas alone, six different styles were counted: the very light in weight (*chibilit*), the light (*tunñüt*), and the medium (*mũthüt*). These three are fashioned to be worn indoors. The *áspüt* is a bird-skin parka for ordinary outdoor wear; the *kiláñüt* is a waterproof outdoor parka, and the *tũñõhtit*, of gull-skins, is worn in hunting or in warfare. Of furs for parkas, those in general use are caribou (reindeer in these times), mink, and squirrel. These are for outdoor wear. The caribou garment (*káliluh*) is worn in travelling. In winter two parkas are often worn: an inner one (*úvwütël*) of light fawn-skin without a hood, the fur turned next to the skin, and an outer one (*átkut*) with hair-side outward.

For decorative effect, fur parkas may be made of strips of alternately colored fur, such as brown and white, or they may be of a solid color with a long white strip, the belly-fur of reindeer or caribou, extending over each shoulder and well down both front and back. Bird-skin parkas are either of a single color or have alternating squares of dark and white skins.

For wet weather, or for use in kaiaks, parkas are made of seal intestine. These have draw-strings about the face and the wrists to keep out water. A hunter in a kaiak wearing such a garment lashes the bottom edge around the manhole rim with a thong, and thus may paddle his craft in rain, spray, or choppy seas, and keep dry.

It is not customary for women to wear any kind of head-covering other than the elaborately beaded headgear which forms a part of the dance costume. Caps (*wí/koh*) for men and boys, worn in either summer or winter, are made of squirrel-skins, sewn to fit the head snugly. A circular piece of fur forms the crown, around which strips are sewn in coils until the cap is of the proper size. Such caps are often adorned with beads, tufts of hair, or tails.

Trousers for both sexes are made from two sealskins with the bellies removed. In former times the skin from caribou legs made up the trousers. At the top a loop is formed by turning down and sewing the edge; a thong passed through this loop and secured by an ivory toggle serves as a belt. Men's trousers end at the ankle, but those of women are of full length, terminating in a crimped sole for the foot. Women's trouser boots (*yúnikluga*) are of three varieties: the light for indoor wear; the outdoor and travelling boots, usually hair-

less and waterproof (*átayŭhsluga*); and the decorated dance or ceremonial trouser-boot.

Boots worn by men extend to below the knees, where a drawstring (*tahpúhha*) holds them firmly to the legs. To the feet are attached hard sealskin soles (*atúni*), which are bent up, crimped at toe and heel, and thus sewn to the uppers. Two long tanned strips of hide, about eighteen inches long and an inch wide, are sewn on each side of the ankle by the sole. These thongs pass up through horizontal loops, cross above the instep, are passed about the ankle and tied in front, thus holding the boot bottom securely on the foot. Such a boot (*ángiutŭh* or *ívahóchih*) is hairless and waterproof for ordinary wear, or it may have highly decorated fur tops for ceremonial or house wear (*achihslúhüh*). The fur boots may be of seal alternating with wolverene strips, or of brown caribou with strips of the white belly fur running horizontally down the legs. Two or more bands of alternately colored fur make up the top edges. Further ornamentation often consists of brightly colored yarn tassels hung from the tops. For summer and indoor use men sometimes wear a short ankle boot (*kŭmŭksih*).

Socks (*alŭksŭh*) woven of grass are worn inside the boots. Dried grass is doubled over or bunched into pads (*túñimi*) and placed in the boots as inner liners. These not only provide a soft cushion, but absorb moisture that may have leaked through seams.

Mittens (*arítfit*) are of four types. Women wear one kind only; these extend nearly to the elbow and have wolverene trimming along the upper edge. Men also wear this kind of mitten, mainly when travelling overland. A second type (*pinŭvyět*) has a forefinger and is used while working outdoors near the house. A third kind (*árislúgŭt*) is both hairless and waterproof. The last (*árikŭhhŭt*), for wear while paddling a kaiak, is short, barely extending to the wrist.

Facial ornamentation consists of tattooing and the wearing of ear-rings (plain, *ágŭt*; beaded, *chíuŭjítŭt*), nose beads (*ínichŭt*), and labrets (*tútět*). Of these forms of adornment men use only the labrets; but at the present time these lip ornaments are becoming rarer, though they are worn on Nunivak island to a far greater extent than on the mainland, where contact with whites has made them almost obsolete. The holes for labrets are punched through the flesh just beneath the extremities of the lower lip, both of youths and maidens, about the age of puberty. At first a small ivory plug is inserted to keep the aperture distended. As the skin heals and hardens, larger plugs are used, thus gradually enlarging the orifice to the desired size. Men's

labrets consist of a disc worn on the inner surface of the lip and which rests against the teeth. A shank projects through the hole and terminates in a rounded point slightly larger than the shank proper, the point extending beyond the lips. A variation of this most common form is a curved, slender ivory bar attached horizontally to the shank, so that when both labrets are in place the tips of the bars nearly touch in the middle of the lower lip.

In connection with ceremonial and dance costume, women wear a labret with a straight, slender, horizontal ivory bar attached to the shank. From this bar hangs a row of beaded strings measuring several inches in length. As a part of the everyday costume, women insert labrets similar to those of the men.

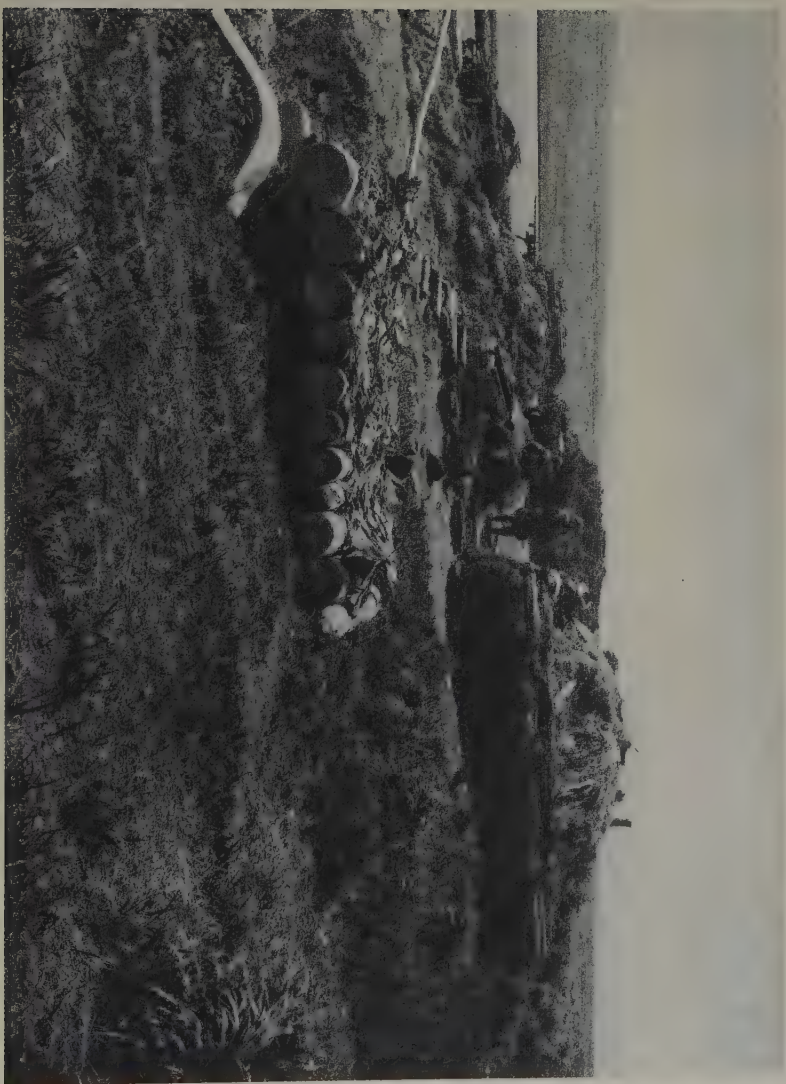
Young girls frequently have the nasal septum pierced and insert a small ring or hook from which four plain or white beads dangle.

For ceremonial and dance wear, several styles of ear-ornaments are worn by the women. One such was a pendant, several inches long, consisting of rows of beaded strings on a horizontal ivory bar. A small hook fastened to the centre of the bar was then inserted in the pierced aural cartilage. There is a variation of this form of ear-ring in which the strings of beads form a long loop from one ear-ring to the other, the loop passing under the chin or around the back of the neck. A third ear-ring observed had on its hook a flat piece of ivory about three inches long and an inch and a half wide, inlaid in which was a piece of bright-colored cloth.

Tattooing, employed by women only, consists of simple parallel vertical lines extending from each corner of the mouth to the chin. Other parallel lines may be tattooed around the wrist. The process of tattooing consists of dipping a sinew thread into a mixture of charcoal dust and seal's blood; then with a small, sharp ivory needle, fine stitches are taken in the skin and the thread drawn through, leaving particles of the mixture permanently beneath the skin.

The *kaiak* (*kaíyuh*) is the most important craft of many of the Alaskan Eskimo, for by means of it the livelihood of the people is chiefly obtained. Men transport themselves from one hunting camp to another in the *kaiak*; from it they fish, spear waterfowl, and pursue seal and walrus. Almost as soon as a boy can walk, he learns to paddle and manœuvre this small but efficient craft.

New *kaiaks* are made in late winter or in early spring during the season of *Qígítánit* ("Mother of Rivers" — when rivers begin to open up). Their construction takes place with ceremony in the men's house, usually under the supervision of some old man well skilled in



Strom's photograph, 1928, by E. S. Brown

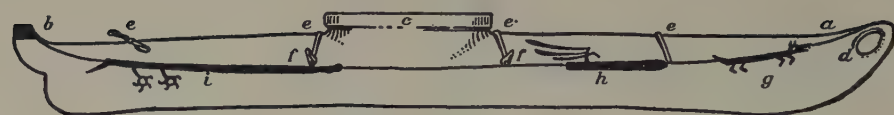
NIHĀKÓYAK, MEN'S HOUSE AT WINTER CAMP, NUNIVAK

boat-making. The men measure and cut each individual part of the wooden frame according to a prescribed system based on the length of various members of the body or a combination of such members. Thus each man's kaiak is built according to the specifications of his own body and hence is peculiarly fitted to his use. For instance, the length of a kaiak is determined by the following standards of length: Little finger to elbow; first finger of right hand to thumb of left when arms are outstretched; elbow to middle finger; the span of middle finger to thumb; first finger of right hand to thumb of left when arms are outstretched; the width of first and second fingers held together. After each part is meticulously made according to measurement, the frame is put together with lashings of rawhide. The workmanship must of necessity be fine, because no cutting with edged tools may be done once the parts are finished and are being joined. The measurement of a typical Nunivak kaiak showed a length of fifteen feet over all, a beam of three feet, and a manhole thirty inches in diameter.

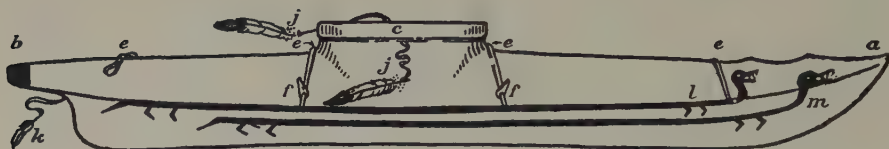
The kaiak frame consists first of a keel with bow and stern posts. The curved ribs, lashed to the keel, are mortised into the gunwales. A number of longitudinal strips extend from bow to stern, and the ribs are lashed also to these. The deck is formed by many slightly triangular supports or crossbeams whose ends are mortised and lashed into the gunwales. Two strips, one from bow to manhole and one from stern to manhole, run along the apexes of the deck supports and form ridge-poles. Slightly abaft the centre is the manhole, framed with a wooden hoop about thirty inches in diameter, lashed to the framework of the kaiak. The bow for hunters and married men may have a hole some three inches in diameter, used mainly for mooring or towing. The stern for this type has a quadrate projection several inches long and either straight or slightly upturned. The accompanying drawings illustrate the several types of kaiaks.

The night after the lashing of the kaiak frames is completed, the women gather to cut sealskins to size for the coverings, three thick and heavy hair-seal skins for the bottoms and sides, and two spotted-seal skins for the lighter decking. As they work, the women wear waterproof parkas, which are believed to prevent any evil influence from entering or afflicting the new kaiaks. After the cutting is finished, the women prepare food for the men.

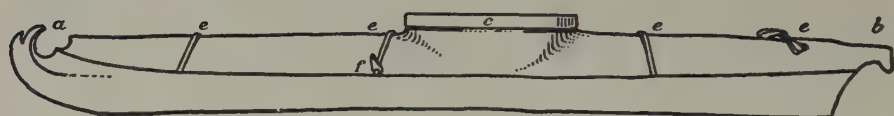
The following day, while the women, dressed as before, are sewing together the skins, the kaiak owners sit before the bows of the completed frames and sing their hunting songs in an almost inaudible tone, since these songs are both sacred and secret. Kaiak owners



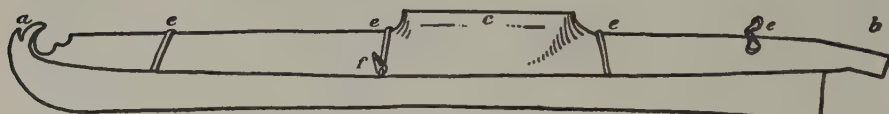
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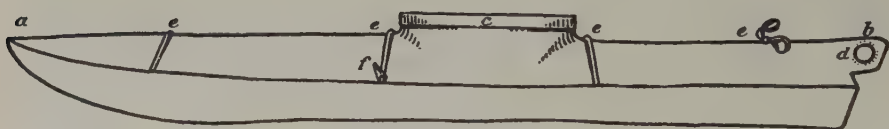
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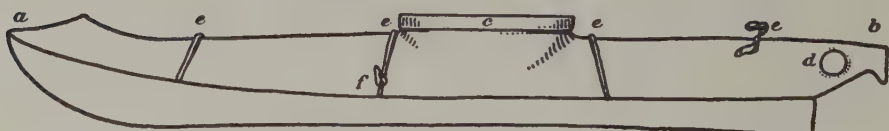
C



D



E



F

ESKIMO KAIAKS

A, B, Kaiaks for hunters and married men, showing talismanic paintings. *E, F*, Kaiaks for boys, also for young unmarried men; these have no talismanic paintings. *E, F*, Kaiaks for boys, also without talismanic paintings. (*a*, bow; *b*, stern; *c*, manhole; *d*, mooring hole; *e*, rawhide lines; *f*, ivory hooks; *g*, mink; *h*, body and wing of fowl; *i*, posterior body and feet of fowl or mink; *j*, eagle-feathers; *k*, pintail feathers; *l*, white fox painted blue; *m*, red fox painted red.)

often have their sons beside them to learn these chants, which descend from father to son. After the singing, when the hides are nearly sewn, each wife brings to her husband a new wooden dish of fish or berries. Stripped to the waist, he throws a portion of the food to the floor as an offering, and prays for good luck during the coming hunting season. He then gives the food to the oldest man present (often the one who has supervised the kaiak-making), who distributes it to all the men at hand. The owner then walks once about the kaiak frame, pretending to carry a lighted lamp. Next he motions as if to shove a lamp underneath the bows, that seal may see and approach his kaiak as he hunts.

As the last flap, on the after-deck, is sewn, after the frame is shoved into the completed covering, the now naked owner, accompanied by all the men present, sings his childbirth song to his new kaiak. The owner washes the cover with urine to remove any oil that may adhere to the surface, and rinses it in salt water. He then hauls his craft through the smoke-hole of the house and rests it in the snow, which will absorb dampness from its surface. Later he puts the kaiak on its rack and drapes over it his talismans, strung on belts, which are later to be kept in the kaiak. Here it remains a day and a night. Then at night he carries the craft to the ice where he sings his hunting songs, sacred only to him and to his family. Outside in the freezing weather the skin coverings bleach white. As soon as each new kaiak is finished, the owner performs his ceremony.

On returning to the men's house, the owner dresses in new parka and boots, and, grasping a bunch of long grass fibres, makes motions of sweeping toward the entrance. By this action he brushes outside any evil influence or contamination from his kaiak, the covering of which has been made by women.

The kaiaks for hunters and married men are painted and inscribed with the owner's talismanic mark in the spring hunting camp in the following season of Takókit-tánokēt ("When young seals are born"). Boys, youths, and young unmarried men have no talismanic devices on their kaiaks.

Near the bow is drawn or painted the head of the bird, animal, or fish representing the spirit-power of the owner. A narrow line running from stem to stern symbolizes the body. This line terminates in animal, fish, or bird tails or flukes according to the nature of the drawing. Near bow and stern the fins, flippers, or legs are drawn and in each case the male genital organ is represented. One craft had a combination mark of fowl and mink; another bore a representa-

tion of both white and red fox. The former had legs and wings in the same body, and the latter had both animals drawn separately. The belief is that the spirit-power of the animal will become embodied in the kaiak and aid materially in catching game. The original talismans may be the shaved noses of land animals, such as bear, mink, or fox; or birds, or sea animals, and are often objects carved from ivory or wood. These are kept in a wrapping of bark inside of a parchment roll of hair-seal bladder and are taken from their coverings only during the Bladder feast, when they are worn on headgear. When a man dies, his talismans are all wound in one bundle and given to the surviving sons; or, failing sons, are divided amongst the nearest relatives. Usually some particular talisman is handed down in a family from father to son.

The possessor of a talisman acquires supernatural power through the spirit of the animal, bird, or fish which it represents. A man's mark on kaiak, masks, weapons, or walrus- and seal-skins, is a medium through which the spirit-power always keeps in touch with the owner. It is also a mark of identification. It is taboo for a man to eat, wear, or even touch the animal, bird, or fish which his talisman represents, for his spirit would then be destroyed. The talismans at present extant at Cape Etolin and Nash Harbor on Nunivak island are: ancient flint knife, arctic loon, auklet, brook trout, cormorant, crane, crow, eider duck, pintail duck, flounder, helldiver, human hands, mink, polar bear, rock cod, sea-horse, barn owl, white owl, walrus tooth, white fox, wild goose, wood.

The finished kaiak, with hooks and lashings properly adjusted and a paddle set upright to represent the owner, when drawn up on shore or placed on racks is pointed seaward so that the spirit-power of the kaiak may always be thinking of and watching out for game.

The kaiak rack is constructed as follows: Two poles are crossed and lashed together at the point of intersection so that the two ends project well outward. The lower ends are stuck firmly in the ground and the crosswork supported by a third pole. A similar arrangement is set up at a distance of about ten feet. The kaiak rests between the projecting ends of the poles.

Nunivak kaiaks are broader of beam, deeper of draft, and heavier than those of the mainland farther north, which are very narrow of beam and light of draft. Those of King island and south of the Yukon mouth, both north and south of Hooper bay, are similar to the craft of Nunivak. The open water, rarely smooth, necessitates a sturdy craft. Often killing and cutting up his game far from home, either



Skull Bay, Alaska, photograph 1929 by E. S. R. R. R.

AT NASH HARBOR, NUNIVAK

on the water or the ice, the hunter must have room beneath the decking for loading meat, which the deep draft provides. Around home waters it is not uncommon to see two people riding a kaiak, one facing aft, the other paddling. These seemingly frail craft are in reality very seaworthy, riding rough waters safely. The lashed framework readily yields to wave action, while a rigidly constructed boat would pound, and the decking sheds sea and spray alike. Besides the occupant, a kaiak carries a full complement of weapons, food, tools, and paddles, and, if the hunt has been successful, a load of meat, fish, or birds. The kaiak is used also for cruising along the shore and gathering driftwood. If the weather becomes too stormy for safety, two boats are tied together with thongs carried for that purpose. To relieve the monotony of the sitting position, skilful paddlers sometimes propel the boat standing up. Adept men can upset a kaiak and right it again with a paddle.

The ordinary kaiak equipment, other than weapons, consists of two single-bladed paddles (*úṇuahun*), one held in reserve in case of possible breakage or loss, and a small paddle (*úṇuahógah*) for use in working a kaiak near a seal before the spear is cast. The small paddle, a sculling blade, is used on the side of the kaiak away from the seal; thus the kaiak, while ever moving closer, appears to be drifting, there being no perceptible movement to frighten the intended quarry.

The paddler has beneath him a seat (*akūmuqōtūt*) of wooden slats to keep him dry from the inevitable seepage. For his further comfort a grass mat (*ikâhḡslittt*) is provided to sit on or to be used as a wind-break or as a ground cloth for sleeping when out overnight on the ice.

The combination landing hook, a boat-hook and ice-pick, consists of a wooden shaft, five inches in circumference and four and a half feet long, bearing on one end the ice-pick and on the other the hook. The hook (*luhčhīhpuh*), of bone about eight inches long, is set in a slot in the shaft and held in place with two rawhide lashings passing through holes drilled in both bone and shaft. The ice-pick (*dugúa*), about sixteen inches long, on the other end of the shaft, is also of bone. Four inches of its length are laid along the shaft and neatly inset. A wooden peg passes through shaft and bone, and the pick is further made firm with a rawhide lashing. The pick is used mainly for enlarging seal blow-holes when hunting on the ice, in order that a harpoon may be thrust through when the seal comes up to blow. A smaller hook (*lúhčhikichóá*) for poking cut-up seal pieces under the bow and stern decking, and pulling them forth again, is carried; this has a hook, four inches in length, set in a four-foot shaft with a cir-

cumference of three inches, in the same manner as the hook on the larger implement. On the end of the shaft is a bone heel, laid and lashed with rawhide on one side of the shaft, spike-shape and projecting about three-quarters of an inch. This heel, with its sharp point, greatly aids in stowing away the meat cargo beneath the fore- and after-decks, while the hook is the simple and ready means of withdrawing the meat when the hunter returns to his village. For convenience in handling meat while cutting up on the ice, the hunter uses a hook (*klomihjiun*) the size of the hand and resembling a long-shoreman's hook. These various hooks are usually painted red and may also bear the hunter's talismanic mark.

The hunter at sea slakes his thirst with water carried in a bag of walrus-bladder (the gall-bladder is used in the Bladder feast). This container has a wooden stopper and a cup attached to it by a thong.

An air-bag (*k'uinuh*), or float, is carried on the sled on the after-deck; or, if the hunter goes out alone, he may carry two bags to be placed in the water, one on each side of the kaiak, to steady the craft while the paddler cuts up his seal. Small seals and baby seals, skinned carefully so that there is no break or opening in the hide except at the neck where the head has been lopped off, form the air-bags. The skinning is so delicately done that even the claws remain on feet and flippers. The hair is left on. The neck opening is then puckered or gathered in and lashed tightly with sinew, forming a projection about the size of a knife handle. Attached to this projection is a strong line of walrus- or seal-hide, five feet long and ending in a loop. The purpose of the loop is for making the float fast by means of a toggle (*choh*) to the harpoon line (*ushah*). Then after the weapon is cast and the line runs out, the attached air-bag is thrown overboard. When not in use, the air-bag is released from the toggle and carried on the sled. The bag is inflated through an ivory tube inserted and firmly lashed to the anus. A wooden stopper fits tightly into the tube and is attached to it by a sinew cord.

The hunter carries four lines (*achihuta*) of seal-rawhide in his kaiak, each line six feet long by an inch wide, used to secure his catch to the craft while he cuts up the meat, or, in a storm, to lash two kaiaks together, the lines passing under and over both boats. Another line is a painter of seal- or walrus-hide, fastened to the bow to make the boat fast when drawn up to the ice or to the shore. A cord (*agahün*) also passes about the manhole rim, so that in rain, spray, or choppy seas, the paddler may lash down the skirt of his waterproof parka to the rim and thus prevent water from entering the boat. Immediately

before and behind the manhole, cords (*tápha*) pass over the deck and are secured at the gunwales. Similar cords are passed over the decking at a distance halfway between manhole and bow, and manhole and stern. On each cord at the deck edges or gunwales are small ivory hooks (*akúgiyühkúta*). Paddle handles, boat-hook shafts, and harpoon shafts rest on the small hooks nearest to the manhole, ready to the hand of the paddler; while the blades, hooks, and harpoon-heads are shoved beneath the cords farthest from the hunter. In this manner the implements are not only held securely in place, but are ready and convenient for use.

The line tray (*acháluh*) rests on the forward deck. This consists first of a wooden hoop, about twelve by twenty inches, roughly rectangular in shape with rounded ends and with edges about two inches high. The floor is formed of two thin slats, each six inches wide, running the length of the tray, projecting about fifteen inches at one end and tapering to the width of an inch. These projections are designed to hold the tray in position when they are thrust beneath one of the cords passing around the kaiak. The line attached to a harpoon is carefully coiled on the tray, so that when the weapon is flung it will run out rapidly and free from snarls. The sled (*kámokátüh*) carried on the kaiak is about five feet long; it is without stanchions and railings, consisting only of runners, the longitudinal strips over the runners, and three cross members or braces.¹ In hunting on broken ice and approaching open water the kaiak is unloaded and launched. With the craft in the water, the sled rests on the after-deck; thus the hunter is equipped to haul his kaiak easily over ice and to carry his sled while in the water. These sleds may be used as an additional drag on the end of a harpoon-line to tire out a wounded seal or walrus.

The ice knife (*chikutákün*), of ivory, three inches long, is used to scrape frozen spray from the kaiak. Ice or frozen spray tends to soak into the kaiak skin and to render it leaky, or else to reduce its buoyancy.

For protection of the boat-covering in crushing through skim or slush ice, a nose-piece of old, tough kaiak-covering, about three feet square, is lashed over the bow.

Wooden eye-shades, shaped to conform to the facial contour about the eyes and bridge of the nose, and with narrow slits to look through, are worn to protect the eyes from wind, spray, and glare. On land, goggles and shades protect the eyes from the snow glare.

¹ See plates facing pages 48 and 52.

The large skin boat (*ũṇiyũh*), commonly known in the northland as the umiak, is used mainly for transporting a family, or perhaps two families, together with dogs and the household goods, from one village to another, depending on the season of the year. These craft are very seaworthy in spite of their lightness, though necessarily much slower than the smaller kaiak. With a following wind an umiak travels under a single sail; at other times it is propelled with oars and paddles alone. It is not uncommon for the family kaiaks to be towed while the men paddle the larger craft. One umiak seen not only had several kaiaks attached, but towed also several long beams lashed together, to be adzed out later into an umiak frame.

When these boats make a trip of several days' duration, the procedure is to paddle while light lasts, then to draw up on shore for the night and make camp. In such an instance the crew unloads, draws the boat above tidewater, and tips it on one side, the upper gunwale supported by notched poles.¹ Such goods as are not needful for the overnight camp are left beneath the boat for protection from the elements. In stormy weather, if the crew is without a tent or it is impossible to pitch a tent or to build a suitable shelter, the upturned craft offers temporary relief, although it may prove somewhat drafty and spindrift may enter. When not in use it may be set on shore in the manner described or inverted on a rack. Such a rack consists of four posts firmly driven in the ground, each pair connected by a stout crossbar. To this frame the umiak is lashed tightly.

To maintain the tightness of skin, the cover lashings must be kept tightly drawn. If kept in the water or frequently used, the cover must be oiled every few days to prevent waterlogging and rotting. Tightness and a well-oiled surface are vitally necessary to seaworthiness.

While the general size of such boats is fairly constant, varying only a few feet, for illustrative purposes the dimensions of a typical umiak were found to be: length over all, twenty-eight feet; depth from keel to gunwale, four feet; beam, six feet. The boats are somewhat smaller on Nunivak island, however. Some of those in the vicinity of Kotzebue sound measure nearly forty feet in length. The construction is similar in all cases.

The keel, sternpost, and bowpost are adzed out of one timber. The bowpost (*tuṇíya*) curves upward schooner-fashion, while the sternpost (*chũnuyěskúti*) rises at a right angle to the keel.²

¹ See plate opposite page 186, which gives a view of the interior and shows clearly the construction and method of lashing on the skin cover.

² The framework and method of construction are shown in the plate facing page 182.



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BĀNINAGŪH, NUNIVAK

The bottom of the umiak is flat. Two long beams (*jagŭnarit*) stretch fore and aft on each side of and flush with the upper surface of the keel, so that the keel projects as on modern dories. These beams swell out slightly to give the bottom its dory shape; their respective extremities are attached to the sternpost and the point where the bow curve begins.

At points midway on bowpost and sternpost respectively are the extremities of two fore and aft beams, one on each side. These are held apart by the six or more thwarts (*akómuwŭ*), the longest thwart in the centre, the others diminishing in length toward bow and stern. These thwarts and sometimes additional braces (*nŭhlumit*) with their varying lengths give the craft its shape. They also are used as seats (*inŭtai*) for paddlers. Since these seats are from a foot and a half to two feet below the gunwales, just that much freeboard is provided for the protection of the crew.

The gunwales (*ápamŭk*) extend from bowpost to sternpost. A flat wooden platform, six inches square, is lashed on top of the bowpost; on this the gunwales are secured with thongs passing through holes in the platform. A similar but larger platform, about two feet square, is lashed on top of the sternpost, and to this the after-ends of the gunwales are made fast. This platform serves also as a seat for the steersman.

Numerous floor braces are laid across the keel, their ends secured to the long fore and aft bottom beams by lashing. Sideposts (*napó-giyŭt*) rise from the floor-beams to the inner sides of the gunwales, lashed to floor-beams, midway-beams, and gunwales. These not only support the main framework, but also press out the skin covering against water pressure.

Next the covering of walrus-hide (*amŭh*) is put on, overlapping the gunwales and coming down in the interior of the boat for a foot or more. The edge is pierced along both gunwales at intervals of a few inches, and lashings (*numŭhhŭt*) pass through these holes and around the middle fore and aft beams. By tightening these thongs, any slack is taken up and the cover kept taut.

In former times a mat sail (*tupiyágŭnŭt*) was raised between two poles so that the sail appeared wedge-shape. With the innovation of canvas and in imitation of sailboat rigging, several rigs are in vogue: catboat, leg-of-mutton, lateen, and a single square sail or lug. Sail in its varieties, however, is much more prevalent farther north, especially about the Kotzebue Sound region.

The most usual propulsion is by means of oars (*jáwŭn*). These,

crudely shaped and light, are held firmly to the gunwales by lashings (*chauchikáwit*), but in such manner as to allow a free movement of the oars. The steersman, perched in the stern, uses a paddle. It is not uncommon to see paddles alone used, or to see both oars and paddles, especially when a boat is crowded and all the oars are in use.

The large family sled (*ikūmarūh*), for moving and hauling household belongings from place to place, is drawn by four dogs.¹ The sled, about twelve feet long, has runners of wood (*ákuhtūh*), gently curved upward at the front for a distance of two feet. The runners, with whale-bone shoes (*asígumíhhak*) to give good traction in frozen or wet snow, are about four or five inches high and three inches wide. Longitudinal strips, about three inches above the runners and extending the full length of the sled, rest on and are lashed to three crosspieces (*chaqaníb'naiyūh*) spaced at regular intervals along the runners. These crosspieces in turn rest on and are tied to short wooden posts which are lashed to the runners. These posts make the three-inch space between longitudinal strips and crosspieces, and these in turn form the bed of the sled.

The railings (*kūlamúyūk*) angle from a three-foot height at the rear to the point of intersection with the upturned runners at the front. The railings are supported by four stanchions (*nūpákutárūt*) on each side, spaced at such intervals that their bottom ends are at points midway between the crosspieces on which the flooring rests. Railings are lashed to stanchions with rawhide (*nūmuhīt*), and stanchion bottoms are mortised into the runners and also lashed to the longitudinal strips above the runners. The rear stanchions are slightly curved and their tapered upper ends pass through slots in the railing ends. These are strengthened by two diagonal braces (*kīkiyáguth*) fastened into slots in the stanchions.

Across the railings at the rear is a bar (*kūzzimohhádūh*) whose ends project almost two feet on each side. On this the driver rests his weight while guiding the sled.

The hunting sled, built for the use of one person, is constructed in a manner similar to the family sled, but it is only six feet in length. Dogs which draw the sleds formerly were community property, people needing to use them taking them at will. In the last few years, however, dogs have been owned individually. The Nunivak method of attaching dogs to sleds differs from that employed by other natives of the North Pacific region. Rather than the customary long string

¹ See plate facing page 58.

of dogs forward, the Nunivak hitch one dog to each side of the sled, in some cases two on a side. The draft- or tug-line is fastened to the sled aft of the middle. Thus the dogs have nothing whatsoever to do with the direction of the sled — they merely supply the motive power. The driver, leaning his weight on the rear crossbar, directs the sled. The bone used for the shoes of the runners is from the jawbones of large whales and retains a polish equal to that of ivory. The making of a set of bone shoes involves such a great deal of labor that they are regarded as a most valuable possession. Each shoe is about an inch thick and three inches wide, and must be shaped, especially the curved forward part, with great care. No other material is equal to bone for sled shoes. White men who have used sleds shod in this manner claim that two dogs will pull as much with a Nunivak sled as will twelve with the ordinary iron-shod sled.

In killing walrus, sea-lion, and larger seals, heavy harpoons and lances are employed. Both weapons are similar in detail, except in the construction and setting of the points. A typical harpoon (*asôkok*) measures about five feet five inches in length, of which four feet five inches form the wooden shaft. This has a diameter near the head of an inch and a quarter, and tapers gradually to a butt three-quarters of an inch thick. A heavy bone head is attached to the shaft. One dovetailed end of the head fits into a deep slot in the shaft. A hole is pierced through the bone at its extremity and a similar hole passes through the shaft; through these a stout length of sinew is drawn taut. The joint is further lashed tight by coils of sinew passed around the shaft. The bone head, eight inches long, gradually increases to a diameter of an inch and three-eighths. At this point it is bevelled off sharply and at the extremity is cut off squarely. Into this end a hole is drilled and plugged with wood. The plug is then drilled to hold the point, because wood, especially when wet, swells and grips the point tighter.

Harpoons, javelins, and lances are all made in this manner in proportion to size, the exceptions being carved heads and varying arrangement of the points.

The points are in three parts. First, a sharp triangular piece of metal, about an inch and a quarter long, is set in a slot in a flat piece of ivory about three inches long and commonly carved into the talismanic figure of the owner. Into the butt of this a hole is drilled for the insertion of a slender ivory rod about two and a half inches long. The other end is thrust into the drilled hole in the bone head. Through holes drilled in both rod and point-holder, thongs are looped,

each loop about eighteen inches long. These are attached to a long heavy line which is wound many times about the wooden shaft.

When the harpoon is flung from the *kaiak*, the coiled line on the line tray, attached to the line on the spear-shaft, rapidly runs out and the attached air-bag is cast overboard. The point sinks to full length in the animal and disengages itself from the ivory rod. The pull of the line causes the point to swivel, so that it is at a right angle to the line and hence firmly embedded in the flesh. The spear-head and -shaft form a drag, as does the air-bag on the other end of the line, helping to retard the wounded animal's progress. The weight of the heavy bone head with the impetus of the throw hits the animal with bone-crushing force.

A much lighter harpoon had an ivory head, flat on one side. On it were etched the head and flippers of a seal. Beads were used for eyes.

A complete harpoon-point assemblage, when not in use or carried as spares, is set in a wooden stick and the thong loop stretched flat along the stick and held by a notch. Flattened conical wooden covers protect the points when not in use, and further serve to keep the owner from inadvertently stabbing himself. It is said that at one time good hunters made these point-protectors of ivory. When asked why they are now of wood, the invariable reply is: "Long ago when a hunter lost at sea or driven by storms arrived at a strange village, the people there would kill him if they saw ivory point-protectors. They would think that a good hunter and warrior might some day return to attack their village, so they slew him. When strangers saw wooden protectors, they thought: 'Oh! He is a poor hunter and warrior. We need not fear him. Let us feed him and let him go.'"

Lances are similar to the harpoons, but have a heavy metal point in one piece to which the line is attached. The point formerly was of barbed bone or ivory tipped with a sharp metallic piece. Several hunters attacking walrus at close quarters often drive in point after point from the same shaft, the extra points being carried in a small bag. Both harpoons and lances may be used as clubs, hence their appellation *kóhc'h'tah* ("club-spear"). On the shafts near the point of balance are ivory finger-pegs. These show the hunter where to grasp the shaft and aid in giving impetus to his thrust.

For small adult seal and baby seal the javelin or throwing harpoon (*nuhhíaqíyüt*) is used. This is constructed in the same manner as the larger harpoons, but is much lighter. In length these implements are about four feet seven and one-half inches, with a diameter of half



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WATERPROOF PARKAS, NUNIVAK

an inch. The points are single pieces of ivory about two and three-quarters inches long, bearing two barbs on each side of the blade, and are ground and polished to exceeding sharpness. These are thrown with the attaching line, as are the larger harpoons, or without them. The javelins are feathered near the butt. The three feathers are secured on one end by inserting their split quills in slots and lashing them down. The other ends, the feather tips, are thrust in slits in the shaft and glued in place.

The length of the throwing-stick (*noĕ*), used in connection with the javelin, is always exactly the distance from the middle finger to the elbow of the owner. The inner flat side is grooved to hold the javelin shaft, the groove shallowing toward the handle end. An ivory wedge is mortised in the far end of the groove. The outer side of the implement is bevelled off so that it presents a roughly triangular shape. On the handle end on one side is a grooved slot for the thumb. The other side is cut away to a depth of half an inch so that the fingers cross the full width of the handle easily. Into this edge are driven two ivory pegs spaced so that they will project on each side of the middle finger. In use, the butt of the javelin rests against the ivory wedge; the shaft lies along the groove and passes over the fourth and fifth fingers; while the thumb and the first and second fingers hold down the shaft. With the leverage obtained by this implement it is possible to hurl the light javelin fifty or sixty yards.

The fish-spear (*nūlayáhshutit*) is a barbed implement for use either in shallow streams or through holes in the ice. When the fish make their runs upstream, the spear is frequently employed in addition to nets and hooks. In winter the spear is carefully let down into the water through a hole in the ice. The shaft is twirled slowly between the palms in order that the slow motion and gleaming ivory may attract the attention of the fish. As the quarry draws near to investigate, its curiosity proves its undoing, for then a sharp downward thrust securely grasps the fish. The serrated barbs hold the fish, not impaling it.

Of one such weapon the total length, barbs and all, was exactly five feet. The diameter of the slender wooden shaft was about half an inch, swelling at the extreme butt to three-quarters of an inch. Toward the head for five inches the diameter gradually tapered to an inch; then it sharply inclined to a small nub.

The three barbs for a length of four and one-half inches, a length tapering almost to a point, were beautifully inset into the head of the shaft so that they were flush with it. The gently sloping head thus

gave the barbs the proper pitch. A small cord passed then three times around each barb and the nub projecting from the head, the nub being in the exact centre between the barbs. The same cord was then carried down the inset barb ends, and, at intervals of about an inch, passed around the head twice in half-hitches. It was then wound around the lower ends of the barbs in a coil of twenty-two wrappings. The cord next wound in a long spiral to the very butt and returned spirally to the head where it was made fast, the spirals giving a decorative effect.

The three ivory prongs or barbs jutted out six and three-quarters inches, each tapering gradually to a point. These prongs, ovoid in form, whose greatest width was a quarter of an inch, were provided on the inner edges with about twenty-five small teeth, each of which pointed toward the shaft-head. Two of the barbs projected outward slightly on the same plane as the slightly inclined shaft-head. The remaining barb curved outward crescentically, thus allowing enough space between the three points to catch and hold a fish of fair size. Small fish would be driven by the impact of the thrust much farther up between the barbs.

In the bird season, in addition to snares and nets, pronged spears (*nuiyáhpit*) are employed. Birds often nest and hatch along the bluffs, in such great numbers that a spear cast, as in the case of the bolas farther north, can hardly miss. The spears are also thrown from kaiaks, especially in moulting season when the birds are unable to rise from the water. Here the wooden shaft keeps the missile afloat, either with the kill or in the case of a miscast. The spears may be hurled by hand, or may be of such shortness and lightness as to permit the use of the throwing-stick.

An unusually fine specimen of such a weapon had a total length of six feet three inches. The wooden shaft was four feet eight and one-half inches long, with a three-quarter inch diameter. The last several inches toward the head were sliced down nearly to a point. On this taper point was laid the similarly cut-down shank of the head and the two were lashed together firmly. For seven inches the wooden head-shank was of the same diameter as the shaft, then it rose abruptly in a shoulder an inch and a quarter in diameter and an inch and a half long. Into the extreme edge of this shoulder the ivory prongs were mortised at an angle. The shoulder then fell away into an eight-inch projection to which was jointed the centre prong of ivory.

The seven fine ivory prongs, each thirteen inches long, were flat strips half an inch wide and a quarter of an inch thick, and slightly

bow-shape. When set in place they had a span of about six inches from one tip to the diametrically opposed point. The last few inches of each prong were carved into several blunt teeth. In addition to being firmly set in the shoulder of the wooden shank on the shaft, strong cord passed several times around each one and about the centre barb at a point about a third of its length. While the centre prong may impale a bird, the purpose of the spear is to catch head or body between the barbs where the teeth hold it in an inescapable position.

The arrow for caribou, before that animal became extinct on Nunivak island, was either sharp-pointed with two barbs, or had one sharp point of wood or stone (*chĩñilũk*). A bird arrow (*nũyũt*) usually had a long point and a wide outset barb that the bird's head might be caught in the interstice. Another form of bird arrow bore an ivory crosspiece set behind a blunt head in order that, should the arrow-head miss the bird, the crosspiece would strike. For the hunting of baby seal, the arrow-shaft was blunted at the point and a hole drilled for the insertion of a harpoon-point carrying a rawhide line.

Bows (*ũgolõwũh*), commonly about six feet in length, were of spruce. A tough, flexible bow could be formed only from the resinous, grainless, dark wood cut from the underside of spruce which had grown by the bank of a stream. The proportioned wood was first steamed by being wrapped in wet moss surrounded by hot stones to make it pliable. Then it was placed in a wooden frame and lashed down with roots for shaping. The shaped bow, when thoroughly dried, was wrapped with caribou-sinew.

Large nets for seal and walrus are set out between rock headlands or at the entrance of a small bight. Because such natural places are few, and because they must be in a directional line with the seasonal run, the nets are often at a distance from a village. The nets, of seal and walrus line, their very size necessitating a great number of skins, can be made and owned only by few, the greatest hunters and wealthiest men of a village. A single net carefully handled and repaired will last from three to six seasons, that is, years, in spite of strong currents, freezing water, ice, and other natural conditions which may tend to destroy them. In addition to disintegration by natural means, the struggles of the catch to escape often tear meshes, or the occasional large whale enmeshed may carry away or destroy such a net entirely. It is not uncommon for the white whale, or beluga, to drag a net several miles seaward before succumbing. The seemingly frail net overcomes such a powerful denizen of the sea by the fact that it is

not made fast to the shore, but is anchored to large stones, hence forming a resisting drag which soon wears down and kills the hopelessly entangled animal. However, walrus and seal are not of sufficient strength to drag the net from its moorings, but exhaust themselves vainly trying to escape from the yielding but relentless meshes.

Usually two men make and own a large net, which may require fifty or more skins for anchor-lines, guy-lines, and the net itself. As many as five hundred seals have been caught in a good season, when the animals were moving southward. Rarely are more than two such nets found in a single village. When a chance beluga is caught, the head is taken to the oldest man in the village. The skin and meat are divided equally amongst the two owners, as is the case with the skin and meat of the several kinds of seal caught. Should a walrus become enmeshed, the first person to see the animal may slay it. In this instance the killer receives half the skin, the owners the other half, while the carcass is divided equally amongst the entire village. Fish often gill themselves on the meshes.

The story of the origin of netting large animals is that two men from Cape Mendenhall once remained on a small headland to catch birds with light casting-nets. After a summer and fall, they set out to return to their village, but the wind was so strong and the swells ran so high that the men were forced to land on a small offshore island — an island still much used for netting. There, in a little bight, they saw seal in great numbers. Being without the customary harpoons, the men bethought themselves of their bird-nets and accordingly set them out with satisfactory result in spite of their seeming frailty. Since then men have made large, strong nets for seal, and the people from Cape Mendenhall, as the inventors, claim the best netting methods.

Nets (*takúgasŭn*) are made of seal and walrus line, smoked after the stretching. During the weaving, the makers must remain continent. The net proper in dimensions is sixty by three fathoms (three hundred and sixty feet by eighteen feet). The meshes measure twelve inches between knots. Along the upper edge, wooden floats (*putáko-tŭi*) are fastened at eighteen-foot intervals. Thus twenty such floats, each eighteen inches long, are required. Suspended several feet below the bottom edge are large stone sinkers (*símŭqai*) set at thirty-six-foot intervals, or ten sinkers in all, which are attached to lines (*símŭqákiutai*) running through the net to the top edge. Four long guy-lines (*chásutŭt*), twelve and a half fathoms each (seventy-five feet), attached to top and bottom edges at each end of the net, extend out to toggles (*nŭhtokŭh*), thus forming bridles to stretch the net. To these toggles are attached



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GIRL'S COSTUME, NUNIVAK

four anchor-stones (*chimûhbit*) at the ends of each of twelve-and-a-half-fathom lines. These stones anchor in place the extremities of the stretched net, the floats hold the top edge at the surface, and the sinkers hold the bottom edge under water so that the net is in a vertical position.

Such a net is set in a calm sea between two headlands, in an inlet or bight when the current sets in, and in line with the seal-run. In setting, the anchor-stones of one end are placed in position and the bridle lines are attached to the anchor-line toggle. The net is then carried out to its full length, and the opposite anchor-stones are dropped and attached. Last, the sinker-lines are attached to the top edge and the stones dropped. Men engaged in handling nets wear waterproof parkas and mittens, the object being to prevent any evil influence passing from them to the nets and keeping the seal away. An additional reason is to prevent the net from being tainted with the human scent, since seal, being air-breathing animals, possess the sense of smell. A few years ago one man, part Russian, scoffed at the idea and departed from the custom by refusing to wear mittens while setting out his net. That season two other men enjoyed a particularly successful catch, while his net yielded only one young seal.

Gill-nets and seines, or drag-nets, for fish, are used, but to no great extent; doubtless the rocky and stone-strewn shores prevent their successful employment.

For ice fishing and stream fishing hand-lines with bone or ivory hooks, and fish-spears, are used.

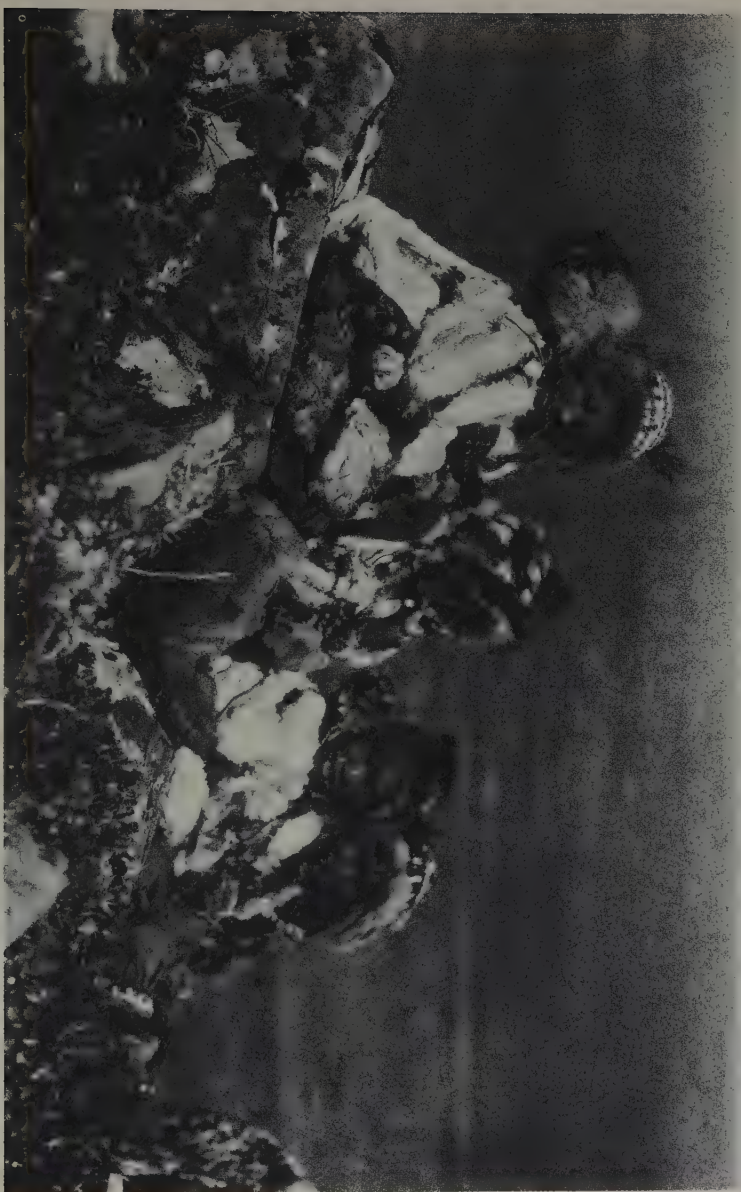
The large bird net (*hkákun*) is of fine mesh made from caribou- (of recent years, reindeer-) sinew. This is twenty-seven feet long by twelve feet wide. Light sticks or stretchers (*ajíwǎn*) at each end serve to stretch the net to its width. A long line, called a purse-line (*útgoh*) runs along each edge. This net the hunter carries coiled up on his arm as he walks along the bluffs where the birds nest and where they continually circle and fly. When he has chosen a favorable spot and a propitious time, he drops one end over the bluff in such a manner that the net swings at a right angle to it, and the birds in their blind and endless circling fly into the net. The hunter then draws up the far end by means of the purse-lines, forming a large bag, and secures his catch. Such a net is used in the vicinity of Cape Mohican about the month of July for auks and cormorant.

On headlands, where air currents are strong and eddies swing birds in flight inland along the top of the headland, dip-nets on long handles are employed. The first bird so netted is impaled on a stick

and set up as a decoy. Others then approach to alight near their supposed comrade and are easily netted; the more decoys, the greater the catch. As on King island and the Diomedes, birds of many species are literally numberless, hence the task of netting is by no means as difficult as might be supposed.

Spring and fall are the seasons in which the greatest catch of seal and walrus is made. After the New Kaiak ceremony, when the ice is breaking up along shore, the men, wearing new white parkas and white conical wooden caps, set out in their fully equipped kaiaks — setting out when the water is choppy, which allows them to approach closer to the animals. Seals are both seen and heard. The peculiar whining sound of the sea-lion (sometimes called mourning seal) emitted under water indicates to the hunter where the animal will come up. Seal in general, unless frightened, emerge in approximately the place where they went down. After the animals are located, by noise or sight, the hunters approach as near as possible, but remain hidden from the seals by ice-floes. When there is no longer available cover, the men come out to open water, where at a short distance their white costumes and kaiak-covers make them seem like floating pieces of ice, to the seal, at least. Once the quarry is chosen, the hunter, or a pair of them, works as closely as possible, using the short sculling paddle. With this means of propulsion there is no apparent motion to the kaiak. When finally close enough, the hunter casts the harpoon with line and air-bag attached. If a seal dives before coming close enough, the hunter waits for it to break the surface again. The animal, which usually has its eyes closed when first coming up for air, is a good target for the man. If two or more hunters are together, all try to catch the line and make fast to it, thereby forming a heavy drag and greatly impeding the wounded animal's efforts to escape. The hunter, when the exhausted seal ceases its struggles, pulls up the slack in the line and then kills it with the head of a heavy harpoon or with a large stone on a three-foot line. Young sea-lion, hair-seal, and spotted seal are killed by the light casting javelins to which no lines are attached. These young animals are carried home in a kaiak before being cut up.

The kill of mature animals is towed to the nearest floe and there butchered. The skin with blubber is removed first; then the meat is cut up and the portions are stowed away beneath the forward- and after-decks. When the kaiak is loaded, the owner paddles home, and if it should be the first catch of the season, the appropriate ceremony is held. If the hunt takes place on open water and there is no ice,



From Geographical Photographs 1928 by G. S. Woods

and such a hunt often ranges far from the village, the carcasses are butchered at sea. Two hunters lash their sleds together to form a float for the body and cut it up as best they can then and there.

When two or more hunters have made the kill, the flesh is divided according to the order in which harpoons were cast, or air-bags and kaiaks were attached to harpoon-lines. The man casting the first weapon is termed the owner of the animal, and to him, besides other parts, are always allotted the skin and intestines. When two kill the seal, the owner receives the upper half to the lower end of the ribs, while his companion takes the remainder. For three hunters, the owner takes the upper part to the lower end of the front flippers; the remainder is divided equally between the second and the third man. Of four hunters, the owner receives the upper portion to the lower extremities of the front flippers and a third of the remainder on the right side; the second hunter is allotted an equal portion on the left side; the remaining strip in the centre is divided equally between the third and the fourth man, the upper portion of the strip belonging to the third hunter. Young sea-lions killed by hunters are divided equally, the owners, as always, taking the upper portion. It is cut up, hide and all, without skinning. In summer, young sea-lions are often clubbed to death while sunning on the rocks.

Walrus, fiercer, larger, and more wary than seal, are hunted by a group of men. After the feeding walrus are discovered, one hunter, the quickest and most alert, dons his waterproof parka, tying it around wrists and face in the event that if his boat capsizes, as frequently happens, he may remain as dry as possible. He carefully paddles his craft in good position for throwing his harpoon, because a quick, accurate cast is necessary to wound the wary animal. Immediately after a hit has been made, the others paddle up and cast weapons or make fast to the lines with their kaiaks. The heavy harpoons and lances have force enough to break ribs, and the barbs work themselves deep into flesh. Extra points, carried in bags, are inserted in the heavy shaft-heads of lances thrust until the animal is dead. In the cutting-up process the hunter recovers his barbs, for they bear his own mark. The walrus is then held up between four kaiaks with slings of rawhide, and taken to ice or shore for the butchering, which lasts over two tides. It is generally agreed upon beforehand how the carcass will be divided; but usage dictates that the man who first harpoons it, the owner, will receive the hide, the upper half of the body, and half of the intestines; the second hunter is given the lower half of the body; the third receives the ivory tusks; the

fourth is allotted half of the intestines, and the fifth takes the stomach.

There are now no herds of caribou on Nunivak island, but the great quantities of bones and horns testify to their former numbers. The gradual extinction of these animals has caused the natives to depend almost entirely on the sea for their food supply. In recent years the island has been used as a reindeer experiment station for one of the northern reindeer companies. The ease of herding, because the mainland is too far for the animals to swim, the richness of the tundra grass, the abundance of moss, and freedom from ticks which spoil both hides and meat on the mainland, all contribute toward making Nunivak island an ideal place for a reindeer herd. The Biological Survey is watching with interest the crossing of imported caribou bulls with reindeer females. To date the result of this experiment has been a heavier animal and meat of finer texture. The herds wander at will about the interior, being rounded up only once or twice in a season for census, the marking of calves, and the slaughter of a small proportion. Hides are sold at a nominal price to the Eskimo through a small trading station maintained by the company, for there is little commercial demand as yet for reindeer-hides. The skins with light summer hair take the place of the former caribou-skins for making clothing.

Hunters formerly set out in winter with bows and arrows for caribou. When a herd was located, the men worked as closely as possible to windward without being scented, and then, wrapped in their parkas, dug themselves into the snow. When the herd had come quite close, the hunters would rise suddenly. The caribou, which nearly always run up-wind when frightened, would dash by near the hunters, who loosed their arrows and often killed a large number.

In summer the band of hunters divided on sighting a caribou herd. The best hunters stalked to windward and concealed themselves; others, after working to leeward of the herd, stampeded the animals with shouts and yells. The frightened beasts then plunged up-wind before the ready bows of the hunters and many were shot down. The front portions of the kill were divided amongst the hunters and the rear quarters went to the stampedeers.

Caribou were often caught with snares. A brush enclosure was built, one side being left open. Directly opposite this space, in the wall of the other side, a narrow opening was made, on each side of which was a heavy stake, nearly six feet tall, concealed by the brush.



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DUCK-SKIN PARKAS, NUNIVAK

A thick line of sea-lion hide was firmly attached near the top of one of these posts. This line was carried to and passed through a loop in the opposite post, carried down the post through a loop at the bottom, then back a short distance above the ground to and through a loop at the bottom of the first post; thence it ran up this post and was attached in a running noose to the secured end of the line. In form the snare was simply a rope rectangle with a running noose at one corner. The hunter drove one or more animals into the enclosure, where the foremost would endeavor to break through the snared opening. Horns or neck then became tangled in the line, and the more the beast plunged and strove to break away, the tighter the line became. The exhausted animal was then easily killed.

Pits were often dug in snow in these enclosures with a shovel made from the scapula of a whale. Caribou falling into pits could be killed with little difficulty. The animals very often wandered into enclosures, by day or by night, and became entangled without the necessity of the hunter driving them in. Smaller animals, before the day of steel traps, were caught by snare and pitfall. For fox, both white and red, pitfalls were dug with sides sloping steeply away from the opening. The opening was then covered with withes and brush, and bait placed on top. The animal, approaching to seize the bait, crashed through the hole into the pit, where it was readily killed by the hunter. Such pitfalls were watched closely, for should more than one animal tumble in, for instance, a red fox and a white fox together, the red would kill and eat the other.

For puffins, a sinew snare — a loop with a running noose on a four-foot stick — is used. The hunter waits patiently, with snare set over the hole, and quickly tightens the noose when the puffin pops its head above ground.

Where mink and other water animals are known to have holes and runways, a brushwork fence is built triangularly across the stream. At the apex of the triangle a wicker fish-basket, well submerged, is set. The animal attempting to break through the fence finally comes to the apex, looking for an opening. It enters the trap and is drowned.

For land animals which live in holes, a spring snare is set. Near the entrance to the hole a pliant stick is firmly planted. This is bent over and an attached thong is lightly hooked by a trigger under a cross-stick bent across the runway. A noose attached also to the stick is set over the entrance. The lightest touch releases the trigger, the stick springs up, and the luckless animal, caught in the tightened noose, dangles helplessly in air.

Another form of snare is a wooden cylinder set in an underground runway. The inside of the cylinder has a deep groove around one end in which a noose is laid. The free end of the noose passes through a hole and is led above ground to a bent stick. A thong which holds down the stick passes through a hole in the other end of the cylinder, and stretches across the opening and through the bottom of the cylinder, where it is knotted. The animal passing through the runway enters the cylinder. Finding the other end barred by the thong, it gnaws through. This releases the stick, which springs upward and draws the noose tightly about the animal's body.

The Eskimo of Nunivak depend for sustenance mainly on sea animals, fish, birds, berries, and plants indigenous to the region, of which there is a great variety. It is rare indeed to find a family which has not houses and caches well stocked with food in each seasonal hunting and fishing camp. Indeed the population of a village might well be sustained for a year at least by the supplies in hand.

The most important item of food is blubber obtained from sea-lion, seal, and walrus. These animals are killed in the spring during their northward migration, appearing in this order: hair-seal and sea-lion; smaller seal with their young; spotted seal and walrus. They are also slain in the fall when migrating southward. At this time the men owning nets proceed to the seal-netting grounds. The blubber and meat are cut into large steaks and strips, which are hung over the drying racks to cure. A portion of this product may be kept in houses for immediate use, but the greater part is stored away in pokes.

Blubber and oil pokes, the latter containing oil from tried-out walrus- and seal-blubber, are of sealskins. In skinning animals when the skins are to be used as food containers, but one incision is made, that at the head. The filled bags, termed "pokes" throughout the north, are tied tightly at the opening. For storage these are placed in caches in layers, each layer transversely to the next and separated by moss and stones. The caches (*knganīhūt*) are merely shallow pits dug in the unfrozen muck of swamp, down to the frozen ground or ice, the depth usually being from three to four feet.

A common method of preparing blubber, seal or walrus, is to cut long strips and put them in a pot. The pot, or a pair of pots, is set on a fire and the blubber allowed to boil in water until fairly well cooked; then finely minced dock-leaves are added. As soon as the water boils once more, fish-eggs are put in and the whole allowed to

* The mats shown in the accompanying plate are for the protection of the fish at night and during stormy weather.



From Voyage of Discovery, 1925 by G. S. Woods

FISH-DRYING RACKS, NUNIVAK *

cook until the eggs are done. The food, both liquid and solid, is then served in wooden dishes.

In the early summer, cod are caught on hand-lines. The women pack the catch to a suitable spot and there clean the fish. The heads, minus eyes, are split open, as are the cleaned bodies, and both are spread out on rocks near the shore to dry. After this sun curing, bodies and heads separately are strung on lines and stored in houses. At the same time as the cod catch, or shortly after, appear the smelt, which are caught in dip-nets. As many as possible, owing to the great numbers caught, are washed in salt water, strung on lines through the gills, hung over the drying racks (*inítūt*), and put in storage in the houses when cured.

The drying racks consist of two parallel rows, in some instances two or more such series of rows, of upright posts set firmly in the ground and connected at the tops with long poles. At right angles to these poles other poles connect the parallel posts. When the catch of fish is so great as to preclude immediate curing, the remainder, for future use, is put in pits (*akūmiēt*) dug in dry ground, lined with grass and covered with sod.

Midsummer is occupied with salmon- and trout-fishing, first on the coast and later along the streams. On the shore, drag-nets are used, a man at one end and his wife at the other. When filled, the man hauls in his net, hand over hand, until the flopping, wriggling catch is on the beach. When the salmon-run along the coast is over, fish are caught in the streams with hand-lines, dip-nets, and seines. Split heads and eggs are buried in dry, grass-lined and sod-covered pits, while the split bodies, tails tied together, are hung on drying racks and when cured are stored in the houses. Other edible fish caught in fewer numbers than those above mentioned, cured and stored in the same manner, are blackfish, bullheads, dogfish, flounder, halibut, herring, freshwater sardine, and whitefish. Fresh fish must be cooked to be edible, but when dried are usually eaten raw, dipped in oil. Fish put away and frozen in pokes may be eaten raw with oil or cooked after thawing. Mussels and other sea food such as the clam, crab, saltwater snail, and shrimp, are eaten whenever found.

Cowslips, which are picked in the spring as they emerge, are boiled before eating. Willow-leaves, soaked in oil, are laid away in pokes for winter use, at which time they are eaten with dried fish. Dock-leaves are picked and parboiled to softness at the beginning of the rainy season, before they are full grown. Next they are laid away in holes about two feet deep, lined with grass and covered with sod.

These sod covers press the leaves dry. When ready to use, they are minced fine and parboiled, thus making a soup. Sometimes fish-eggs, fish, or oil are added to the soup. Plain dock-leaf soup is often used as a beverage, a tea. Wild-parsnip roots are stripped of outer fibres and picked to the tender inner part, which is eaten by dipping in oil. Lesser items of vegetal foods are sedge, wild cabbage, Alaskan potato, nut plant, fern-roots, Hudson's Bay tea, and lake weed.

Berries are gathered when semi-ripe by the women, who collect them in wooden buckets. Those not used immediately are stored in dry pits, lined with leaves and grass to absorb moisture, and covered with sod. Another form of berry cache is a small box-like structure of flat stones lined with grass and covered with sod until air- and water-tight. The most common berries are blackberries, blueberries, cranberries, and mossberries.

The flesh of birds, either fresh or dried, is eaten usually with oil, or perhaps in a dock-leaf soup. Bird-eggs are consumed either in raw or cooked state. Among the geese are the Canadian Emperor, yellow-legged geese, and brant; of ducks, the eider, broadbill, mallard, pintail, and sprig; of snipe, Wilson's, yellow-leg, sand, red, and lake. Other varieties of birds are auks and auklets, cormorant, hell-divers, loons, ptarmigan, puffins, and sea-parrots.

Wooden pots and bowls (*kūndūt*), vital addenda to culinary implements for cooking and eating, range greatly in size, although shape and methods of construction are similar in all cases. They are usually made by the men in the men's house as a part of the preparations for the Bladder feast. The utensils of larger size are used generally for cooking and for storage purposes, while the smaller ones hold food for immediate consumption. The largest seen was thirty inches long, eleven inches wide, and six inches deep. The smallest was about seven inches long from edge to edge, four inches wide, and three deep; it was rectangular, with rounded ends.

The bottoms of these vessels are of single blocks of wood, hollowed out on the inner surfaces, while the outer surfaces round up to meet the rims. Bottoms comprise from a half to two-thirds or more of the depth of the entire vessel. Rims are made of single wooden strips (*lūnapuh*) steamed and bent into shape to fit the bottoms. The ends of the rims are gradually bevelled and joined together with glue made of seal-blood. Steaming is done while the men take their sweat-bath. The strips, wrapped in wet moss, are laid on hot stones and weighted down with other hot stones; after being thoroughly steamed, they are bent into the required shape. When set on the bottoms, to which

the rims are glued, they project from half an inch to an inch on the outside of the bottom and a quarter to half an inch on the inside, depending on the size of the vessel. The inner rim edges are bevelled, and this slanting surface contains two or more wide, shallow grooves. The completed pot or bowl is painted red with a mixture of iron oxide (*wítuhah*) obtained from Nelson island, and seal-blood. Each is decorated on the inner surface of the bottom with the talismanic mark of the owner and maker. One such bowl had in addition an etched line painted black on the outer rim, drawn completely around the vessel. Another bowl had two parallel lines on the top and bottom of the outside of the rim, and three parallel lines circumscribing the inner surface of the bottom, in addition to the owner's mark.

Much of the fish food, and cooked solid pieces of meat, are taken in the fingers, dipped in oil, and eaten. Liquids and the "salad" of dock-leaf, tallow, meat, berries, and snow, are dipped and eaten with spoons (*kasúchiĭt*). The examples of spoons examined were of wood, in one piece, with long, curved handles and wide, shallow bowls. Spoons vary in size according to the whim of the owner, from a few inches long to the ladle size (*kalútĭt*).

Nunivak basketry (*kǔllĭŋmĭh*) is of the coil type and ranges in size from three to eighteen inches in diameter. The warp of a coil is composed of straight grass fibres bound with a grass woof. The coils are started and wound until a flat bottom is made; then coils are superposed, each projecting slightly above the last, until the maximum circumference has been reached. From this point the basket slopes to the opening. Covers, also of coiled weave, are made to fit snugly. In some instances the cover handle is a loop of braided grass, or else the coils themselves are carried above the cover proper and form a vertical handle.

Decoration is meagre, for the greater part consisting of such simple designs as squares and crosses, usually red in color. These, which are widely spaced and run in rows from top to bottom, are woven into the coils. The coils of some baskets are arranged irregularly to break the monotony. On one such basket the two coils immediately above the greatest circumference slightly undulated. On another basket one coil was in steep waves and occupied the space ordinarily taken up by four coils, thus giving an appearance of open-work. This design was carried out both above and below the maximum circumference.¹

¹ See plate facing page 78.

It is claimed that basketry is a recent innovation, the art having been introduced by an Eskimo from Unalakleet.

While the wearing of wooden masks (*agaíyŭt*) in various festivals and ceremonies forms a part of ritualistic procedure, it is especially difficult to procure any knowledge of their significance chiefly because the customs of the people have become so modified that complete and reliable information as to masks is well-nigh unobtainable. However, it is possible to classify masks into two groups: those of the medicine-men and those of the people in general. The leading medicine-man vaguely asserted: "Our masks are symbolic of the world and all the people. They must not be taken from the men's house. Anybody may wear other masks and take them out. They represent, in our festivals, only what people desire."

Though the masks of medicine-men may, in their meaning, embrace the universe, it is probable that at the same time they represent the particular being or object from which the owners derive their supernatural powers. That such is the case is well illustrated in a story of Manína, heard on Nunivak, Kingisland, and Little Diomedé.¹ Two Nunivak medicine-men's masks are carved in such a way as to bear out the description of the spirit-power in the tale. The face of the male mask (*híjŭh*) is bisected. From a frontal view the red-painted right half appears as half of a normal human face with moustache and one labret hole. The left half, colored blue, has an eyebrow, eye, and complete broad mouth, all set at about forty-five degrees from normal. This mouth, wide and painted red, has a moustache with bristles widely separated, while the teeth are wooden pegs set alternately in upper and lower jaws. Surrounding the face is a thin wooden hoop held in place by three wooden pegs, two jutting out angularly from the forehead and one from the chin. On the top of this hoop, three tail-feathers, about three inches apart, are inset. Two small hands carved from wood and mounted on feathers are next inset, diametrically opposed. Below there are two more feathers, similarly opposite; and last come two feet mounted in the same manner. A corresponding medicine-woman's mask (*ihjŭh*) has the slanting features on the right side.

Both medicine-men's and people's masks (and these latter are carved to represent the normal human face) are facial size and have hoops, hands, feet, and feathers as described above. The ordinary masks, the people's, were all painted red, the point of differentiation between those of men and women seemingly lying in the moustaches

¹ See page 124.



From Copyright Photograph 1928 by E. Curtis

NUNIVAK YOUTH

of men's masks. Both display labret and tattoo designs. The significance, outside of the vague explanation by the medicine-man, was unobtainable.

Of maskettes there are very many. Those seen on Nunivak are for wear on the forehead. The common forms are the heads of animals, birds, or fish mounted on hoops or head-bands of a size to fit the head. One such, a fowl maskette (*túngumihslúküh*), was the head of a predatory bird bearing a fish in its mouth. The bird's head, fish, and hoop were colored blue. The eyes, mouth, and nostrils of the bird, and eyes, mouth, and fins of the fish, were etched or outlined in red. Two carved wings were mounted on feathers about three inches long, stuck into the hoop. A miniature spear, feather-mounted, was stuck in the top of the bird's head. Three tail-feathers, two diametrically opposed on each side and one in the rear, were inserted on the hoop.

A seal maskette (*tákokūmra*), mounted similarly on a wooden head-band, was in the form of a seal's head, with wooden ears and ivory buttons for eye pupils. The flippers were mounted on feathers and the quill-ends were inserted in the sides of the seal head. Mouth and eye outlines were painted red, nostrils were burned in, while the whiskers were represented by simple carved lines. A miniature feather-mounted spear was stuck in the head.

A third masquette examined had a hoop, with arms, legs, and feathers, attached in a manner similar to the large masks. This one in miniature, the hoop only about six inches in diameter, was to be held on the forehead by means of a thong passing around the head. It (*palóhtüh*) was a grotesque caricature of a beaver. Above the slanting supraorbital ridge it was painted blue, with black eyebrows; the cranial ridge was in high relief, and the remainder of the face was colored red. In its wide, grinning mouth, between four peg teeth, it held a fish by the tail.

It is probable that these maskettes are representative of the spirit-powers of their owners and that when worn the owner is believed to be imbued with the spirit of the animal, bird, fish, or object which his maskette may depict.

The drums, used chiefly in the winter ceremonies, vary in diameter from a foot to five feet, but the method of construction for all is similar. These single-headed and narrow-framed instruments are in reality tambourines.¹ The frame of a drum is a two-sectioned hoop; the diameter of the one in the illustration is three feet six inches,

¹ See folio plate 692.

three inches wide and half an inch thick. At the points of union, the ends, one overlapping the other, are gradually thinned so that the joints are uniform in thickness with the rest of the hoop. The joints cover about twelve inches each of hoop circumference, and the ends are fastened tightly with root withes which pass through several bored holes. On the outer circumference is a shallow groove an inch wide to hold the head in place, a groove formed by two raised, carved ridges an eighth of an inch high.

The handle, about fourteen inches long, has one end carved into the head of a bird, the talismanic mark of the owner, tapering from this point to a size suited to the hand. On the top of the head is a slot about an inch deep into which the hoop rim fits snugly. For ease in holding, a thong of sinew or a willow withe is passed through a hole near the end of the handle, forming a loop through which the hand may be thrust.

The drumhead is of walrus stomach or bladder, carefully scraped and cleaned. This is put on while wet and is held in place with a long line which passes several times around the grooved hoop and is fastened at the end to the handle. When the head is loosely in place, it is tightened as much as possible by pulling up the edges under the cord, working gradually around the hoop. As the head dries, in sunlight or over a fire, it becomes very tight. When the drum is beaten, it is held in a position varying from horizontal to vertical, and the owner raises and lowers it as he beats upon it with a wand. The beating, either from beneath or above, gives forth a resonant sound depending in pitch upon the diameter of the drum, the largest producing a deep bass tone.

The lesser tools used by men, such as small adzes, awls, chisels, drills, and punches, usually remain by the owner's place in the men's house. These are kept in wooden boxes about twelve or fifteen inches long by six inches wide and deep, the sides of which are formed by dovetailing, while the bottoms are pegged through to the sides, although in recent times nails and screws have come into use. Sinew and rawhide are widely used for the cover hinges. Many of the boxes are plain, while others are painted the conventional red and bear the owner's talismanic mark inside the cover.

The adze (*kábun*), for chipping bone or ivory, has a flat blade about an inch in width, set on a haft of wood, bone, or ivory. The wood-cutting adze carries a blade as wide as four inches; it is made of a steel axe-blade, of saw steel, or of hoop-iron set in a wooden haft and lashed in place with rawhide. Other adzes, with wood or horn

blades and wooden hafts, serve as ice-picks, root-picks, or as sod-cutters for use in building houses.

Chisels, for splitting small pieces of wood, for incising grooves, especially in carving, are of bone or horn. These, from eight to ten inches long, are round-pointed. In these times chisels are often edged in the white man's manner and set in the shafts.

Three main parts comprise the drill (*pátüh*). The drill proper is a shaft with a point of metal or of flint inset and lashed firmly. The tapered upper end of the drill fits into a hole in the cap. The cap is a crescentic piece of wood or bone having a projection on the concave side wide and long enough to be held firmly in the teeth. On the convex side is the hole for the insertion of the drill. By means of the cap the craftsman is enabled to hold the drill in place with his mouth, leaving the hands free for the manipulation of the draw-string (*kaiiútüh*), which has a handle at each end. This is passed twice around the drill-shaft, and the worker, grasping the handles, rapidly twirls the drill. Another method is to hold the drill in position with one hand and to bear on the cap and twirl the drill by means of a bow. In former times fire was made with the bow-drill (*chúkichúki*). To hasten the spark, powdered charcoal was dusted into the slot in which the drill revolved. The glowing coal was then deposited in a tinder of oil-soaked moss, and wood was piled on when it had ignited sufficiently. Later, when flint-and-steel were introduced, sedgegrass cotton was used as tinder.

Knives (*chówih*) for woodworking have blades ranging in length from an inch to four inches, lashed in ivory, horn, or wooden hafts with sinew or rawhide. The blades, bevelled on one side only, have edges similar to chisel-edges. They are made of saw-steel or hoop-iron, the flat side curved to fit thumb and forefinger which are laid along either side of the blade. While using these knives, men wear leather coverings on thumb and forefinger, held in place by thongs passing about the wrists. Knives are used for carving and finishing a great variety of wooden implements: shafts for harpoons, spears, and arrows; bows, net-floats, umiak and kaiak frames, drum-hoops, dishes, masks, *et cetera*. The rough work, the blocking out, is done with the adze, while for the finishing process the knife is employed. As a rule the Eskimo are clever and skilful woodworkers.

Other tools commonly in use are ivory wedges; ivory, bone, or steel punches, and awls for etching. In etching, the outlines of the design are scratched with an awl; they are then smeared with soot that they may be plainly discernible, and carved with knife and chisel.

Women keep small objects used mainly in sewing, such as needle-cases, bodkins, thimbles, sinew-twisters, and threaders, in "housewives" (*tûkiwîh*). One such receptacle was about fourteen inches long by seven wide. The backing was of soft-tanned leather with an outside covering of salmon-skin, and the several pockets sewn on the leather were of caribou-ears. The borders of the "housewife" and the edges of the pockets were trimmed with freeze-tanned seal intestine. A beaded thong for tying passed around the rolled-up kit. Other examples bore decorations of colored clothwork or beads around borders and pocket edges.

The most common form of needle-cases (*chîkîwîh*) are those made from ivory or the hollow wing-bones of large birds. The ivory is bored out and the outside carved or etched to resemble an animal or a bird. The closed end is carved, for instance, into a seal's tail, while the carved stopper forms the head. A hollow wing-bone needle-case is plugged at each end with a stopper representing the head and tail, respectively, of some bird or animal.

Steel bodkins for punching holes for sewing, and triangular steel needles, are in use today. Formerly sharp-pointed bodkins with intricately carved handles were made of ivory, bone, or horn, while needles (*chîkût*) were of bone, commonly the ulnæ of loon's wings.

Thimbles (*kuniûtût*) are rudely formed from small, tough, oval pieces of sealskin commonly taken from old kaiak-covers. A strap is formed by cutting a slit close to one edge, through which the forefinger is thrust. This narrow strip crosses the nail and serves to hold the leather in place on the inner side of the finger.

Boot-crimpers (*tûhqasun*), used for crimping heels and toes of boot-soles, are flat pieces of ivory about seven inches long. One edge is straight, while the other is an asymmetrical crescent. The wide horn of the crescent runs up abruptly to meet the upper edge, while the narrow horn meets the upper edge gradually and ends in a sharp point. This point is used to pull stitches, while the opposite blunt edge is the crimper. The flat sides may be either carved or etched with the family marks, figures of birds or animals, or scenes representing Eskimo life.

Sewing sinew (*iwâlu*) is shredded from fibres taken from the legs and back of reindeer or caribou. The shredders consist of ivory handles carved into animal or fish shapes, with eyes and feet or flippers etched in. In the mouths are inserted steel points to separate the sinew fibres. Larger line (such as that used for harpoons), heavy thongs, and lines for nets, are continuous strips often cut from the



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ЈУКУЌ, NUNIVAK

entire skins of seal and walrus. To insure uniform thickness, the line, after being stretched and dried, is passed through an ivory gauge (*tállun*) — merely a square hole in the end of an ivory handle. An ivory implement, one end fashioned similar to a buttonhook, is used to draw line through punched holes in sewing kaiak-covers. The flat handle may be used to straighten out snarls in the line.

Women's knives vary greatly in size, depending on their use, but are similar in shape. The blades are crescentic, honed until very sharp, and are made of saw-steel or iron. From the crescent horns the edges of the flat sides converge gradually until they reach the horn, ivory, or wooden handle. In skinning game, separating hides into layers, or cutting meat or fish, the knife (large, *ũhschlátigútliluh*; small, *ulugúhwũh*) is held almost horizontally and a wrist motion toward the body is employed. Flensing knives of stone or iron are made in the manner of the men's knives.

Small skimmers — hoops about two feet in diameter with root nets attached to short handles — are used by women to skim slush from water-holes.

Urine, the uses of which are many, is collected from the containers in the men's house only (since that of women is believed to be unclean), to be stored in tubs for at least two days before using.

Women, in taking their baths, which are individual because the collective sweat-bath is confined to the men only, first bathe in urine, followed by a rinsing in either salt or fresh water. Both sexes frequently wash hands and faces in urine, and rinse with water; for urine, coming into contact with the body oils, acts as soap in removing grease and other impurities. The men, when about to take a sweat-bath, which is held frequently during the winter months but is not ordinarily ceremonial or purificatory in nature, gather in the men's house. There the floor boards are removed and a roaring fire built in the pit. When only glowing coals remain, the entranceway and smoke-hole are tightly covered to keep in the heat. Men and boys sit or lie in their places, completely naked except for perhaps a bird-skin cap as a head protection from the heat. The temperature rises to such a degree that respirators are necessary. These are of willow withes or shavings tightly woven together; in size about four square inches; in shape oval with a wooden pin placed horizontally in the centre of the concave side that the wearer may easily clench the device between his teeth. The participants, soon drenched with perspiration, bathe themselves with urine from the central pot (*kũn*). After their bodies are aglow and all have sufficiently bathed, the

smoke-hole and doors are opened, floor-boards are replaced, and all repair outside where they rinse with either fresh or salt water. In winter the bathers often roll in snow or pour ice-cold water over their bodies, seemingly suffering no ill effects from the sudden and tremendous change of temperature. Indeed it might be argued with much truth that the profuse perspiration is very beneficial in aiding kidneys and skin to eliminate bodily poisons.

Sugar of urine, a white precipitate, scraped from the bottoms of urine pots, is taken internally for medicinal purposes by people suffering from lung ailments, especially tuberculosis.

Urine is further used as a soap to remove grease and other impurities from clothing; to clean the coverings of newly made kaiaks or those of old ones preparatory to oiling. In the curing and tanning of hides, urine is an essential ingredient, for it removes grease, oil, and particles of flesh from skins and soaks off hair. Soaking in urine renders dried hides pliable and easily worked. The smoking of bird-skins, or of any skin, tends toward hardening, hence urine is used as a softening agent before the actual tanning process is begun, because it does not remove feathers, although it attacks hair.

In the tanning process, caribou- (now reindeer-) skins are first pegged down and the hide stretched as carefully as possible. After the skin has dried, it is soaked with urine, then scraped with flensing knives to remove the loosened dirt, blood, and flesh particles. Following the flensing, ground-up lava is sprinkled on the hide, which is then carefully worked by hand. In this manner the grit removes any clinging flesh particles and the working renders the hide soft and pliable. The hides of young caribou undergo the same process of drying, soaking, and cleaning. The skins are oiled and tied in bundles, two to a bundle, and rolled hide to hide, hair-side outward, and left overnight. Each is then stretched and thoroughly dried, after which it is smoked until hard and brittle. While in this condition another scraping, very light, takes place; this breaks the grain of the leather and covers the epidermis at the roots of the hair with innumerable fine cracks, a process which makes the skin very pliable. After another and more vigorous scraping, warm fish-eggs are rubbed into the skin; it is again rolled up and then worked with the hands until dry and soft. Skins so treated become very soft and pliable, with a gleaming white inner surface.

Small seal, after the heads have been cut off, are usually skinned, without splitting, by peeling off the hide as one would take off a glove. The skins are scraped down to the grain and allowed to dry. The



Qajaqsut, Nuniavak, 1928 by E. S. Davis

rinsing, after the urine soaking and before the scraping, is with snow rather than with water in winter. Such a skin after tanning may be split open and the hide used for boats and other purposes. In preparing small seal for air-floats, care is taken not to tear the skin near the flippers. The scraped and dried skin is turned hair-side outward, the neck-opening sealed, and a hollow tube with a plug for inflation lashed into the anal opening. Sealskins for pokes, removed in this manner, are washed thoroughly, but not scraped; then, with the hair-side inward, they are ready for use. When no longer suitable for use as pokes, they are cut up for boot-soles or for the legs of waterproof boots. Sealskins for water boots are scraped and dried, then turned hair-side outward. A wooden arch, but slightly crescentic, is inserted in the neck-opening. One end of the arch is almost vertical for eight inches, and from that point it curves slightly for about two feet. In removing the hair, a woman sits astride the skin with the arch inside, and after rubbing sand and ashes well into the hair, scrapes off the fur with a hardwood scraper.

Large hair-seal and sea-lion are split open when skinned; the skin is then soaked in urine and scraped. Sometimes the hair is removed, at other times not, depending on the intended use. Next the skin is stretched on a square framework of four poles lashed together, the hide being secured with thongs which pass through holes in the hide a few inches apart and around the poles. Often two hides, one superposed on the other, are stretched and dried at the same time. The framework usually rests on four supports, two lower than the others, faced to secure a maximum amount of sunlight. When removed from the frame, the skin is ready for use.

Young hair-seal skins, after preliminary scraping and dehairing, are twisted by hand with two sticks, then stretched lengthwise and dried. After drying, or at such time when need arises for their use, they are soaked in water for three days and taken to the men's house, where they are again scraped and rinsed. Now they are ready for use as kaiak-coverings, and while wet are cut to size and sewn together.

After walrus-hide has been scraped and dehaired, it is split in two sheets, the one being of a thickness varying from an eighth to a quarter of an inch. Both sheets are pegged out and stretched as tightly as possible until thoroughly dried. The thinner sheet is then used for kaiak- and umiak-covers. The larger sheet is cut into a long line and stretched out to dry between poles (*īkiútūt*). When dry, the line is soaked in water, restrung, and stretched. This process is

repeated four times to take all the stretch out of the line.¹ The finished line is used mainly for tug-lines on nets.

The hind-quarter portion of the young hair-seal skin is cut up into a line about a quarter of an inch thick and treated in the same manner as the walrus line described. After the final stretching, it is passed through an ivory gauge to give it uniform thickness and shape. It is then wound tightly on a wooden drum, which not only keeps the line dry, but gives it a natural coil, so that it will run out freely when attached to a hurled harpoon and prevent snarling which might result in a miscast.

When women receive intestines of walrus and seal, they strip off, as much as possible, the outside adhering tissue and ligaments with their fingers. Next they are bloated with salt water, and scraped outside with clam- or mussel-shells to remove the flesh adhering to the outside, and to loosen any solid matter, congealed intestinal juices, or blood-clots on the inside. For this latter purpose the women also employ horn rings set on handles, the rings having a diameter of from an inch to two and a half inches. To remove this material, the intestine is filled with urine, which is changed daily for several days. The outside is also treated with urine. Then follow a thorough rinsing with salt water and soaking in water for five days, making the long coils of gut clean and pliable. When it becomes white through the action of the uric acid, it is stretched on the ground and dried. The dried intestine is then cut open, the cut following the outside of the curves, and is ready for use in making waterproof parkas and ground blankets.

Life on Nunivak island, of necessity highly seasonal, follows a routine which varies but slightly from year to year. In fact, any variation arises from natural causes, such as a late seal- or fish-run, which crowds the activities of one season into those of another; or a small seasonal catch which minimizes that particular season's occupations. Hence the twelve seasons of the Nunivak year, which are not lunar, but follow the dictates of nature, are elastic. The following enumeration of seasons contains a brief synopsis of activities occurring during these periods.

Dūnkelloyúh ("worst of the moon," about January). This first season of the year, which bears the same name as the last, is a time for story-telling and the preparation for and holding of the Bladder feast. Many foot-races are held, in which the father of a winning contestant, or any old man, offers gifts which are divided among the

¹ See plate facing page 62.

old men and women. The races are held in honor of the dead, and it is believed that spirits accompany the runners; hence the distribution of gifts pleases and placates these spirits of the dead. After a race the contestants are given homilies and lectures in the men's house.

Qigítánit ("mother of rivers"; literally, "when-rivers-and-streams-begin-to-open-up," or "when-the-ice-breaks-up"). The first part of *Qigítánit* is devoted to the New Kaiak ceremony, in which the kaiaks for the forthcoming seal season are made. Following this ceremony is the Messenger feast, when visitors from the villages invited come during the full of the moon.

Takókit-tánokët ("when young seals are born"). At this time the people leave the winter village and proceed to the spring fishing camp. Before the seal-hunt takes place, the new kaiaks are set on racks, bows seaward, and a ceremony held — The Consecration of the New Kaiaks.

Tĩñóttik-tánokët ("sea-fowl appear"). This season is devoted almost entirely to the hunting of sea-fowl, such as auks, sea-parrots, and tufted puffins. During this period, when men, dressed in new clothing and with new kaiaks, engage in catching hair-seal, a seal ceremony is held.

Tĩnméarūt-tánokët ("land-fowl appear," about July). As the last of the ice goes out, land-birds, ducks, geese, and cranes, come north. When a child catches his first bird, a ceremony is held — The First Bird-catch ceremony. Not only are fowl caught, but now the main sealing season begins as these animals migrate northward. First come the hair-seal and sea-lion, next smaller seal with their young, followed last by spotted seal and walrus.

Tĩnméyakat-tĩñutit-tánokët ("young fowl are hatched and fly"). At this time eggs are gathered; seal-oil is tried out and put in pokes; seal, walrus, and bird meat is dried and stored away. The latter part of the season is occupied with cod, salmon, and trout fishing.

Aspájozwih-tũnokih ("hawks fly south"). In this period berries and dock-leaves are picked and stored; the beach is combed for driftwood, which is cut, piled, and dried for winter use; and trout seines are set upstream on small rivers.

Tilánmaiózwih-tũnokih ("puffins fly south"). Grass of two kinds is gathered: one of long and strong fibres growing on the margins of lakes and ponds is woven into ropes and boot socks; the other, found growing on sand dunes, is woven into matting. Fish is dried and stored away. Houses are repaired.

Kokklíhawih-tũnokih ("going toward running-nose season," early fall). Men go up the river for salmon trout and store away the catch in dry sod caches. After seal-nets are overhauled, the people move to the netting grounds for the southward seal migration.

Nũnwahlachíikutit-tánokët ("ponds are freezing"). Swamp moss, which, because of its absorbent quality, has many uses, is gathered and dried. This moss is used for bathing and drying babies, for

diapers and menstruation pads, for packing foodstuffs, for padding boots, and padding house walls. Seal-nets are set at this time, because freezing water aids in preventing decay. Those who have no seal-nets, seine for tomcod, which are put into pokes and allowed to freeze. As it freezes, the meat cures and excess water freezes out of the meat tissue. Then in the winter the frozen meat may be thawed and eaten. Wood is hauled home in kaiaks before the freeze-up.

Imūmuguti-tānokēt ("when the ocean closes up"). When there is no more open water, nets are pulled in and the catch hauled on sleds to caches and stored. The people move to the winter village.

Dūnkelloyūh ("worst of the moon"). Because of the short days, most of the people work inside, the men carving wood for kaiak frames, weapons, and dishes; the women sewing and working on furs and skins. This is a period of repair and preparation for coming hunting seasons. Women spear fish through the ice; and young men, sometimes with their wives, trap fox, the trap-lines extending only a few miles from the village. In the latter part of the season the Division of Men and Women feast is held.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS

A Nunivak village is composed of small family groups, each headed by the father or the grandfather, an arrangement which is in accord with the prevalent marriage custom whereby a newly married man is accepted as a member of his wife's family. No evidence was obtained in regard to a division of a village into clans, gentes, or bands, although the two or more men's houses in a single village in former times might indicate such a social condition to have existed. There is no actual chief or ruler of a village, although some one man, noted for wisdom, knowledge of ceremonial rules and precepts, or for hunting ability, is often recognized as a headman (*ūñaiyūkah*), a counsellor and advisor to all who seek him. His decisions are ever respected, but are not always acted upon. Such a man, of strong and dominant character, or one noted as a powerful medicine-man, might become absolute in power, ruling through might and awe, as many of the legends attest.

It is usually customary for a man to choose and woo the woman of his desire. After she has been won and the respective parents notified, her father carries goods, as much as he thinks his daughter is worth, to the men's house, where he exchanges them for an amount of firewood of equal value from any of the men present; for wood, the only source of which is drift, commands a high price in barter. The father then gives a sweat-bath to all the occupants of the men's



Kayak on Rack, Nunivak

KAYAK ON RACK, NUNIVAK

house. After the bath, the women bring food for their husbands, and the bride places food before the man of her choice. This act of bringing food constitutes the marriage ceremony. Marriage is sometimes arranged by the heads of families, but in each instance the consent of the prospective couple must be obtained. Often before the marriage occurs, the man and woman exchange gifts. After they are wedded, the man, although he usually lives in the men's house, is considered a member of his wife's family. Exchange of wives is not common among the Nunivak people. In rare instances it may take place, as when two youths, perhaps brothers, reared together and close comrades, marry and exchange wives from time to time. The purpose is to make exact paternity doubtful, so that the children of both families will consider themselves brothers and sisters together and be as close in spirit as were their fathers.

The usual causes for a man to divorce his wife are failure to perform her household duties, disobedience to her husband or even to her parents, or adultery. The procedure is for the husband to call together his wife's relatives, and before them, and in the presence of his wife, to announce the reason for his leaving. He then goes to his own family or relatives, of whom he is once more considered a member. A woman, if her husband fails to provide, if he has committed adultery, or if the couple are unable to live together harmoniously, divorces her husband by refusing to carry food to him in the men's house.

For a period of three days after a birth, the members of a family must engage in no work and must remain very quiet. After this time the father carries barter goods to the men's house, which he exchanges there for firewood. Friends bring in berries, of which some are cast on the floor in sacrifice, while those present pray that the new-born child may grow to be a good hunter, if a boy, or a good worker in skins and foodstuffs, if a girl. The father then offers the bartered wood for use in a sweat-bath. Since only goodwill and friendship must exist at a sweat-bath, any enemy of the father, the donor, must absent himself.

The first-born, if a boy, is given the father's name; if a girl, the mother's name. A parent is then called "The father of ——" or "The mother of ——" Succeeding children bear the names of relatives. Should the parents die childless, their names, perhaps handed down for generations, are lost to that family, though they might continue in the village should relatives give those names to any of their children. No ceremony is held in connection with the

naming of children, nor are names given in adult life in recognition of noteworthy deeds.

A person dying, or dead, at night has a light placed before him. The body, if that of a man, is dressed as if for distant travel in his finest hunting costume, with the waterproof parka; if a woman, in her best clothing. The body, legs drawn up, is then lashed inside a large hair-seal hide and lifted by cords through the smoke-hole. The corpse is removed from the house as soon as possible, that it may proceed at once on the "spirit road," and taken to a burial place, selected by the relatives, outside the village. At Cape Etolin graves are placed along the edge of a bluff overlooking the village. The body, face to the east, is then put in a wooden grave-box about four feet square by about two feet deep, and placed on posts about three feet high, one at each corner. Inside the box, with the body, are laid food, dishes, and tools. If the deceased be a male, his kaiak, sled, spears, and hunting gear are piled on the box or on the ground, or both. In the vicinity of Nash Harbor it was customary to lay the body extended, face to the east, in a shallow grave. The body, with food, utensils, and implements, was then surrounded with stones, in a roughly oval shape, and covered with earth and stones.

The prevalent belief is that the spirit hovers about the village for forty days before departure, but during that time it is harmless and often visible. At the end of that period the spirit loses all consciousness for a time, but awakes to find itself in a land of spirits among whom are many who have never existed in human form or been on earth. The location of this land is vague and indefinite. Those dying of violence go to this place "somewhere," as do the spirits of those who drown. These latter, however, travel with the wind until their clothing is blown off before they can proceed to the spirit land. The spirits of people who have led evil lives go somewhere below.

The actual number of games played by the Nunivak Eskimo, that is, the variety, is small. During the ceremonies, such as the Bladder feast, foot-races occur, and in the Division of Men and Women feast there is a tug-of-war between the sexes wherein the women attempt to drag the men from the men's house. Singing and dancing during ceremonies, as well as feasting, form diversions. During the long winter nights, stories of valiant deeds, hunting experiences, legends, and myths, are related. Small children play with dolls and imitate the work of their elders, and boys practise with weapons to fit them for hunting careers. The few games noted, and which are accompanied with much betting, are as follow:

The sand-bag game is played between men and women, the one opposing the other. A small skin stuffed with sand is tossed up, the object of each side being to retain it as long as possible, preventing the other side from obtaining the ball by passing it quickly from one player to another. This game may continue for hours.

Another amusement is the tossing of individuals in a blanket. Those cast in the air endeavor to gain an upright position and come down on their feet.

A popular diversion is rope-jumping. While two men swing the rope, two loops one way and then reversing the motion for two loops, three contestants jump. The one remaining longest without stopping the rope's movement wins.

In the wand game, four contestants, two on a side, cast wands at a mark set between them about twenty feet away. Each side throws ten wands from a kneeling position. The cast nearest the mark wins for that side which then possesses all the wands.

An interesting intimate glimpse into Eskimo life is contained in the following fragmentary narrative related by an old woman recalling the days of her childhood:

When I was a child, my relatives took me to a large spring fishing camp where many kaiaks were up on stilts. Arrived there, a woman carried me on her back to the women's house, where they were preparing food for their men. But that winter we nearly starved, and all food had to be divided equally. Then in the spring, seal and walrus came in abundance, so that there was a great repairing of gear and mending of nets. I asked the men why they worked so hard. They answered: "Seal and walrus have broken our nets in many places. We must repair them for the next catch."

I stayed with my grandmother. After the snow melted and roots began to grow, all the women went out to dig fern-bulbs, which we ate raw with oil. One day when the women were cutting up walrus, I saw my father land his heavily laden kaiak. Women and boys met him to help unload; but one boy ran home crying when my father said that his partner would never return, that he was drowned.

In the men's house my father told the tale: "As we paddled along, a walrus suddenly came up close to my friend. I called to him not to harpoon, but to paddle away as fast as he could; but my friend would not heed my warning and cast his heavy spear. Then the walrus punched holes with his tusks in the kaiak, until it overturned. It seized my friend between its flippers and dragged him screaming and struggling beneath the sea. His yells became gurgles, and soon the last bubbles ceased to come up. I was powerless to help. I waited. In a short time the walrus broke surface, still holding my friend and rubbing his whiskers against my friend's face. Again the walrus

dived. That is the last I saw of my friend. I brought home his weapons."

I looked at the drowned man's gear and saw the holes in the air-float and the cut line where the walrus had used his tusks. Near noon, while the women were blowing air into gut before curing, people began to shout and run to the shore. Something was drifting in, blown by the wind. It was the kaiak of my father's partner, still carrying its load of meat.

Many seal and walrus were killed, and some of the men drove a beluga into shallow water and harpooned it. Then the men put up racks for drying the meat, while the women sewed pokes of walrus-hide. We packed the pokes first with a layer of meat and then a layer of blubber until they were filled. Other pokes were filled with oil. These the women rolled into holes in the ground, putting in a layer of oil pokes on the bottom and then a layer of meat pokes until they had enough in the cache. These holes fill with water in the summer, but drain in the winter, so that the supply keeps. In winter we take out the pokes as we need them.

A few days later I heard a great commotion and ran to the beach where all the people were. I was afraid, and hung back, but I learned that the drowned man's body had been washed ashore. His relatives stripped off all his clothes and boiled them, because that drives away evil spirits. Then they put new clothes on him. A man tied a child's outfit of parka, mittens, and boots on the body, saying, "When you get up there, give these to my child." I asked my grandmother why he said that, and she replied: "That man had a child who was drowned. Relatives always give things to a drowned man's body, that he may give them to those who, drowned, have gone before." Then I saw others hang things on the body. The people then propped the body up, stiff-legged, with arms outstretched and walking-sticks in both hands, as if he were ready to go somewhere. They piled all his clothes and weapons and his kaiak about him, and much drift-wood. When this was set ablaze, the body melted like a lump of fat. My grandmother said that people worked fast with the body in order to get it started on its journey as soon as possible.

One night I was awakened by a man who said that my father had sent from that point of land in the bight. I dressed and carried food to him. There I found nearly all the village netting a herring-run. Even people who did not own nets were taking herring from them. The run lasted a long while, and we built shelters on the beach. We girls and women picked up seaweed with herring's eggs stuck to it. These we dried on the rocks. We filled pokes with cooked herring strips and oil.

That winter the men made masks and dance equipment, and composed new songs. Much food was collected and stored away. When I heard a great drumming and singing in the men's house, I knew that messengers had been sent with invitations to the people on Nelson island. My grandmother told me that the messengers



From Campyngton Photographs, 1928 by P. C. Campyngton

KALAK WITH SEAL HUNTING EQUIPMENT, NUNIVAK

would bear greetings from people of our village, asking people there for gifts.

One day, just as my father had finished making a kaiak, the messengers returned and went to both men's houses. There they delivered messages, asking our people for gifts. Next day I heard a great shout, "Kaiak! Kaiak!" and knew that our visitors were coming. My people paddled out at full speed to meet them, and they and the visitors raced back with much yelling, and with spray flying from the flashing paddles. One Nelson Island man turned his blade the wrong way and capsized. The visitors claimed they lost the race because of this man.

The Nelson islanders all landed at one point, and those who had umiaks used them for shelters. We carried much food to them — berries and caribou-fat mixed with snow. Our men stood the visitors in small groups, passed a line about them, and dragged them to the men's houses. Thus were they welcomed. There our people set up a pole and loaded it with many skins and articles of great value. A Nelson Island woman, accompanied by drumming and singing, danced around the pole, while her husband put on it gifts of equal value. Then one of our people had to cover its value. We lost the pole and gifts when we could no longer cover their value. Then our people presented the gifts which the Nelson Island people had asked for by messenger.

The next night, the visitors, dressed in their best, gave our people whatever we had asked for, starting with the oldest and coming down to the youngest. They then gave a dance for our people and sang their new songs. Their headman gave our headman a new outfit of clothes. We all feasted, and later went to the fishing camp.

In the bird-hunting season we used the skins for parkas; we ate the flesh and the eggs. Then also we dug up wild cabbage with sticks. We washed it clean and ate it raw or cooked with oil. We caught cormorants, auks, sea-parrots, and puffins with nets. The men climbed down cliffs on lines and flung out long nets which the birds flew into. Many were caught in this way.

I next went with my family to Cape Mendenhall in the fall, when we picked berries, grasses, and moss for the winter. Then we moved to Cape Mohican, but it is very dangerous to go around there, because of strong winds and breakers. There we had to pack water over the cliffs in seal pokes. We went to Nash Harbor, catching seal on the way, and there I saw most of the people on the beach cutting up a dead walrus which had been washed ashore. My grandmother and I returned to our own village overland. It was now winter; the ice had frozen over the nets, so that people had to fish through holes.

During the winter the men made much new gear and began to prepare for the Bladder feast. They had already started in the fall. The younger people, in order to have their elders wish them good luck, gave away food every night — berries, dried fish, and fish that had been stored away in oil.

WARFARE

Warfare, which is quite rare, since the Nunivak people are peaceably inclined, is entirely unorganized. Offensive fighting, when engaged in, is usually the result of a desire for revenge against a village or other smaller group of people. When an offensive is to be begun, some man makes a small war-arrow and carries it to the men's house, where he thrusts it into the middle of the floor. Then all the adults and youths prepare to descend by kaiaks upon the enemy. The attacking party, stealthily and at night, advances to the sleeping villagers, and bowmen are posted at all doors and smoke-holes. As the people inside are being shot down by those at the smoke-hole, the survivors endeavor to escape by the door, where they meet with a volley from the warriors outside. The invaders aim to exterminate all male adults, kill or capture the women, and make prisoners of the children. They do not scalp or take head trophies. The children are adopted and reared by the families of their captors, and possess the same privileges as other members of the families. That villages were not always surprised is shown by the following narrative:

A Nunivak village, desiring to wage war against a village at the mouth of the Yukon, decided to invite the Nelson islanders to become allies. Before proceeding by kaiak to the mainland, the allies held a big dance. As the flotilla neared the mainland, they were seen by the people of the Yukon village, who immediately sent out messengers to neighboring villagers for aid.

During the night, the allied Nunivak and Nelson Island people crept close to the watchful village to attack at dawn, unaware that their enemy was prepared. As day broke, before the allies could cover doors and smoke-holes by the customary tactics, the Yukon warriors rushed out and gave battle. While the fight raged about the houses, one party of the Nunivak succeeded in besieging a men's house. Those inside were so densely packed together that they had to hold their weapons overhead to make room. The continuous rain of arrows through the smoke-hole making the place untenable, the survivors rushed to the door, some succeeding in breaking through the enemy bowmen at the entrance.

For a time both sides held their ground; then the warriors from other villages, summoned by scouts, came to the rescue of the Yukon people and the combined forces put to rout the Nunivak and Nelson islanders, killing nearly all. The survivors ran for their kaiaks and quickly paddled out of range. Until they were out of earshot they heard shouts of triumph and jeers and yells to them: "You Nunivak people go home in your big kaiaks! You do not know how to fight! If you come back we shall feed you to the dogs!"



Storm Boatwright Photograph 1928 by G. C. Burt

READY FOR THE THROW, NUNIVAK

The villages of Nunivak, however, did not always take the offensive. In their turn they were raided. A story of an invasion and immediate revenge follows:

One evening at Cape Etolin a woman, wandering outside the village, saw, or thought she saw, strange faces peeping from behind a knoll. Frightened, she rushed to the women's house and told her tale. One old woman advised: "Say nothing to the people of what you have seen, because they may become excited. What you saw were probably foxes, which look like humans at this time of year."

The next morning, after all the men had left, as usual, to hunt, the enemy from the mainland burst upon the defenseless village. They entered all the houses and killed the women and children. Some of the bodies they wrapped in sealskins and threw them into the fires. Most of the children were hurled into a pond of stagnant tundra water. The enemy tied thongs to the arms and legs of one old man and pulled him limb from limb. One boy thrown in the pond pretended to drown, but later made his escape. The enemy then took one promising youth and departed for the mainland. Once there, quickened by success, they made immediate preparations for another raid, this time to the northward.

Meanwhile the Nunivak men, observing the haze of smoke, hurried home and gazed in helpless rage upon the devastation wrought by the enemy. A hasty council of war was held, and heavily armed they set out in swift pursuit. As they neared the shore, still far out, the captive Nunivak youth and a companion spied them. The heart of the Nunivak captive beat fast in anticipation of freedom and revenge, but he carefully concealed his emotion. His companion pointed, and cried: "Look! Those are kaiaks!"

"No," evaded the Nunivak, "those are sea-gulls."

When night fell, the youth crept silently from the village and met two scouts, to whom he reported that all the men had gone north. Then the Nunivak men wreaked heavy revenge. They burned all the houses and killed every remaining inhabitant, sparing none. They went home, the elation of victory saddened by their own loss.

Among the villagers themselves there was little violence. Quarrels were settled by combat between the two involved. No punishment followed for a killing in fair fight, though a murder would be avenged by friends or relatives of the deceased. Within the memory of the oldest informants there has been no suicide.

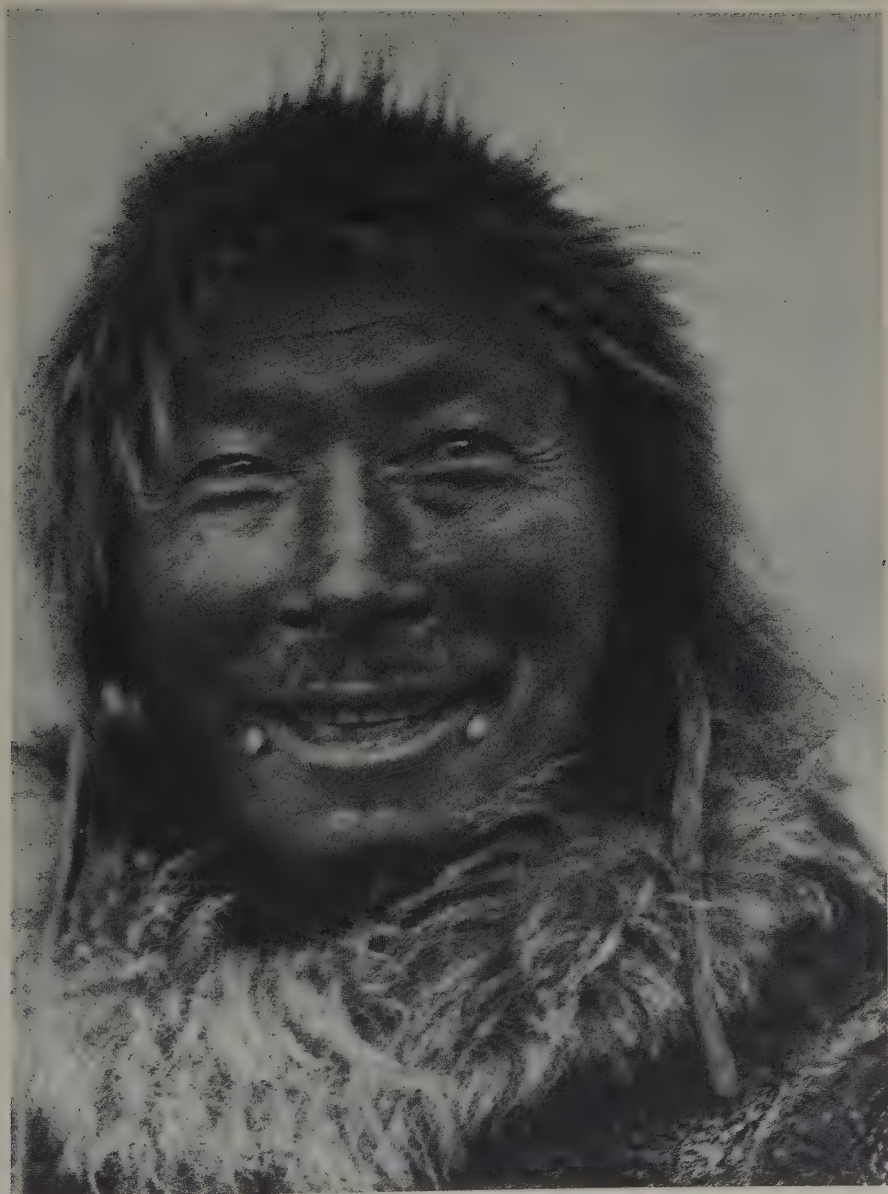
CEREMONIES

The most important of the Nunivak ceremonies occur during the winter season, when the long nights and severe storms force the people to spend the greater part of their time indoors. Of these

ceremonies the Bladder feast, which consists of days of preparation followed by ritual and ending in gift-giving "good times," is the most important. At this feast not only is reverence paid with sacrificial food to the spirits of the dead, who are believed to be present during the rites, but the culminating act of the Bladder feast proper, that of thrusting bladders through a hole in the ice, is to insure a plentiful food supply and consequent good hunting throughout the following year. Of lesser importance, but nevertheless solemn and serious, are the rigidly ritualistic New Kaiak ceremony and the Spring Hunt ceremony, both held with the object of insuring a plentiful food supply by the careful observance of customary ritual. More social in nature are the Division of Men and Women feast and the Messenger feast; the latter forms a medium through which friendly intercourse between villages is maintained. Later in the spring and summer, after the hunting has commenced, other minor ceremonies are held, such as the Hair Seal ceremony, the Summer Hunting ceremony, the ceremony for a boy on the occasion of catching his first bird, and the Walrus ceremony, all of which have as their primary objective the continuance of successful hunting. In nearly all of the ceremonies and feasts occurs a distribution of food, or of useful articles generally termed gifts, or both food and gifts. Outside of its ritualistic significance, such distribution accomplishes a function of social value, inasmuch as the aged, the widowed, and the helpless obtain many needed supplies. In the greater ceremonies, not only do the needy gain relief, but a great exchange of gifts takes place between all participants, which may include the entire village, or, in the case of the Messenger feast, two or more villages.

The origin of the Bladder feast, held in the season of Dúinkelloyúh ("worst of the moon"), in our month of January, is contained in the following legend:

A childless couple, who always had many furs and much food stored away, dwelled alone. They knew that they were alone, because they never saw another person. As time passed, the thought often came to them what the land would be like if there were other people. They pondered how to have children. The man thought that if he stored away the bladders of game, perhaps he might learn the extent of his next year's catch; perhaps something might happen. After the short days had come and winter was upon them, the man brought out these bladders and inflated them. That night, as the couple were sitting by the fire, they were startled to see a hand with outstretched fingers appear above the entrance hole. It ordered, "You must use



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A NUNIVAK HUNTER

these five days for your Bladder feast." No sooner were the words spoken than the hand disappeared.

Suddenly six spirits stood before the couple, then vanished through the walls of the house. In a short while the man and woman were startled by the sound of footsteps rapidly approaching, and soon heard the spirits moving about on the roof, where they were lowering wild parsnips through the smoke-hole. After entering the house, five of the spirits began to dance and sing, while the sixth sat on the log head-rest to drum for them. Nearly all night they danced and sang.

On the following night the couple heard rapid footsteps outside their door. As they watched, they saw spirits enter, who began to paint the bladders hanging on the walls. These had now changed from birds' to seals' bladders. After putting the wild parsnips in the corners of the room, the spirits went outside to place stones and to plant paddles upright about the house. They had directed the man, "While we are busy outside, you must circle the room in the same manner as the sun makes his path across the sky."

On reëntering, the spirits bore with them a heavy walrus clubbing spear, which they set upright beside the stone lamp. All the while the man circled the room. Again they vanished. Because no one appeared on the next, the fourth, night, the man dared to sleep with his wife. The following day he found that the bladders had changed back to birds' bladders. Thus was he punished for not obeying the law of continence during a ceremony. That night, while sitting alone, he saw two old men spring up through the floor and sit facing each other by the entrance hole, where they sang the entrance song:

My elbows I must use for walking-sticks.
My shoulder-blades hump toward my neck.
My legs are weary;
But my spirit refuses to become aged.

When the song ended, the woman entered, followed by the six spirits, who at once began to dance and sing. As the couple watched, many people suddenly appeared about the room, sitting on the log head-rests. These people, some naked, some fully clad, sang, swaying their bodies in unison to the rhythm. In the course of the singing, other people entered, bearing gifts which they gave away during the songs. Just before dawn, three calls were heard outside; the first syllable of each call was short and low-pitched, the second was shrill and long-drawn-out. Thus they yelled: "*Luah! Luah! Luah!*" Then, one by one, many persons came in with gifts. When these had been distributed, all within the room suddenly disappeared, leaving all the gifts for the man.

Early in the morning many men brought in wild parsnips to be tied on the walrus spear. They went outside and gave a long call. Then women rushed in, carrying bundles of dry grass which they

threw at the entrance. These women the man saw very clearly, but they were invisible to his wife.

The two old-men-spirits by the entrance, who now wore bird-skin caps, told the story of an owl who went beneath the sea. When they had finished the tale, one went outside and climbed to the roof, where he shook and rattled the smoke-hole cover, that the people might know day was breaking. The second old-man-spirit donned his waterproof parka and flopped about the floor, imitating the movements of the seal. Some of the people smeared soot on their faces. Then the old-man-spirit loudly announced from the smoke-hole, "It is now time to go out!"

All departed, one of the number bearing the stone lamp, and the man following, to a water-hole in the ice in which they thrust all the bladders. After returning to the house, they stripped themselves of all clothing and rolled through the entrance. Inside they began their race, after which all disappeared.

After nightfall, women entered to perform their dance. At the end, Khugúyuk, an old spirit, spoke to the man: "In the future you will have children; there will be many people. Every year, when the proper time comes, you must do as you have seen us do — then you will catch much game. You will never see us again."

BLADDER FEAST

First Night — Preparation

While all the men are gathered in the men's house, some one person lowers an article of value through the smoke-hole. Any man of the assemblage is privileged to receive it, provided he returns to the donor something of equal value, be it fur, skin, weapon, or any article. This recipient must further furnish wood for the sweat-bath immediately to follow. The heads of families then begin to make wooden bowls for each member of their respective households — small bowls for the youngest and larger for the oldest. On this night the side-walls of the utensils are steamed while the sweat-bath is in progress. The wood is steamed by wrapping in wet moss, the whole surrounded with hot stones above and on top. When thoroughly steamed, it is bent into the shape desired and the ends are joined. Then it is dried and seasoned. While working on their family vessels, men are required to fast during the day, eating at night; they must keep clean in body and remain continent.

Second Night

On this night the men cut to size and hollow out the vessel bottoms from solid wood. These are fastened to the shaped side-walls of the



Sled, Nunivak. Photograph, 1925 by G. P. Smith

SLED, NUNIVAK

receptacles with glue composed chiefly of seal-blood, a glue which will prevent leakage and withstand boiling liquids.

Third Night

Family talismanic marks are drawn on the bottoms and sides, inside the bowls. These symbols, which are handed down from eldest son to eldest son with the family names, are derived from some great deed done in the past at the time when the family name originated, and they also represent animal, bird, or fish spirit-powers. Then the bowls are painted with a paint of which the component parts are seal-blood and an iron oxide obtained from Nelson island.

Fourth Night

Another sweat-bath is held, given in the same manner as the first, at which the painted vessels are taken to the respective homes of the makers.

Fourth to Ninth Nights — Collection of Food

As soon as the bowls are taken to their owners' homes, the women of the families prepare food — trying out oil, cooking meat and blubber, making mixtures of oil, meat, berries, and snow, and bringing plant foods from the caches.

Then five young men, without parkas, but dressed as grotesquely as possible with wisps of straw about elbows, wrists, necks, knees, and ankles, with small straw bundles on foreheads, chests, and backs, and with soot-smeared faces, visit each family home in turn. The five, one bearing an old dish, enter at the extreme right of the entrance-way. The family inside must fill the old dish full of some kind of food, and at the same time sing a song whose burden is some mysterious happening which has occurred to its members during the year. Next the family load the five men with the new dishes, each filled with food, while the food-bearers cry "*Kavetá* ['Put more on top']!" As the women pile the full bowls, one on top of the other, following the direction of the cry "*Kavetá!*" these five call out the names and deeds that the bowls represent. As they leave a house, they make their exit at the extreme left of the entranceway. Bearing the stack of new bowls and the old one, they return to the men's house, where they pass the bowls through the entrance to two assistants, who in turn slide them along the sleeping logs or head-rests, where they remain until ready to be used. After bowls have thus been collected from all houses, the five enter the men's house, where singing is going on, and

in the midst of a song the bearer of the old bowl flings it to the floor. All stop singing to shout and cheer. The five food-bearers then strip naked.

Each night, after the work of bowl-making and the collecting of food is over, all lights in the men's house are extinguished, so that complete darkness and quiet prevail. Each individual present composes a song to himself. When some one, even a boy, is "bursting with a new song," he picks up a drum and sings it through once, immediately repeating, with all present joining in the song. After all have given songs, a light is brought in from some home, and all lamps are lighted, the lamp-bearer following the course of the sun. These are the songs to be used during the coming year, for those of former years will no longer be employed. However, if a song is especially appealing to all the people, it may continue in use year after year. While such a song is common property, it is always known as the song of the originator. A father who is very proud of a song composed by his son often distributes gifts to all present.

On each of the four nights, after the food is collected and the songs sung, two young men sweep the floor, piling the refuse on grass mats in each corner. Each corner is representative of one of the four winds. In the corners which the sweepers think are unfavorable, that is, are indicative of unfavorable winds, they pile the most dirt, saying: "O, wind, stay away! I am plugging up your corner, your entrance." Then the two fling the refuse outside. This gesture symbolizes the casting away of bad luck and evil influence. When the lamps are lighted after the new songs, a lamp is placed in each corner.

Ninth Night—Distribution of Food, or "Mother of Distribution"

On this night, when all are assembled in their places in the men's house behind the head-rests containing the bowls of food, it is believed that the spirits of the dead, of the men who originated the family names and the symbols on the bowls, are also present. Mothers with nursing babies are barred from the house, because in some way the spirits of the children might be influenced, perhaps harmfully, by one of these spirits. The small girls of the village next enter and sit on grass mats before the laden head-rests.

One of the five naked food-collectors who has a good memory now picks up a bowl, which he holds out, saying: "This bowl belongs to —— [giving his name]. It was given by his relative ——. Here also is tallow for him. This food and tallow are for his spirit."



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CHÁHALI, NUNIVAK

Then he puts down the bowl and picks up one from the head-rest on the opposite side of the room, announcing from whom it was given and to whose spirit it belongs. After all the dishes are thus named, all the food is separated by kinds: all oil, all fish, all berries are placed in bowls, each group by itself. The little girls who came in last carry home the choicest bits of food; the remainder is distributed to all present, the amount varying according to age, the oldest receiving the largest portions.

While two men dance to the new songs, the young boys go outside and yell three times. At the third call, all women, even those with babes in arms, enter to watch the dances and to hear the new songs. After the last song, the boys race for the entranceway, for it is said that the first out will grow up to be the best hunter. They are followed by their elders, the last one to go out pretending that he is not last, and shouting, "I am already out!" This exodus signifies a driving out of any evil spirits which might have entered the house.

The men reënter, while the women bring more food to them and their day's fast is broken. The men hold a sweat-bath, during which heads are shaved, except for one patch cut in a design handed down from parents or grandparents. These long hairs on the unshaven patch are supposed to bring longevity. Following the sweat-bath is a house-cleaning, which ends the night's proceedings.

Tenth Day — Bladder Ceremony

At daybreak, the men, carrying the bladders of their year's seal-catch tied on sticks, followed by their wives bearing dishes of berries, and all dressed in new clothing, take their places in the men's house. The men inflate the bladders, cover them with sealskins, and hang them above their respective places. Their sons, with the skins of animals and birds killed during the year, sit on the benches behind and above their fathers. The dishes of berries are piled in the centre of the room and the contents distributed — the largest portions to the oldest — by some old man, who sings, "This is my wish: that I may breathe deeper; that I may live to catch more fish during the year." As he finishes handing out berries, he throws one berry to the middle of the floor. The bringing in and distribution of berries signifies the driving of spirits back to spirit-land.

During the day, the hunters and youths regard their bladders and skins and then recall stories and incidents of their hunting. Following the tales, the boys call in all the women by giving three loud yells.

These enter and stand behind the men, who are massed on one side of the room, which has one centre light burning. All sing the new songs, swaying their bodies from side to side in unison. When the songs are ended, at the last word of the last song all the boys rush out; the first through the entrance, it is believed, will be the best hunter. The last event of the day is the bringing in of food by the women and the breaking of the day's fast.

Tenth Night

In the evening, while others sleep, and only the centre light is burning, two young men in new parkas go out very quietly and slowly for water. During the night, a man who has kept awake to see that the one lamp did not go out, lights all lamps and returns the centre one to its place.

Eleventh Morning

Before daylight, the men leave the house, each to go to his wife's house and awaken her by singing: "Hear! Hear! Hear! There is a big whale before the village. No spirit can touch [harm or influence] it."

The first man to leave the men's house brings back a large spear, with a wild parsnip tied near the point, and sets it upright in the centre of the right side of the men's house. Then the women enter, bearing the morning meal. Immediately after breakfast, five grass mats are placed in the centre of the room and five young men, volunteers, sit on them. Men go out and call before each woman's house, "The parsnip-pickers are starving!"

Hearing these cries, the women bring in small dishes of food, rich in fats, for it is each woman's wish as she prepares it that the ensuing year may be rich and plentiful in game. The five now begin to eat as fast as possible, throwing aside each dish when empty. The first to finish wins. Then a bowl of berries is offered to them, with the injunction, "Eat more, so that you will always get plenty of what you want."

These five now dress, while all the men dance around them, following the direction of the sun's path and making all possible noise. Then the five proceed to one corner, while a man places upright five sticks, each with a dried fish tied to it, in a row. The first of the five men chooses the second stick; the second picks up the fourth; the third man takes the third stick; the fourth pulls up the first stick, while the fifth young man takes the last. Day has not yet broken when



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LINE STRETCHING POSTS, NUNIVAK

these five leave the men's house. They depart in pairs, except for the fifth man, each carrying a bundle of wild parsnips and unreeling a long line as he goes to guide him back safely to the men's house. They proceed to the place where they think the parsnips will grow thickly during the coming year, then return. At the men's house they lower their bundles through the smoke-hole, and the dry stalks are placed beside the lamps. As the five enter, they line up on one side of the room and dance to two songs, while men drum for them. Young children next dance. Fathers of children who have killed their first game distribute gifts to the children. (Skins of the first kill of each kind of animal used are kept as a matter of record, since boys are not of marriageable age until they have killed one of each.)

Eleventh Night

The women are called in to the men's house by the yells of the boys, and all sing the new songs. Next the wild parsnips are removed from the lamps and placed in the firepit. After the last song, a feast is held. Some time during the night, two men, volunteers, paint the men's talismanic marks on the bladders. These men also take up the wild parsnips and hang the stalks in bundles from the walls, while they tie the parsnips to the bladders. When they have finished, they wake the men and all go out to give the morning song.

Twelfth Morning

Food is brought in by the women to all but the two painters, who must fast during the day. Men now make drums, each with some tool attached to it. The youngest have the largest, while the oldest use the smallest drums. Fathers of boys who have never had a drum before, offer gifts in exchange for wood for future sweat-baths. This fuel is piled outside the men's house. At the same time, a circular lamp-frame to be hung from the smoke-hole is made.

Twelfth Afternoon

The women are called to the men's house by the boys. Then some boy who has caught his first bird or animal, his head wrapped in cured intestines, stands on a sealskin by the entrance, while the assemblage sing for him. Standing in a circle, wearing ceremonial caps and holding drums, the gathering first sing all the old songs, next spin around the new hanging lamp, and finally sing the new songs. After the mother of the boy has given out tallow, all depart.

Twelfth Night — "Give-away Night"

The women are again called into the men's house, and they carry dance equipment and finery, such as decorated caps, rings, bracelets, labrets, ear-rings, and nose-beads, all of which they don later. The oldest man and his family face the assemblage, sing his new song, and give the family dance. The sons of that family pile gifts in the middle of the room, and each family does likewise in turn according to age. When the last has finished, all jump up and crowd outside to drive evil spirits away. As soon as they reënter, the massed gifts are distributed in order of age. The more gifts a man has placed in the centre, the greater the respect accorded him, because his donation shows his ability as a hunter, worker, and provider.

Thirteenth Morning

Before daybreak two young men, dressed in hunting costume, go to the shore and pick a hole through the ice. Meanwhile the women bring in bundles of dry grass to the men's house, one for each man. Women give bundles also to their second cousins, whom they ridicule and of whom they tell stories of mishaps and misdeeds of the past year. The cousins must listen to all in silence.

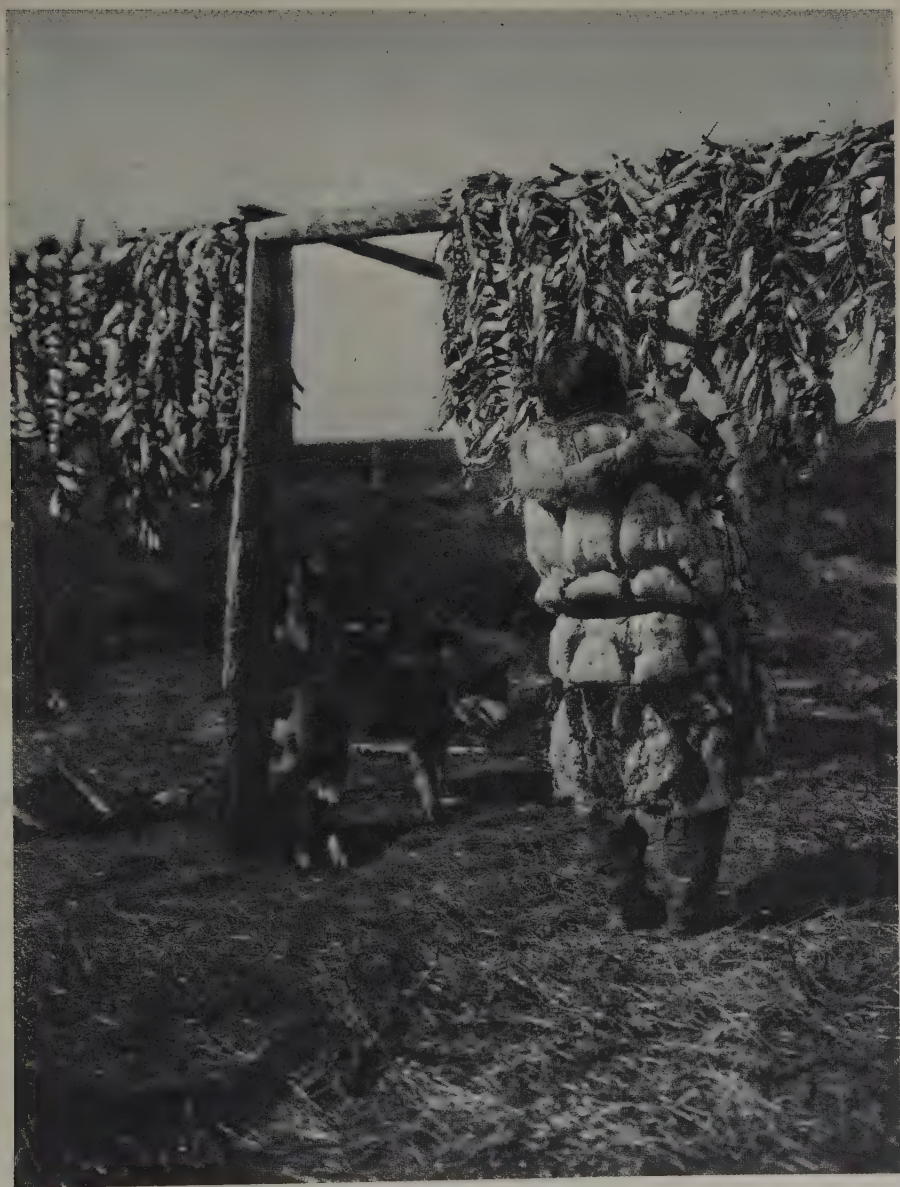
The other young men, also dressed in hunting costume, sing old songs. By this time the ice-pickers return, circle the room counter-clockwise, and sprinkle salt water on head-rests and people.

A man, dressed as fearsomely as possible, comes up the entrance hole three times. As he thrusts himself up the last time, the youngest infant in the room, regardless of his yells of terror, is thrust toward him and drawn back. This act symbolizes the protection a mother seal gives her young while on top of the ice.

Next, the men, while the youths and boys stand and sing by their animal- and bird-skins, approach and withdraw three times from the entrance hole while drumming and singing old songs.

After all have dressed in hunting costume, one man gathers up the old dried-grass bundles and the parsnip-stalks, picks up a lamp, and goes out, followed by all. After burning his burden before the village, he leads the procession to the hole in the ice and circles it once. The people divide into two parties and march about the hole, singing hunting songs. As the last song is ended, each man in turn shoves his stick with the bladders under the ice. Each family group now faces the rising sun and sings its ancient hunting song.

Returning to the men's house, the eldest enter first, the rest in



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HERRING RACKS, NUNIVAK

order of age. The younger boys roll through the entrance. Inside, the boys race single-file, clockwise, about the room. If one can touch another from behind, that one must drop out. When but one is left, he is the winner. A feast is held, after which two young men sweep the room. Stories are now told of wonderful happenings and outstanding events of the year. Hunters are not mentioned by name in these stories; the narrator points to where they sit. At the finish, all rush out, men first, to chase away evil spirits and bad luck. The sweepings of the room are thrown on a fire outside. This act ends the Bladder ceremony.

During a few days following the ceremony, games are played and feasts given in a spirit of fun and joy; but first the "asking ceremonies" are held.

Thirteenth Night

Near midnight the men have a sweat-bath, using for fuel the wood piled outside the door. Inside the house, in place of bladders little drums are hung up. After the bath, men tap signals on the floor with their heels. When a woman, waiting outside, hears her husband's signal, she brings in food. At this time the men ridicule their wives and the wives' second cousins, who must all listen in silence. Many games and tests of strength follow the feasting. Some woman dressed in dancing finery brings in a strong rope, and, after giving her dance, a tug-of-war is held in which the women attempt to drag the men through the entrance.

Some time during the night, a stick is thrown into the men's house, and all with loud ejaculations wonder what it can be. The man who picks up the stick tells the men present that the objects tied to it represent things that the women desire, and he interprets the meanings of the objects. The men then tie on the stick similar objects, signifying that they will fulfil the women's wishes.

Fourteenth Night

A partition of grass mats is raised, dividing the men's house. On this are hung objects representing what the women have asked for. The women are then called in, and they sing on their side of the mat while the men dance on theirs. Afterward the men hang their gifts over the mat partition. These men hang up additional gifts, singing, "No one has taken what I have hung up, so I have promised this for — [naming the person]." When a named woman takes this gift, the man is privileged to read her a moral lecture.

An "asking" stick is now given the women, and its meaning is

explained to them. As they rush to provide these needs, two of their number raise up the partition again and hang on it objects representing those things which the men desire. Then the men sing while these two women dance. The women by this time reënter and hang their gifts on the screen. As each man takes what he has asked for, the woman reads him a moral lecture.

Fifteenth Night

During a sweat-bath, men paint boys' faces with a mixture of iron oxide, seal-blood, and soot. As the boys retire to one corner, the women are called in. As the women sing, the boys in their corner dance as grotesquely and comically as possible. Following the dance, they go outside to wash off the paint with snow. The men now present one woman with many gifts, gifts for all her family, including unborn children, men, and dogs. The women likewise shower gifts upon some one man. These two, man and woman, represent all of both sexes in the village. Lastly, the heaped-up pile is distributed among all present.

THE ANÚCHCHÍHKIYŪM CEREMONY ("WHEN WOMEN TAKE POSSESSION OF THE MEN'S HOUSE"), OR DIVISION OF MEN AND WOMEN FEAST

This ceremony, held during the season of Dúinkelloyúh ("worst of the moon" — full moon of January), is said to have been originated by a couple living alone at Cape Mohican. It was their custom when feasting or celebrating to exchange gifts.

Some night after the men have taken their sweat-bath, the women gather outside of the men's house and cry in unison to the men inside: "Look here! Look here! You are a fine spoon-maker!"

The oldest woman enters first, bearing a dish of fat and berries, which she gives to her second cousin or other relative, and at the same time requests a gift of some article which she needs. All the women, in order of age, follow with food and make requests of their second cousins or relatives, coming through the entrance after giving the above cry. When all are inside, two women, clad in their best clothing and finery, face one wall and dance to the accompaniment of singing and drumming by the men. After they have finished, the women, followed by the men, leave the house, the men to bring the articles requested.

The women, all carrying small lamps, now reënter, and one of their number signals the men that they are ready. Each man, in



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KENÓWŨN, NUNIVAK

order of age and bringing his gift, enters and dances by the entrance to a tune sung by those still outside. After all are inside, the gifts requested are presented to the women.

The women then leave to get suitable gifts for the men in return for those they now have. While they are absent, the men gather in a circle, blacken their faces with soot, and trace their talismanic marks in the soot. The women bearing gifts reënter in order of age. Each one dances, after presenting her gift, to the singing of the men, and all continue to dance until the last woman has entered. Women often bring their children to dance with them.

THE MESSENGER FEAST

The preparations and the sending of the messenger take place in the early part of the season Qigítánit ("mother of rivers"), while the actual feast occurs during the full of the moon.

After the Bladder feast and its attendant "good times," a sweat-bath is held in the men's house. As an indication of the initial rites, some man, henceforth to be known as the headman, the giver and initiator of the Messenger feast for that year, brings to the men's house a staff about six feet long. To one end of this staff he fastens a dog-skin; below the skin he paints two bands, one of soot, the other of red oxide, both bands about the width of a thumb. The decorated staff is planted in the middle of the room.

After a long period of silence, in which the assembled men plan details of the coming festival, a young man, to show that he is volunteering to act as messenger, grasps the stick and immediately thrusts it beneath the eaves. A lamp is removed from a stand, lighted, and placed beside the messenger, now seated near the entrance. The headman, facing the messenger, places between them a number of wood splinters and names them, each name being that of some individual in the village which is to be invited to the festivities. The headman then binds the splinters together with sinew, and fetches food and water to the messenger. Before consuming the proffered meat and drink, the messenger pours a libation on the floor and rubs food on his insteps. Again the headman faces the messenger, this time pointing out carvings on a staff, the carvings indicating certain people in the village which is to be invited and the gifts which they must bring. Each name mentioned represents some group of people in that village; for instance, the name of an old man would mean all the old men and all the old women. (It is obvious that the names, or rather the

carved marks, of a whole village could not be included on a single staff.)

He points to a mark, saying, "From this person [that is, the oldest group in the village] we want a seal-net." This request implies all the accessories to the net, such as lines, floats, and sinkers.

Indicating another carving, he instructs:

"From this one we ask a kaiak-load of seal meat and prepared intestines. Let them bring also a sealskin whose hide represents gifts of cloth, whose eyes are cooking-pots, and whose penis is ivory. These articles must they furnish.

"This person shall bring us a hair-seal whose eyes are pots, whose penis is traps, whose hair is a white fox, the breath gunpowder, and the ears gun-primers.

"That man shall convey to us a family sled, the handle-bars of which are saws, the sled-handle cloth. Let him bring in the sled a hair-seal whose head shall represent a cooking-pot, the eyes gun-primers, the breath gunpowder, and the penis ivory. Let him also bring knives for cutting up meat.

"Let this one who stands for all the youths bring us a smoke-hole cover. The edges will be seal meat and sinew."

And so he reads off all the marks.

Before daybreak, the messenger, who has memorized his instructions, dresses for travelling, and, carrying his mnemonic staff and a new smoke-hole cover, walks to his sled, accompanied by all of them. The headman pulls his own parka over the messenger's head and presents him with some black soot. He then departs for the other village.

Before reaching his destination, the messenger leaves his sled some distance from the village and endeavors to enter unnoticed. At the men's house he climbs to the roof and fastens the new cover on the smoke-hole. Next, with soot-blackened face and carrying the messenger stick, he enters the men's house and stands silent before the occupants. At length the oldest man present calls out: "Messenger! Messenger! Messenger!"

He answers: "Messenger! Messenger! Messenger! The headman of my village wishes to see the headman of this village. Let him come with a gift of a large hair-seal skin."

As soon as he sits in the middle of the floor, a lighted lamp is placed beside him, and the headman in person proffers food and water. Before breaking his fast, the messenger rubs food on his in-steps and pours water on the floor. He then unwraps the bundle of



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DAHCHIH'TOK, NUNIVAK

small wooden splinters, names each one and hands it to the person named, beginning with the headman, thus indicating that these people are invited to his village to participate in the Messenger feast. The wooden tally-sticks are then thrown in the firepit. The messenger reads from his carved staff the gifts they are to bring. The stick is then hung by the smoke-hole, to be consumed eventually by heat and fire. The messenger remains as long as a month in this village, performing many tasks and helping the men as much as possible — this to create a favorable impression, so that all those invited will return with him at the proper time.

Meanwhile, in the messenger's own village, on the night of his departure to invite the guests, men and women gather in the men's house, where, without lights, they practise all their songs. The following day and evening are devoted to the making of masks and many bird and animal ornaments of wood.

On the third night the mechanism of an agility test to be performed later is set up and practice in the usage of it is held. This mechanism consists of a heavy water-logged timber suspended horizontally about three feet above the floor. On one side stands a strong man to swing the log; on the other is an agile, naked young man. As the log is swung toward him, the youth must leap over it. Failure to time the log properly results in the jumper being hurled heavily against the rear wall. A variation of this pastime is for the nimble youth to stand in the entranceway. The log is swung toward him and allowed to hit the wall. As it rebounds, the youth follows, leaps, and dodges before the log can crush him against the opposite wall.

During the early part of the fourth night, the masks and the bird and animal ornaments, with the frames to hang them on, are painted. After the painting four large drums are made and suspended near the entrance, and four men are chosen to beat them. The best singer selects three men and three women singers. These, the men kneeling and the women standing behind them, to the drum accompaniment are rehearsed in songs and the motions and gestures proper to each song. There is a song for each invitation stick sent out.

In the following days caps of deer, fox, seal, and wolf are made. All the articles of preparation — drums, ornaments, masks, and caps — are laid away until they are to be used. Much food is prepared and stored.

The messenger, face blackened with soot, and carrying a new carved staff from the invited village, enters his own men's house and stands silent in the middle of the floor. After the oldest man calls

"Messenger!" three times, he answers similarly, and adds, "The headman of that village has no hair-seal." Then the messenger reads from the staff the articles that the visitors have asked from various people of the village. At the conclusion, a young man snatches the message stick, breaks it, and throws the pieces outside. At night all implements made in preparation are brought in, put in place, and a sweat-bath is held.

Early in the morning, an old man, face blackened, wearing a white parka and dragging a small sled, goes to meet the approaching visitors. As he draws near their line of sleds, he dances until abreast of them. Then all stop and wait. Young men from the village run up and halt in a line with the visitors. Next, two men circle the assemblage counter-clockwise, and as soon as they come abreast, all, guests and hosts together, race to the men's house. There the visitors remain with their sleds, while the villagers raise a pole and afterward carry food to their guests.

The headman of the village fastens a sealskin to the raised pole and dances about it. The headman of the visitors then takes down the sealskin and puts up one of greater value, such as a wolverene- or a whitefox-skin, in its place, keeping the former skin. In turn, hosts and guests raise and take down skins until each has a large pile. The last skin, raised by the hosts, is allowed to remain on the pole. Next, the villagers bring out all the articles that have been requested and distribute them in order of age to the visitors, who are now standing by their respective sleds. The guests are then invited to various houses.

The messenger calls out, "That man wants food!" When his dish is filled, he carries it to the visitors' headman. The men of the village, who are in the men's house, strip to the waist and put on masks and animal-head caps. Then they rush to the entrance, singing the song which the messenger had brought back as a welcome to the visitors who are by this time waiting outside. The men line up about the room, with a great stamping of feet and loud yells, while the agile young man jumps over the suspended log.

When the noise has abated and all are quiet, the messenger is bidden to fetch in three visitors. As these enter, they are grasped by their hosts and stood up against the wall. All lights but one small one are now put out, and a medicine-woman, crouched and swaying, enters, bearing a lamp. She places her lamp on the head of one of the visitors, and with outstretched forefinger draws an imaginary line past the noses of all three to drive away any evil. In this manner all

the visitors enter and are seated on new mats. All night and the following day feasting prevails, and songs in honor of the guests are sung.

At night the headman of the village and his wife, in dance costume, dance for the guests to the accompaniment of singing. After this dance, the visitors leave the men's house. In their absence all lamps and ornaments are carefully adjusted in their places and the trained singers, swaying and gesturing to the accompaniment of the four drummers, render a song for each of the guests. As the song progresses, the headman of the visitors reenters and presents a complete outfit of clothing, four sealskins and whatsoever else had been asked of him, to the headman of the village, to whom a song is now sung. In turn, each of the visitors enters with those articles requested of him by the messenger. At the conclusion, the singing ceases and the pile of gifts is distributed to the villagers, in order of age.

On the fourth day, provisions of all kinds are brought to the men's house to be distributed to the visitors and taken home by them, and a feast is held.

On the fifth day the headman of the village and his wife offer gifts to the headman of the visitors, who dances while the villagers sing. All the visitors then troop outside, sing for their hosts, and re-enter, bearing small gifts. They conclude the gift-making with dances and new songs to their hosts.

The concluding day and night, before the visitors depart for their own homes, are devoted to singing, dancing, and feasting.

SPRING HUNT CEREMONY, OR THE CONSECRATION OF THE KAIK

The first day after reaching the spring hunting camp in the season of Takókit-tánokēt ("when young seals are born"), the men remain, fasting and continent, in the men's house, breaking their fast only at night. In the hunting of any game, hunters must have weapons in good condition, clean clothing, and clean persons. During the seal season, new kaiaks are used, or at least new covers, while sealers wear new white parkas. However, after the season, old kaiak-covers may be stretched on the frame for fishing.

On the second day, each man makes two paddles, measured by the length of the arms outstretched, with handles fist wide. On the third day each paints his talismanic mark on his kaiak in light blue, a paint of cupric oxide obtained from Nelson island. Each day is one of fasting, followed by a feast at night. After the painting, the boat-

owner carries his craft to the shore, where he fastens it by a line to his upright boat-hook and ice-pick.

Early in the morning of the fourth day, before daybreak, the wife of a hunter bathes in urine, followed by a salt-water rinsing in the open; then she dresses in a complete new costume. Meanwhile, the man, with two handfuls of snow, enters the men's house, stands on a new grass mat, and rubs himself from the feet upward with the snow. His wife places a lighted lamp before him as he dresses in a complete new costume. The hunter, bearing a lamp, followed by his wife bearing berries in a new bowl, and his children also carrying lamps, goes outside to the kaiak, which they circle slowly. The man now inserts his lamp into and immediately withdraws it from the kaiak, and sets it in the snow. The children place their lamps beside the father's. The hunter, after putting each weapon and piece of equipment in its proper place, carries the kaiak to open water. There he paddles along slowly, praying for good hunting, plenty of seals, and good weather. He prays especially that he may catch sea-lions and hair-seals which have spirits.

Next he offers berries to the sea, with the invocation that many seals will come before his kaiak, and afterward divides the berries amongst his sons. When the dish is empty, the hunter paddles clockwise in three circles and then straight out to sea. Thus begins the spring hunt.

As the father departs, his sons cast their berries into the water and offer a prayer that their father will kill a seal before sunset; that they may have fresh meat. While her husband is hunting, the wife, with a sled-load of dried fish, distributes this food to widows and old people.

The man, after killing a hair-seal, skins it, cuts up the meat, thrusts it below deck with his hooked meat-stick, and paddles home. At the camp he draws the nose of his kaiak on shore. Now, talisman under chin, he waves a grass mat on a paddle as a signal for his children to come to him. Then he places the talisman on his cap, rolls up the mat, and runs to the roof of the men's house where he slaps each wall with the palms of his hands, yells his hunting song, and finally lays a paddle horizontally before him.

In the meanwhile his wife changes into her new parka, and the couple take the meat on a sled to their home. The man leaves his kaiak on a rack, bow pointing to the house, signifying that the craft has brought home seal. The wife carries the meat inside.

Hunters usually perform their ceremony and go out hunting in



From Copyright Photograph 1928 by E. Curtis

JÚKŮK, NUNIVAK

pairs. However, a man may paddle away alone. Often all the hunters go out on the same morning.

HAIR-SEAL CEREMONY¹

When a hunter has brought home a hair-seal, he cuts off the head before taking the meat inside the house. The head, complete with eyes, nose, mouth, and whiskers, but with skull removed, is hung on the wall facing the entrance. The hunter then proceeds to the men's house and changes his clothing. His wife, wearing a waterproof parka, places a strip of oil-blubber in a lamp and lights it. This, with the seal's bladder and a bowl of food, she brings to her husband. She distributes oil and food to the old people present, and departs.

The man, while the assembled people sing his childbirth song, inflates the bladder, attaches it to a sooted stick, and hangs it above his place in the men's house, where it is kept until the Bladder feast. In the morning, the meat is stored away and the kaiak's nose is pointed seaward. For other seal there is no ceremony, but the bladders are inflated and kept for the Bladder feast.

SUMMER HUNTING CEREMONY¹

When the proper time for the summer hunting and fishing season arrives (July), some man, an experienced hunter, calls out to the villagers to prepare. All begin to gather excess gear, weapons, clothing, oil, and food, for this is one of the many "give-away" ceremonies. Even visitors in the village overhaul their supplies for articles to give away.

The entire village assembles in the men's house. The oldest man's daughter dances while the gathering sing for her. Then the oldest man goes out to bring his gifts. As he reënters, his wife likewise departs and returns. In order of age, husbands and wives, men and women, similarly bring in their gifts, all of which are divided amongst the unfortunate, the helpless, the aged, the crippled, and the widowed. It is an opportunity for them to obtain enough supplies to insure subsistence for the coming winter. As the gifts are distributed, the people pray to the spirits for aid and good luck in their summer hunting.

CEREMONY FOR A BOY ON CATCHING HIS FIRST BIRD²

A boy, catching his first bird, brings it to the men's house. There the father covers the bird with the skin of a young hair-seal, one under

¹ Held during the season of *Tiṇótiḱ-tánokēt* ("sea-fowl appear").

² Held in the season *Tiṇméarūt-tánokēt* ("land-fowl appear").

three years. If he does not possess such a skin, he purchases one with firewood. The boy, clad in a waterproof parka to ward off any evil influence, offers this sealskin to some old man who will skin the bird in return. During the skinning, those present sing a birth song for the boy, usually some family song. From this occasion the boy possesses this song as his birth song.

The boy's mother gives berries mixed with grease to the old people present. Other relatives offer dried fish and other food. As people accept food, they throw portions to the floor as offerings, at the same time invoking longer life and good hunting for themselves; that the boy may be healthy and long-lived; that he may become a successful hunter, and always able to eat his game.

WALRUS CEREMONY¹

This ceremony is held after the walrus-hunt, about the month of July. Sea animals appear in this order in their northern migration: first the hair-seal and sea-lion; next, smaller seal with their young; third, spotted seal, young hair-seal, and walrus. After the hunt, a walrus-head is hung on the rear wall of the men's house, facing the entrance. Women bring in gifts, which are first piled in the middle of the room and afterward divided among the assemblage. Many songs, the endings of which are in imitation of the voice of the walrus, are sung. After the songs, boys cast toy spears made of sticks with attached lines of woven grass at the head. Then the walrus-head is carried to the beach and placed in a position facing the village that it may bring in more walrus.

MYTHOLOGY

THE ORIGIN OF NUNIVAK ISLAND²

Two brothers, one strong and one weaker and younger, were out at sea when a stiff blow came up. For protection they tied up on the lee side of some anchor ice. By the second day the younger began to whimper and cry. The elder warned: "Do not cry so. Schlúmyoḡ ['Spirit Of The Universe,' sun, moon, stars, earth] will hear you."

The boy kept on crying. Then they saw a spirit-being descending from the sky toward them. The elder said: "I told you that we should go home in calm weather, but you kept on crying. At last Schlúmyoḡ has heard you. Do not be afraid now, you who cried."

The spirit stood with one foot on each kaiak. It wore a woman's parka of white fish-skin and carried something inside. The elder brother explained: "My brother has been crying since yesterday. I told him to hush, and not to call down a spirit."

"As soon as I heard, I knew some one needed aid, so I came to you."

¹ Held in the season Tīnméarūt-tánokēt ("land-fowl appear").

² As told at Cape Etolin.



Shum Chayuyak Shuyuyak 1928 by B. S. Bunka

DISHES, NUNIVAK

With these words she scattered something on each side of the kaiaks, which became land, while the ice they were tied to turned into a mountain in the middle of the land. She sprinkled something more, which became plants and animals. The younger brother discovered himself changed into a woman. Since then woman has always been weaker than man. From these two descended the people of Nunivak. Young people are instructed never to yell loudly while in the village, because Schlúmyoä might hear, and, thinking it a real call of distress, come to give aid. If Schlúmyoä is called needlessly, she may not come when one is in real trouble.

HOW PEOPLE CAME TO CAPE ETOLIN

There was a time, long ago, when a man all at once became conscious of himself. He found that he was a man standing naked in a men's house which was devoid of all furnishings, even grass mats. He saw light, which hurt his eyes, coming through the smoke-hole and flooding the entranceway. Going outside, he had to blink his eyes many times before he became accustomed to the sun's glare. Then, glancing about, he saw many strange things: calm smooth water, grass and plants, and animals. Closer observation showed that these animals, moving in herds, were unlike him, because they had four legs, tails, and horns on their heads. He thought: "Those animals are clothed, while I am naked. I must do something to cover myself."

Near the house was a cache — a small hut on a raised platform with a notched pole for a ladder. Inside, the man found clothing, and, after much trying on, discovered which parts of the body the different articles were to cover. There were also bows and arrows, though he knew not their names and uses; to him they were only so many sticks. By manipulation he found that the stick with the string could be bent, and that other notched sticks fitted on the string. When he pulled on the bow and let go, he saw that the arrow flew away; the harder he pulled the farther it went. To make it fly straighter and be more effective, the man set flint in the head. In the cache were many wooden vessels.

He stepped outside with his weapons, and the idea came to him to see what effect they had on the animals. He thought, cautiously: "I must not take any chances. I shall stay close to the house, so that if I hit an animal he will not be able to run me down and devour me."

The animals, which were caribou, gazed curiously at the man, and some even started slowly toward him, but at that he became frightened and ran into the house. After peering through the entranceway for some time, courage returned, and he went out again. Cautiously he approached within bowshot and let fly an arrow, which to his surprise remained sticking into the animal instead of falling to the ground. The herd, now frightened, thundered away. The man thought: "They are running from me. I shall chase the one I hit."

The man followed the blood-flecked trail until he came to the animal, lying still. He saw that the eyes were open, and he thought: "I do not think that animal is dead. It is pretending."

He walked slowly about the carcass, thumped the ground with a stick, and finally poked the caribou. The carcass was stiff, and he then knew the animal was dead. Now he faced the problem of taking it back home. Though he pulled at the legs, and even bit the hide, he could not take off the skin nor separate the flesh into pieces. An idea came that if a flint on a shaft could penetrate flesh, with another flint he could cut the body. So it was skinned and quartered. A few mouthfuls of meat, the first he had ever tasted, were good. At home the hide was pegged out to be dried.

While sharpening a flint arrow-head with a stone, sparks often flew up, and an acrid smoke wafted to his nostrils. "Now, why are those little points of light given off, and where does that smoke come from? I must find out." The man then hit a flint hard against a stone and many sparks flashed briefly. One spark landed in some dry grass, so that flame sprang up. The man then built his first fire. When he compared the heat of the fire with the coldness of the meat, he decided to warm the meat. The sweet smell of the roasting flesh was so good that he put a portion in his mouth. It was much better than raw meat. He declared, "I shall always prepare my meat like this."

When the man returned to the carcass, he found that it was sun-dried and hard, but still good to eat. Thereafter he hung much of his meat in the sun.

Once the man, on going to the beach, saw what appeared to be a hollow log, the hole in the middle being large enough for a man to sit in; but it had a wooden framework and skin covering. The idea came to him to float it and to get in, but he found that it continually tipped

over. To hold it steady, he put stones in the bottom; then he was able to paddle about, soon becoming used to the waves. While in the *kaiak* he saw many sea animals, seals, a few of which he killed with harpoons.

Returning home, he found a steaming dish of food. He knew that some one had been there during his absence. He wondered now about the house, cache, weapons, and *kaiak* — who had made them; where all had come from; and what person had prepared the food. One day, while hunting caribou, he saw other animals, and noticed how they varied in size, shape, and weight. After killing some small game and returning home, he noticed smoke rising and knew that some one must be in his house. The person, who had hair much longer than his, looked up at his noiseless approach. She said: "I took notice of you and saw that you were doing everything alone. You have found a bow and arrows, spears, a *kaiak*, clothes, and wooden dishes, all made for you. You have a grandfather, though you did not know it, who made these things for you."

Soon the person gave birth to a son. When he was old enough to be left alone, the mother departed one day to bring back more household utensils. On her return she found her son grown to manhood and become a great hunter. For him she made parkas and boots from land and sea animals. Often she told him that his great grandfather had made his equipment. When the wind blew ashore, Son would find parts for *kaiaks*, sleds, snowshoes, and everything needful to a hunter. These pieces he assembled.

Once his mother directed: "You are strong and able to travel far. It is time for you to go out and see things. You must travel down the shore, keeping land on your right until you cross the bay. There, on a point of land, you will find your great grandfather. From him you will learn something."

Arrived at the point, he found a house among tall grasses, a house so old that grass and weeds almost covered the smoke-hole. Smoke was coming out. As Son cleared the hole and put on a new cover, he heard a voice inside: "A fox is going to eat my smoke-hole. A fox is going to eat my smoke-hole." Son found a bent old man huddled in a corner. After being carried to the light, the old man exclaimed: "I have been suffering a long time. Who is this who treats me roughly and makes me suffer more?"

Son cleaned the house, emptied the urine pot, filled the water bowl, brought in fresh dried grass and skin robes, carried in provisions of meat and oil, and finally clothed the old man in a new outfit. Then Son was instructed: "I do not know if you can find any one where you are going, but you may try. Follow the sun's path, and to return keep your face to the setting sun; that will be your path. If you meet any one, you must be very careful. You will go where I once went, long, long ago. There you will meet some one who was very old even when I was there. She will tell you what you wish to know. If you find some one, do not pass by on your return, but stop and talk with me."

As Son was about to leave, the old man gave him the head of a pintail duck, saying, "Put this head on the nose of your *kaiak*." Son departed toward the rising sun and came at length to some habitations on a small bay. Before one of them a wolf's head swung in the wind, suspended from a pole. Son looked through the entrance and saw a lamp burning within. Then he heard the voice of an old woman, saying: "My granddaughter, no one has ever been at our door before. Some one is there now. Go and see if he is in trouble."

The girl looked and saw Son. She called back, "There is a man here whom I have never seen before."

"If he is in trouble, tell him to come in."

Entering, Son saw much dried fish, berries, and roots. The old woman said to him: "It is too bad that you came here, for you are in great danger. There are two evil spirits who kill and eat people. If you try to leave here, they will get you, for they are very powerful."

At daybreak the spirits knew that there was a newcomer with the old woman. In the form of one person they came and demanded of him, "I should like to see you alone." This was an invitation to combat.

The old woman instructed Son: "Wait. Wait until he again asks you to fight."

The spirits, as one person, again demanded, "You must come out to see who is the stronger and better hunter."

The old woman said to Son: "My granddaughter has a small bow. Use that."

On a nearby hill Son stalked a caribou, killed, skinned, and butchered it, and brought it

back to the old woman. The spirits had not yet returned, but when they did so they brought only a small fawn. In a second contest they hunted the big hair-seal, going out after the challenge had been issued twice. Son soon returned, his *kaiak* heavy with meat, but the spirits came back at sunset with only a small spotted seal.

Son was then challenged to the men's house, where he stripped for combat, but wore on his forehead the head of the pintail duck. The spirits, who were as one person, wore the noses of a wolf and a weasel on a belt. The firepit was filled with water containing sea-worms, which could strip the flesh from a man. The spirits instructed: "We shall race around this pit. Whoever loses will be thrown into the water."

For a time the contestants ran side by side, neither at top speed. Son saw that his opponent had become half wolf and half weasel, and also had begun to draw ahead. In spite of all his efforts, Son was left behind. Then he thought of his talisman, and changed into a pintail duck, going as fast as wings could bear him. The wolf-and-weasel person was now panting heavily from fatigue, his tongue sticking far out. Son, with tremendous flapping of wings, came abreast and passed. He had won. Then he threw the evil spirits, wolf and weasel, into the pit, where the worms devoured the flesh.

Son and the granddaughter of the old woman departed for home, stopping on their way to see his great grandfather, who instructed, "Any time you are in trouble and want to travel fast, wear your talisman and you will be able to make as much speed as a pintail duck."

They lived at Son's home, and during their lives had many children, who, when they grew up, married and also had many children.

THE ORIGIN OF NUNIVAK ISLAND¹

Two brothers lived together in a far land. One was still very young and weak, so that when the elder went on hunting trips he packed the younger on his back. One spring, when the younger was quite grown up, they made a *kaiak* and went hunting, but though they went far, they saw no game. At last, almost exhausted, they stopped by some anchor ice, intending to go home the following day. That night a stiff blow came up. "Let us go home!" often cried the younger.

"No, we shall set out for home tomorrow," always answered the elder. The frightened younger brother cried so loudly that the elder threatened: "You had better stop that crying. If you do not, a spirit will hear you."

But the crying continued. When the moon broke through the clouds for a brief moment, the elder saw, on looking up, something coming down to the water. Frightened, he exclaimed: "I told you not to cry! I told you that a spirit would hear you! Now look and see what is coming down to us!"

The younger stopped wailing, and they watched. The spirit came closer, singing as it approached: "I hear people preparing for the night. I want them for my own. I shall have them for my own."

The spirit woman, with fancy trimming on her parka and holding something inside it, stepped on their *kaiak*. Said she: "I heard that you are in trouble. I have come to help you."

"I told my brother over and over that I should take him home tomorrow, but he wants to go now."

The spirit woman took something from her parka and threw it on both sides of the *kaiak*, and it became land. The younger brother turned into a woman, whom the elder married. Then all animals, both of land and sea, became so numerous that the man, who was a great hunter, was able to provide everything in great plenty.

Once, while hunting, his bow-string broke, so he returned home to have his wife make him a new one. As she was shredding sinew, he lay beside her watching, and began to tease her. As she edged away, he moved toward her, continually teasing, until at last she thrust her sinew-threader toward him. This she did many times, whenever he moved closer. Finally he became very still. Frightened by his quietness, she looked at him very carefully and saw that his body was full of tiny holes. Then she carried the corpse outside and buried it.

That night the spirit woman entered and inquired for the man. "My husband broke a

¹ As told at Nash Harbor.

bow-string and came home for a new one. He went out again and has not returned since," the wife lied.

The spirit, not quite satisfied with the answer, searched about the house, finally asking: "Where did he go? Did he really go?"

"Yes, he went away, taking his new bow-string with him."

One winter night, as the woman built her fire, the smoke hung in the room instead of going through the smoke-hole, so she went outside to build a windbreak. While she was busy, the spirit woman returned and sat down to watch. As she reclined, she felt something protruding into her back, something which felt like a human knee-bone. She dug, and found the body of the man, punched full of holes.

She asked the woman: "Why did you lie to me? You said your husband had gone away, but you killed him."

"He was teasing me, but I only motioned at him with my sinew-threader, and that had to happen."

"Why did you do that? You were intended to live together as man and wife."

The woman sprang to her feet to run away. As she did so, the spirit woman reached out to grab her, but just grazed the sole of her foot. As the woman disappeared, she sang:

Up shall I go;
Up shall I go;
To the middle of the sky shall I go.
Where all the spirits go, there shall I go.
Up shall I go.

The spirit woman felt so distressed because the man had been killed and the woman had gone to the sky, that she broke her knife in two, inserting the halves into her upper jaws to make long fangs. Then she turned into a wolf, and all of her wolf offspring later became humans.

HOW PEOPLE CAME TO NASH HARBOR

Far away, somewhere on the mainland, lived a great hunter with his daughter and a big dog. The daughter persistently refused to marry any of the young men who sought her hand, disregarding the wishes of her father, who desired a son-in-law to help provide for the family. At last, in exasperation, he cried: "You must marry one of these fine young men; or would you rather have this dog for a husband?"

She refused to answer, but the dog, on hearing the question, cocked his ears, then went out, to return soon, carrying in his mouth a boot-sole which he placed before them. Then he married the girl. The young men who had proposed marriage to her laughed in scorn when they heard about it.

The father in disgust, and with a desire to be rid of such a son-in-law, told the dog: "Now that you are married, you must hunt for the family. Go out and get furs for parkas."

When the dog had gone, the father put much food on a sled and with his daughter departed south. Past Cape Romanzof he went; crossed to Nelson island, from which he saw a land farther out to sea; essayed the straits and landed safely at Cape Manning on Nunivak island, but travelled on northward until he reached Nash Harbor, where he built a house. Now he thought he had successfully avoided his unwelcome son-in-law. After the long winter was over, and much food had been stored during the summer, the father left his daughter to return to his own village.

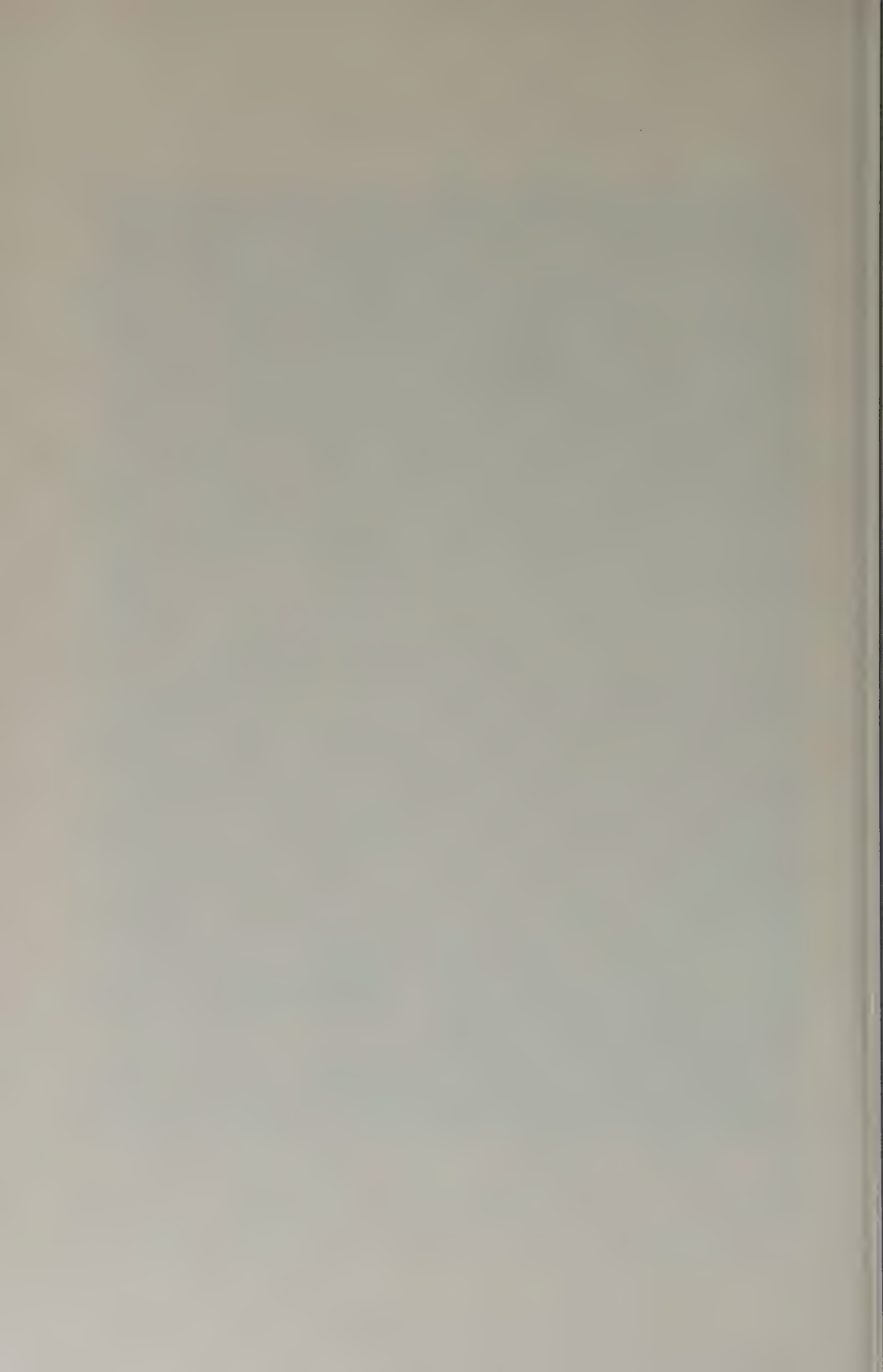
There he found the dog, who had been seeking vainly for his wife. To avoid the dog, the father went northward along the coast. The wise dog back-trailed the man and finally found his wife safe on Nunivak island. By this time she had given birth to five male puppies and one human female. The dogs she had taught to provide food, and by her teaching they had become capable of human thought.

After a year's absence, the father returned to live with the family, though he never could reconcile himself to his son-in-law or his grandchildren. When he could no longer tolerate the dog, he determined to kill him. He filled a sealskin poke with stones and tied it about the dog's neck in such a manner that it could not become unfastened. Then he ordered: "There is little food here. Here are supplies for you in this poke. Go out and hunt for us."



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BASKETS, NUNIVAK



As soon as the dog entered the water, the stone-laden poke dragged him under, so that he drowned. In the meantime the man hurriedly departed for the mainland. When her husband failed to return, the girl sadly told her children, the dogs: "My father has killed your father. When he returns, you must kill him."

Early the following spring they saw a *kaiak* approaching their home and the dogs knew that their grandfather was arriving, so they hid behind a bluff near the shore. The moment he stepped on land, they rushed at him and with tooth and claw tore him to pieces.

The girl and her children continued to dwell on Nunivak island, and from them the present people descended.

THE OBTAINING OF LIGHT

When all the land was in darkness and there was no daylight, there were two brothers who lived near the shore. Even in the darkness they were able to hunt seal and caribou. Whenever they looked far away on the horizon, they could see a spot of brightness. They often spoke of it, wondered what it could be, and planned some time to travel there and to satisfy their curiosity. After they had provisioned a *kaiak* and prepared all equipment, they made ready to start. At that moment the younger brother exclaimed: "I have forgotten our sewing bag! I shall go back to the house for it."

He found the sewing kit, and, as he was about to return, some one seized him. He vainly tried to escape, but he was helpless, unable even to cry out. The elder brother, impatient at the delay, and receiving no answer to his calls, decided to investigate. As he entered the house, he stumbled over his brother's body, and exclaimed, "What are you doing, lying there on the floor?"

The younger brother, who had regained his voice, answered, "A person is holding me down."

A strange voice spoke to them: "You brothers were preparing to go toward the light. You never could have reached it if you paddled a long time. You stay here while I fetch it."

The brothers, angry at being detained, paid no heed, but set out in their *kaiak*. For a long time they paddled, until they thought that they must be far out at sea, but when they looked back they were astonished to find that they had not moved even the length of a *kaiak*. Puzzled and vexed, they returned home and lighted a lamp. In the light of the room they saw a young woman, who told them: "It is no use to attempt to reach the light. You could travel for more than a lifetime, so long that you would be humpbacked from paddling, and then be no farther than when you started. I shall go for you; but while I am away, you must sleep."

When the woman returned with light, she awakened the elder brother: "It is time to get up. You must not sleep too long."

He opened his eyes and cried out in pain: "Oh! That hurts!"

Soon, by opening and closing his eyes, he became accustomed to light. Then he awakened his brother, who also had to become used to the unfamiliar glare. The woman said: "You have wished for light, and I have brought it. Now you must look about and make use of it. The night is for sleeping."

The brothers liked the light and made use of it, hunting caribou and seal. In the night time they slept. Since that time there have been day and night. The woman was an *thchi* (wolf-spirit).

THE SEAL-SPIRITS

A seal suddenly discovered that she was alive, lying on a woven mat on a rocky bench by the water, under the ice. Below was water, above a hole in the ice through which the sky could be seen. As the water rose and covered the bench, she felt the need of air, so she popped her head through the hole and saw land near by. Then for the first time she used her flippers, swimming along close to shore. There was a village, with people moving about, but she thought: "Those people are not like me. I must keep away from them."

She saw a new white *kaiak* disappear behind a floe, and when it emerged, the paddler had changed to a white ptarmigan parka and wore a white pointed cap. He resembled a piece of ice. Then the seal saw him put something, a talisman, in his mouth. Immediately a mist floated from the hunter to her, making her feel very drowsy. The man slowly approached, making ready his harpoon, but then the seal dived, breaking the spell. She thought, "That man meant some harm to me."

A long time she swam, following the shore. She fed, swam, and often slept in the sun on an ice-floe. Finally she arrived at a large seal rookery. A big seal, which had the power of becoming human at will, desired and took possession of her. One day food became distasteful to her; she was heavier and moved sluggishly. Her mate chose a solid ice-floe for her to rest upon, and there a male seal was born to them. In its early days it made much noise in its sleep, and would not wake up. The parents, frightened, thought, "If a hunter should pass by here the baby would be killed."

Then the baby had waking intervals. The parents taught it to swim, and they all moved down the coast, close to land, but always in such a manner that they could get to sea quickly. They passed a village, but because an unclean woman was there (one in a menstrual period), they kept far out at sea. Many hunters came out in kaiaks, one wearing a white cap and parka approaching close. The man put a talisman in his mouth, and its power made them feel drowsy and helpless. As the hunter was about to cast his harpoon, they dived and escaped. Looking up, he could be seen, weapon in hand, waiting. The parents instructed: "When you are alone and hunters come out, be very careful, because they will throw sticks which tear the flesh and kill. You must always move swiftly. While swimming, keep close to shore, because if you are out, you may run into nets stretched between rock points."

Once they came to a clean village where there was no garbage on the shore and the people were neat. The male parent said: "That village and those people are clean. We can go near them."

A kaiak approached; the equipment was new. The hunter was well dressed, and the kaiak was a new one with white covering. The male parent said: "This is a good man. Even if he comes close, let us stay on top of the ice."

The hunter used his talisman, and when the seals were overcome, he cast his harpoons at all three. They came back to consciousness and knew that they were dead. The scratching and tickling of the stone knife as it cut into their flesh made them feel good. They were happy when cut up and stowed away in the kaiak. On shore the man's wife carried them to the house on a sled. They were glad, because she was clean. Inside, after lighting a small lamp, she poured water in their mouths, which tasted sweet. Then she cut off their faces and placed them before the house. Before retiring, the man and wife burned bark and passed it under the seals' noses. This greatly pleased them.

Late in the spring, as soon as some one had found an egg on the tundra, the woman, putting on new clothes, carried the seal flesh in a woven grass bag outside the village. There she built a small cache, facing the sun, and stored the meat within, placing on it her "medicine."

This the seals disliked, so they went back to the ocean. Much swimming brought them to a small bight where a house stood on the shore. Leaving their skins behind, and becoming human, the seals entered the home occupied by a woman and her daughter.

The young seal married the girl. Once the woman said to him, "Today you must be very careful, for your wife's relatives are coming."

The young man's parents answered, "You must stay here, but we shall leave."

Soon two women entered and seized the young man, taking him from his wife. Cunningly he told them, "Do with me as you will, but first take me to the water."

On the shore, he broke away, diving into the sea, where he became a seal. Surprised and unable to catch him, the women went away. Then the young man, again a human, returned, as did his parents. The parents took the woman on their backs; the husband took the girl, and all set out for the land of the seals where they lived together on a goodly supply of clams, mussels, and fish.

THE FLOUNDER-SPIRIT

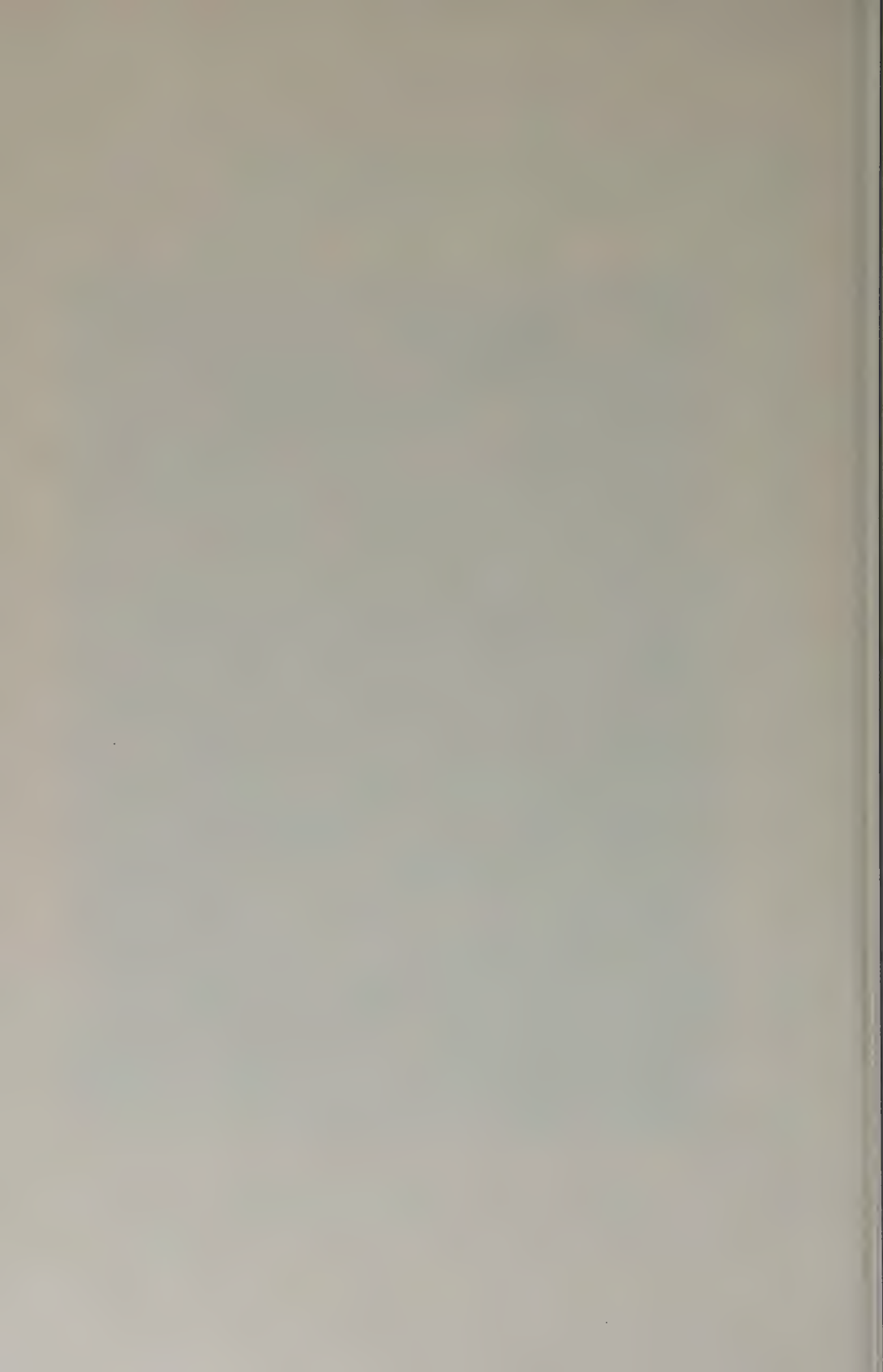
Five brothers and their sister lived by themselves away from the village, where they had their own men's house. These brothers adhered strictly to spirit teachings, and were always careful to make their fires with the fire-drill and to hold a Bladder feast. After all the bladders had been painted, they slept. Some time during the night the lamp ran dry and flickered out — the lamp that must be kept burning all the time. The eldest brother awoke first, and, dismayed at what had happened, ordered one of the others to bring a new light from the women's house. This one, as he entered, called out, "Sister, the light is out in the men's house!"

The women's house was also in darkness, and when the brother felt about for his sister,



Shim Shigiyuk's Shigiyuk 1925 by E. P. Davis

CEREMONIAL MASK, NUNIVAK



he soon found that the house was empty. The brothers hastily made new light and searched for their sister. All was in perfect order, but she was nowhere to be found. They also found that their newly-painted bladders had disappeared. All winter, summer, and spring they searched, finally giving up hope of ever seeing their sister again.

One spring night, as dawn was near, the eldest brother arose and went outside to look around. All was very still, and a light fog overhung the water. Listening very carefully, he heard the swish of a paddle when it dipped into the water, and the spattering of drops as it was pulled out, but, although he strained his eyes, he could see nothing. He rushed into the men's house, crying, "Some one is going to arrive soon!"

All went to the shore, where they plainly heard paddling and singing. The eldest instructed: "When the kaiak touches land, grab his arms and pull him out. Hold him, because I know that he is after some one!"

The brothers tried to hold the man fast, but he easily shook them off in spite of their efforts. This man, who was Nütühanüh,¹ spoke through his mouth, which was strangely twisted to one side: "Why do you try to hold me? I know you want your sister back."

"If you know where our sister is, we shall not harm you," they answered, and led him to the men's house. There he commanded them to construct new kaiaks, and to oil them so that they would slip fast through the water. When the work was finished, he said, "Tomorrow, if the weather holds good, I shall take you brothers with me."

The anxious brothers hardly slept all night. After daybreak, when they saw that all was calm and the water smooth, they wakened Nütühanüh. He arose, scratched his head, yawned, looked through the smoke-hole, and said: "O my! It is very stormy out there. We should be very foolish to go out in this weather. We shall wait."

During that night a stiff blow came up and the seas ran high. Then Nütühanüh awakened the brothers, saying: "This is fine calm weather. Let us go now." The brothers wondered and muttered among themselves: "We must be careful. He is perhaps trying to get rid of us!"

Nütühanüh knew their thoughts, but made no reply, except to order: "Make ready! Get in your kaiaks and let us start!" After they had paddled a short distance, all the brothers became unconscious, as if asleep. After a time Nütühanüh woke them, asking them why they slept at this time of day. As they looked about, they were astonished to find themselves in a dead calm and out of sight of land. He drew off a short distance, and said: "You have talked of killing me. Now try to catch me!"

They worked hard with double-bladed paddles, but he, paddling slowly with only a single blade, easily drew away. So it went from day to day. He would lead easily, while the brothers strove to keep up, but at night all ate and slept together. One day they saw a black speck far in the distance. Drawing closer, it was seen to be a bare rock with a tiny speck on top. "Look!" directed Nütühanüh, "Your sister has been here! There are her feces on the rock!"

They passed the rock, and for many days travelled on until finally land was sighted in the distance, which proved to be an island. There they pulled up their kaiaks, and Nütühanüh said: "Your brother-in-law who lives beyond that point will receive you. I shall guide you there."

Around the point they entered a village and were welcomed in a house where lived an old woman and her daughter. The old woman informed them: "The great hunter of this village possesses many seal-bladders. On one trip he brought back a fine young woman, and I have long awaited people searching for her. Now you have come. Your sister married the great hunter, and he will kill you if you try to take her away."

The following day they entered the men's house, which had an entrance so spacious that they did not have to stoop. Inside they saw the great hunter, who, as soon as he spied them, leaped from his bench and lifted each brother in turn by his armpits to arm length overhead to show his strength. The hunter's father cried: "My son, you have always been the best man here. You have always performed well, but now you will have to do your best."

The great hunter stripped naked, moved a huge whale shoulder-bone to the entrance, and placed a urine pot beside it. He wore bear-claw armlets, and, walking like a bear, sang, "Now strangers, get down to me and meet me." He and the youngest brother fought until the hunter threw him to the floor. Then the hunter rubbed the face of the youngest brother through the

¹ "Flounder-spirit" — a good spirit (*yíjih*) sent to help the brothers, who were polar bears.

hole in the whale's shoulder-bone until it was scarred and bleeding. Next he washed the face in urine. To show that the fight was ended, he threw the body into the entranceway. The hunter started for the next brother, but Nütūhanūh objected, "Do not fight him; fight me!"

Several times the hunter threw Nütūhanūh, but could not drag him to the whale's shoulder-blade. At last, when the hunter was exhausted, Nütūhanūh killed him, rubbed his face on the shoulder-bone, and washed the face with urine, then threw the body into the entrance. In like manner he treated the hunter's father. Next he gathered the bones of the youngest brother from the entrance, poured water on them, and the brother became alive and as well as before. Nütūhanūh, the brothers and their sister, ran to their kaiaks and paddled away as fast as they could. Looking back, they saw a huge wave sweeping the sea toward them. Now they were by the rock in the sea, and hastily climbed it. After the huge wave had passed and they looked for their kaiaks, they found only one fit to use, the one belonging to Nütūhanūh. They all tried to get into it, but no matter how they tried, one person was always left without a place. Nütūhanūh then split it open, put all in, and bound it up with lashings. After they had gone a short distance, all became unconscious, though once the eldest brother revived, noticed the tremendous speed they were making, and felt the kaiak tremble. He saw they were on the back of a flounder. The flounder, Nütūhanūh, ordered, "I told you not to look about!" Straightway the eldest brother became unconscious again. When they awoke, they were home.

Nütūhanūh married the sister, but he was never happy. He always went around wearing the same parka, never changing. Finally, when he could bear living on land no longer, he said: "You have always thought me to be human. Now watch me!"

He sat in his kaiak. Both he and the kaiak became flatter and flatter. When very flat, they flopped to the water and became a flounder.

THE WOLF-SPIRIT

There were five brothers and their sister who lived alone, a long distance from a village. The sister was very industrious, collecting and storing away much food in the different seasons. One time, when she was gathering dock-leaves and had filled her pack, she was accosted by a strange young man, who asked her: "I have come to fetch you to my village. Will you go with me?"

"If I go, I must first tell my brothers."

"I have already talked with them. They said that you could go with me."

"Now, I think that you are lying to me."

The man, when she doubted his word, seized and carried her struggling to the shore, where he had a kaiak hidden. Her brothers, hearing her screams and cries, said one to another: "The gulls in the bay are screaming and fighting over fish. The tide must be out."

The man and the sister camped on the shore when the sun went down. During the night she made her escape and wandered about, lost, but in the daylight the man easily found her by following her tracks. He was not angry; he laughed, and said: "I was frightened when I awoke and found you gone. I thought perhaps I could not find you again."

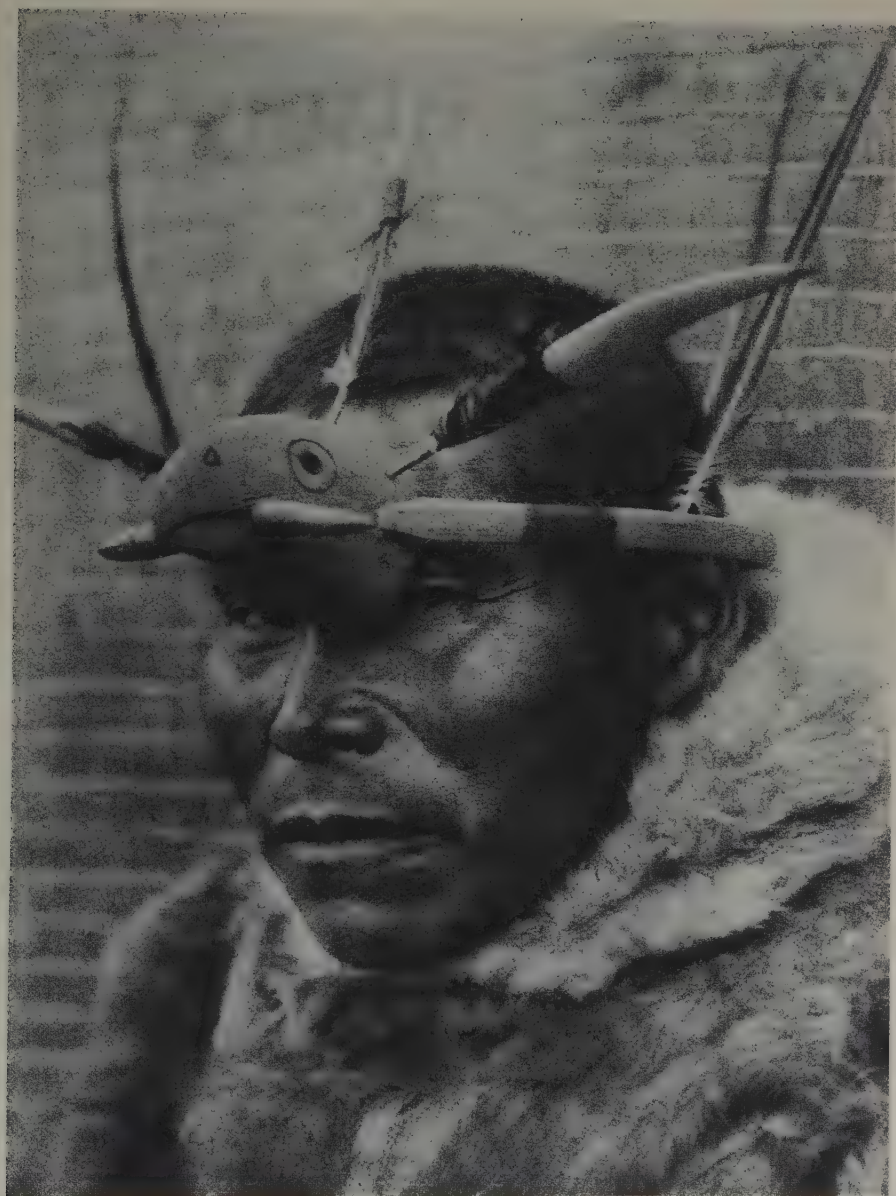
They followed the coast until they reached his village. There she lived with him as his wife. In the springtime the village held games, playing especially hide-and-seek. One man, whenever he hid, could not be found. His face was half white and half brown: he was a spirit, one of the wolf-spirits who know all things, even the thoughts of people; he had the power to ascend into the sky at will; as a wolf-spirit he could raise the dead; he could be either good or evil.

In the games, the wolf-spirit always was near the sister. Once he touched her arm, and said: "Why are you so foolish as to stay here? Your brothers are very sad because they have lost their sister, and are searching everywhere for you."

She answered: "If you know where my brothers are, will you bring them to me? They will reward you with a cache full of furs, clothing, and food."

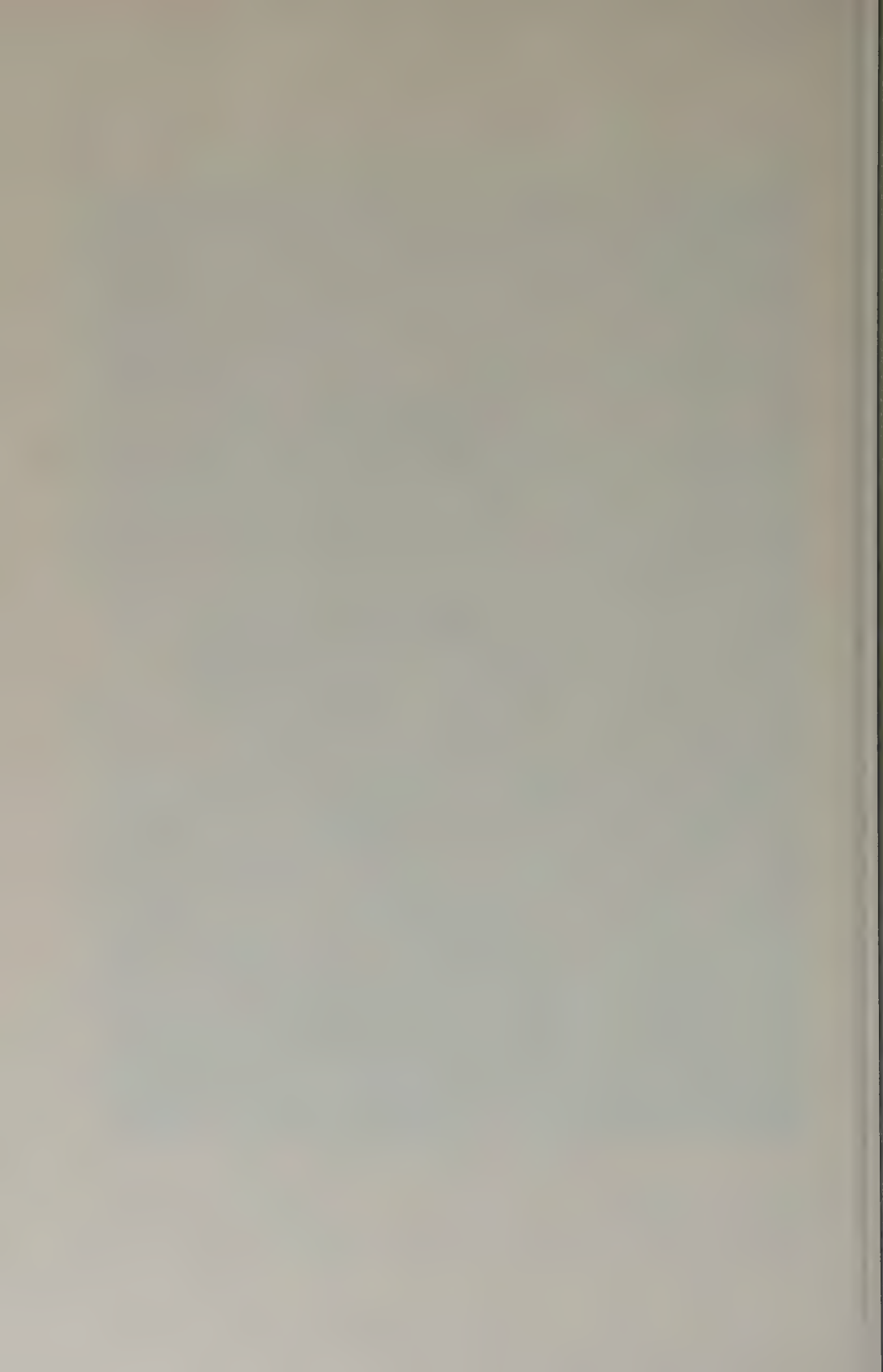
When the wolf-spirit refused her request, she urged further, "If you will bring my brothers to me, you may take me to wife."

The brothers had searched long for their sister, finally giving up all hope of ever seeing her again. One foggy evening, the eldest brother, who was on the shore, heard a noise like



From Copyright Photograph 1928 by E. J. Curtis

MASKETTE, NUNIVAK



thunder booming over the water. He ran to the men's house and cried to his brothers: "Some one took away our sister! Now a spirit is coming to us!"

As they listened, the thunder sounded closer. Soon, through the fog, they could see a small, twisted *kaiak* approaching. Then the eldest brother told his plan: "I think that person must be the one who has stolen Sister. When he lands, let us seize him."

When the *kaiak* came close, the stranger ceased paddling and came to a stop, drifting on the water.

"Why do you not come ashore?" called the brothers impatiently.

"Because you plan to seize me. I have taken pity on you and have come to help you, but you are thinking of holding me. I have come from your sister, who has sent for you. If you want to see her, follow me in your *kaiaks*."

The brothers eagerly paddled after the stranger, who led them a long distance to a village. He pointed to a house standing alone, and said: "My grandmother lives there. You may stay with her."

The sister's husband, who was headman of the village, and a friend who was a great hunter, ordered the five brothers to move to the men's house, where all visitors were received. On each side of the entrance were deep pits of water. The wolf-spirit instructed them: "You will be challenged to fight, each in his turn. He will try to throw you in those pools of water, but I shall help you when you are in distress."

The husband and the great hunter, wearing hawk bodies on their hoods, were sitting on a bench, but rose and challenged the newcomers. The hunter quickly overcame the eldest and the second brothers, and threw them into the pools. As their bodies splashed the water, he screamed like a hawk.

The wolf-spirit challenged the hunter, "Now you and I shall wrestle."

"No, I shall not fight you." The hunter, to defend himself, had to fight, but the wolf-spirit soon conquered both him and the sister's husband, throwing their bodies into the pools; but he informed the brothers: "Tomorrow those two will reappear and challenge you to combat. Now I shall bring back to life these two brothers."

Next day, as the brothers were sitting on a bench in the men's house, their enemies entered, swollen and bruised. One said to the other: "Why should I suffer so? I wish we could have a sweat-bath."

The hunter answered: "There is plenty of wood outside. Let us bring it in and build the fire."

They filled the firepit, and soon a great blaze roared, filling the room with suffocating heat. The wolf-spirit instructed the brothers: "You will now have a heat contest. Here are pieces of ice. If the fire burns you, rub yourselves with the ice."

Although the heat was fierce and the air thick with smoke, the brothers felt cool as they rubbed themselves with the ice. The challengers, overcome, fell to the floor. Then the brothers built up the fire still more, and threw into it the bodies of their sister's husband and the great hunter. They were quickly burned to a crisp.

The five brothers married women of the village; the wolf-spirit married their sister, and all returned to their own home.

THE CANNIBAL DWARFS

A young woman and her brother lived so far inland that they had no knowledge of the ocean. While still young, the boy accompanied his sister, who provided for both by fishing, snaring mink, and netting squirrels; but, after attaining manhood, he hunted while she remained at home. The young man became a great hunter, and his caches were filled with squirrel- and caribou-skins.

One day, late in the afternoon, when in need of meat, the young man set off for caribou, though his sister objected because of the lateness of the hour. Not far from home, he found a herd and shot one, which limped away wounded. He gave chase, but it was long after dark before he killed and skinned the animal. Unable to find the trail home, he wrapped himself in the fresh skin and slept. All winter he roved about the country, vainly endeavoring to reach home. Summer came, and by then he had reached the water, which was so vast in extent that he was unable to see the opposite shore. Now his boots were worn through, and his parka was tattered because he had cut strips from it to bind on his feet. One day, exhausted, he fell beside a stack

of freshly piled driftwood. Not long afterward, he heard dogs howling, and soon two men, brothers, came by. Seeing him, they stopped, and noting his weak, emaciated condition, carried him to the men's house in their village. There, after being clothed and fed, he told the rescuers his story. He was sad because his sister was alone, except for a dog.

After the young man had recuperated, his rescuers told him: "You are just breathing [your life is in danger]. Some day some people here will cause you trouble."

Not long after, the men heard shouting outside and knew that a visitor was approaching the village. When near enough to be recognized, the young man saw that the stranger was his sister with her dog. She said to him, "The dog smelled your tracks and trailed you here."

Later, when sitting in the men's house, the young man was approached by a youth, a messenger, who said, "You, the stranger, must come with me."

The two brothers, the rescuers, asked the messenger, "Who wants him?"

"My sister wants him."

The two then informed the young man, "You may go with this messenger, but if you see his sister, you will never return alive."

He followed the messenger to the home of the sister, where he saw the girl crying. She sobbed, "When shall I see you again?"

The young man saw her parents in the room, two dwarfs (*jusûhhat*, "little people"), who said to him, "We pity you when you go out."

When they began to prepare food for him, their future son-in-law, the girl said to him: "Do not eat their food. Come and sit with me on this bench."

The dwarfs brought food to the young man, saying, "Our son-in-law, you must eat."

After giving him the dish, they returned to their side of the room. The girl said to her new husband: "Do not eat their food. Pour it out close to the wall."

On inspecting the food, he saw that it was composed of human fat. In place of it he ate caribou meat, which the girl handed him. After going to bed, his new wife said, "I wonder how long you and I shall be able to live together."

For a long while he was unable to sleep, but thought of what the dwarfs might do to him. Toward morning he was awakened by a crackling sound and the sting of smoke in his nostrils. Then he saw that the house was blazing furiously. He dashed through the entrance, his clothing and skin scorched. Outside, his wife was crying because she thought him burned to death, but the dwarfs were dancing and laughing: "Why are you crying so? Did you not give a thought to your parents and uncles who might need fresh meat?"

Upon hearing those words, the young man, enraged, threw the two dwarfs into the fire and turned to his wife, "Were you crying for them?"

"No. You can not kill them, no matter how hard you try. They will be back again soon."

He then went to the men's house, where his sister and his two rescuers were glad to see him alive and whole. The following day the messenger entered and again asked him to go to the girl. He went to his wife's home against the wishes of his sister and his rescuers. There he found his wife, eyes swollen with much crying, and the dwarfs, his parents-in-law. Again they prepared food and brought it to him, but he ate caribou meat instead, when he saw that the dish contained human hands.

At midnight he awoke just as the house, in flames, collapsed, and he was overcome. He came to consciousness in a strange men's house. All about him he saw dwarfs, uncles of his wife, sharpening flint knives and exclaiming gleefully to each other, "How glad we are that our niece has brought us meat!"

He noticed his own dog beside him. On discovering the dog, the dwarfs in glee shouted, "Our niece has brought us a relish to go with the man meat!"

The dog, very large and vicious, was an *âhlgâlûnûh* (polar bear) in a dog's form. The young man asked the dog: "What shall we do? What shall we do?" After much thought of escape, he mounted the dog's back and the two floated up through the smoke-hole, escaping the clutching hands of the dwarfs. Outside he saw his two dwarf parents-in-law dancing, and singing: "Now our brothers are going to feast! Now our brothers are going to feast!"

The young man angrily exclaimed: "What mean little people! They are always playing tricks on me!" Snatching a club, he beat his parents-in-law, smashing their bodies and throwing the pieces in their men's house. They were never seen again in the village.

He went to his own men's house, where he found his two rescuers, his sister, his wife, and

his wife's brother, the messenger. With the last he often hunted, going out with him in a *kaiak* in the spring to catch seal. One time, when the two were hunting together, the young man killed a seal and stepped out of the *kaiak* onto an ice-floe to skin and cut up the carcass. Then the messenger paddled off. "Why are you paddling away in my *kaiak*?" he called.

"You killed my father and mother," was the answer, and the messenger started back for the village, leaving his companion on a drifting ice-floe. When he did not return, his sister and the dog traversed the shore, searching. At each village they inquired for the missing man. At one they told her, "We saw some one on the ice very far out, but it was impossible to go out in *kaiaks* to get him." At another village she was informed, "Yes, we saw a man on an ice-floe during a heavy storm."

While travelling along shore, the dog suddenly stopped, sniffed the air, and plunged into the water, swimming until he disappeared from the sister's sight. After a long wait, she saw the dog again, carrying her brother on his back. They all then journeyed back to the village. Close to it they halted, and the young man instructed the dog: "The people here have played many tricks on us. Now we must do something to them, but my two rescuers and their wives are not to be harmed. You go to the village, select a man for a husband to my sister, and take a wife for yourself. Do as you please with the rest of the people."

When the dog returned, his jaws, flanks, and breast were flecked with blood. Entering the village, brother and sister found that all the people had been killed with the exception of those they had instructed the dog to let live. Their whole party then set out for the home of the young man and his sister.

SPIDER COMES TO EARTH

There lived in the sky a spider who had as neighbors a sea-gull and a hawk. Often, when alone in her house, Spider rolled aside the log head-rest and watched the people on earth. Far below there was a village in which dwelt a great hunter. The village was industrious, especially in the spring when the inhabitants were intent with preparations for the seal-catch.

When all down below were making ready for the Bladder feast, Spider spotted two of the most industrious people, the great hunter and his wife. The man she could see clearly, but the wife seemed to be enveloped in a haze or mist. Spider's heart was filled with desire. She muttered: "I wish I could go down there and marry that man. I shall be here alone until my time to die comes. That will be bad. I wish that man were my husband."

Again, looking downward at the village, Spider saw the Bladder feast being held. The man, the great hunter, was transparent to her. She could see through him, although there was one dark spot in his body, which was his stomach. Spider made up her mind. She told her neighbors, Sea-gull and Hawk: "I have been alone all my life. Now I am going down to earth. You must be ready to help me if I am attacked."

That night, while the people were singing the new songs in the men's house on earth, Spider swung down on her long thread. As she landed, the women came out of the men's house. Spider hid by the path and quickly killed the great hunter's wife as she passed Spider's place of concealment. Spider then followed the women to the women's house, where she cooked food. With the other women she carried a bowl of food to the men's house and laid it at the feet of the great hunter. She lived with the hunter as his wife and nobody noticed that Spider was not his real wife.

One day the hunter, now her husband, said: "You must be very careful in what you do. I know that you are not the wife I had before, and that her relatives suspect you. She had five brothers and five uncles. The youngest brother is the child who often comes here. Those people wish to know where their relative has gone."

Soon Spider had a child by her husband, and then he warned her: "These people are trying to kill you. You have no chance to get away."

One night, while Spider was walking with her child, she saw something sparkle on the ice far ahead of her. The sparkle travelled toward her, and soon she saw that it was a whale, plowing through the snow as whales push aside water with their blunt snouts. Spider was frightened, and thought of her neighbor, Sea-gull. As the whale approached near enough to strike, Sea-gull flew down and harpooned it with his long beak.

The next morning, when she awoke, her husband said: "How did you escape the uncles

and brothers of my former wife? You must be very careful now, for her father is searching for you. Perhaps I had better stay by you while you are in trouble."

"No," Spider answered, "you must stay in the men's house."

That night Spider tied her child on her back and walked over the snow. Again she saw a sparkle on the snow moving toward her. As it approached, she saw that it was a beast with a serrated back, cutting through the frozen ground as easily as if it were swimming through water. Spider thought, "Now I am in trouble and need help."

As the beast was about to strike her, she heard the thunder of wings and the wild screech of a hawk. Hawk swooped down and killed the strange beast with a thrust of his beak.

In the morning, her husband said: "How do you escape the ferocious animals sent to kill you? The relatives of my former wife are very angry, because they all have the power to conjure up beasts, evil spirits. The next attempt will be the strongest, because all will work together."

Spider was then so frightened that her teeth chattered. That night, when she opened the smoke-hole, all the brothers and uncles of the former wife entered the house. They said to her: "You have killed all the beasts, the evil spirits, that we have sent against you. Now we ourselves are going to kill you!"

In her fright, Spider thought of Sea-gull and Hawk. As each one of the relatives came to grab her, Sea-gull and Hawk, poking their heads through the smoke-hole, killed them with their beaks, sparing only the youngest brother. That one said, "I told my uncles and brothers not to try to kill you, but they did not listen to me."

The boy lived with them until he was grown, and old enough to take a wife. Then her husband told Spider: "That youngest brother, to avenge his relatives, will try to kill you. You must be very careful."

Spider replied: "I am tired of being hunted and of people trying to kill me. Tonight I shall return to the sky. You must remain on earth, because this is your home."

The husband felt very badly. He wanted to go with her, because he did not want to be alone on earth. At night Spider made preparations to leave, lashing the child securely on her back. After much pleading, Spider permitted him to go with her. She went up into the sky, dragging him after her. There they lived happily, often pulling aside the head-log to watch the people on earth. Sea-gull and Hawk entered the body of the husband and became his supernatural powers.

THE MONSTER SERPENT

In a village of many people, who had never heard of other villages, men disappeared each year. Men would go caribou-hunting and fail to return. People wondered. One time the son of the greatest hunter of the village set out for caribou. As he was cooking food by a large rock, he saw something coming over the horizon, becoming larger as it approached. The youth hid behind the rock and watched. He saw a monster with a huge head and body and with many legs go past his hiding-place. The body was so long that it stretched far beyond the horizon, and although the legs ran by all day, the monster did not pass the young man. At dusk the legs and body stopped moving, then began to run back in the direction from which they had come. As the head passed, the youth saw that the monster had a caribou and a man from the village. The monster stopped by the rock, and cried: "Some one has been watching me! My body feels some one near by!" The young man was badly frightened, and as soon as the monster was out of sight over the horizon, he ran back to the village, but told no one of what he had seen.

The two following years the young man saw the monster, but he still remained silent. The third year he prepared weapons and hunting gear and set out in his kaiak. After five days of paddling, he came to a steep point of rock jutting far into the sky from the water. On one side only, which had steps cut into the rock, could it be climbed. On the top the monster made his home. The young man climbed and hid near the house. He saw a woman come out of the hut and soon reënter. Then he heard the monster saying: "I can not hunt in a small place like this. I must go a long distance from here."

The monster uncoiled his long body and started off through the air, in the direction from which the young man had come. All day the body and legs ran past him. When they stopped



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THE IVORY CARVER, NUNIVAK



he hewed at the body with an axe. Although he used all his strength, he was unable to cut the monster, but under the force of his blows the body bent and sagged till it touched the water. Soon that portion of the body sank and dragged down the rest, until finally the head became submerged and the monster drowned.

The young man went to the top of the rock, where he found caches, one filled with caribou carcasses and the other with human bodies. As he was searching the caches, he heard voices. He hid and saw a *kaiak* approaching with two people. When they reached the top, one said, "I shall take the caribou; you take the humans."

The other answered, "No; you always take the humans." Then the two went into the hut.

The young man, peeping through the smoke-hole, saw two women and their parents, sleeping. He entered and cut off the heads, but the heads awoke and bounded up and down, jumping over to the eating bowls where they ate as though they still had bodies. The youth clubbed the heads, which snapped and bit at him, until they were dead. He paddled back to his village, where he told the people what had happened, and said that now men could hunt caribou without being in danger.

THE WOMAN IN THE FISH-SKIN PARKA

A man, his wife, and five sons lived by themselves. The wife combed only half of her hair, allowing the remainder to fall unkemptly over her eyes. The man was a great hunter, but when his sons had grown and had been taught the lore of the chase, he chose to remain at home.

One time, when all the sons had gone hunting, two of them failed to return. A long search revealed no sign of them. The following spring two more disappeared, never to come back. Now the father and the youngest son hunted for the family. On a trip where they were forced to stay overnight and had made camp on solid ice, a woman, travel-stained and wearing a fish-skin parka, came up to them and said: "You have worried about your sons. I have come for you."

Immediately father and son became unconscious. When they awoke they saw a village near by, but there was no sign of the woman with the fish-skin parka. They approached the village and entered a house, where a woman greeted them: "You will suffer for coming here. Your sons would have been killed long ago, but I kept them alive so that you could see them before they died. There they are on that sleeping bench."

Father and son saw the others, bodies scratched and emaciated, barely able to move, side by side on the bench.

During this time the man's wife was alone. All winter and all spring she waited for the return of her husband and sons. One day a woman wearing a fish-skin parka entered her house, and said, "Your sons, who are very ill, sent me for you."

The wife then became unconscious. She awoke in a strange village. She entered the first house, which was that of a woman, who spoke: "Now that you are here, you will suffer. Your husband and sons are nearly dead, but I have kept them alive, so that some day they can help me. The woman in the fish-skin parka caused their suffering."

The wife replied: "I did not know what was happening. If I had known, I could have brought along my wooden dish."

"You stay here. I shall go for your dish," she answered.

Soon the woman returned with the dish. Then the wife said, "I shall go to the men's house and try to save my husband and sons."

In the men's house she saw her husband and sons, bodies scratched and emaciated, barely able to stand. All about the room were people, and opposite the entrance was the woman with the fish-skin parka. The wife placed the dish in the middle of the floor, and said: "I am poor. I can not do much, but I want you people to listen to my song:

Eyal Eyal I can not see that woman's uncle.
Can I see that woman's uncle?
With my own eyes shall I see him.

At the end of her song, she tossed back her unkempt hair, so that her whole face could be seen. She stared hard at all the people, and so intense was her gaze that they caught fire and burned up. The woman with the fish-skin parka was the last to burn. Then the wife killed

all the people in the village. She and the woman cared for and fed the man and his sons until they were able to travel.

After walking many days, they came to a graveyard, where the woman, who was guiding them, said: "We must go down through that graveyard to reach your home. The evil woman in the fish-skin parka brought you up here through the graveyard. The spirits of people, after death, go up into the middle of the sky, where they travel about."

The woman married one of the sons and obtained widows for the others. All lived together in one place.

HOW A FAMILY PRESERVED YOUTH AND STRENGTH

A man, with his wife and wife's mother, lived apart from the village. The wife bore five sons, each of the last four births occurring as soon as the previous son was able to walk; but then she became feeble and unable to bear more children. Her mother said to her: "I am about to die. Bury me standing up beneath my head-rest and facing the entranceway."

The boys, who had toy spears and bows and arrows, in their play used their grandmother's head for a target. When they reached manhood, all had kaiaks. One night the youngest son, waking and having thirst, left the men's house for water. As he passed the women's house, he saw within a fire instead of a lamp, and decided to investigate. Inside he saw that his grandmother had come to life and was eating her daughter. In great fright he ran to his kajak and paddled away as fast as possible. He heard behind him his grandmother calling: "*Ye-e-e!* My grandchild is frightened and running away from me!"

Looking back, he saw her running through the air toward him, and though he paddled with all his strength, she rapidly overtook him. In despair he aimed an arrow at her, which struck her in the mouth; then she fell in the water and sank out of sight.

The young man paddled all summer along the coast, and, when the ice set in, he abandoned his kajak to walk along the shore. Finally he came to a place where there were the tracks of many people. He found a pile of wood, and built himself a shelter. In the morning he was awakened by dogs howling, and heard a sled approaching, a sled driven by two men. When near, one said, "Some one has been here and disturbed our wood."

The other, spying the young man, replied, "There is the person who has found our wood-pile."

These men, who acted friendly, took the young man to their village and clothed and fed him. He was adopted by one of the men, who were brothers. In a short while he married the daughter of the other man. Although he was happy, he often thought of his own village and family, and finally decided to visit them. After travelling a long distance, he arrived home safely and was welcomed by his family, who were glad to see him. He found that now his mother was young and well again, and that his grandmother was also alive. She said to him: "My grandchild, when you were frightened, you ran from me. You shot me before I could eat you. Here is the arrow which you shot at me. I swallowed it and have held it as a keepsake."

Whenever any one became old and feeble, the grandmother ate and defecated them while they slept. Thus they preserved youth and strength.

The other brothers returned with the young man to the village of his adoption, where they obtained wives. Then they went back to their own village.

THE FIFTH BROTHER MARRIES A CORPSE

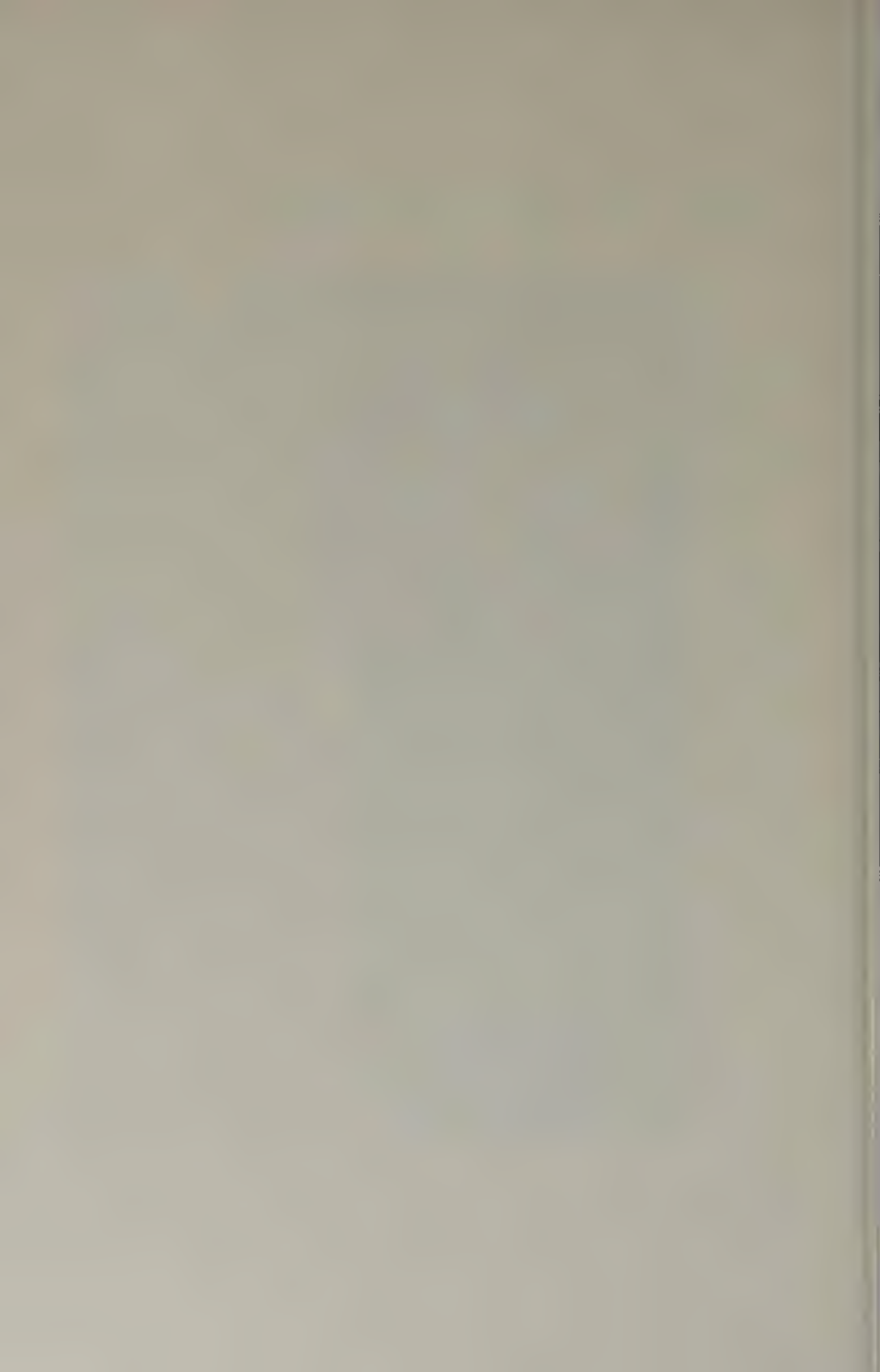
Five brothers and a sister lived on the shore of a small bight near a village. They had never heard of any other people or of other villages. The brothers were great hunters, and each had a cache of his own. The sister was very fast in sewing, but the lower half of her body was that of a bird. As she grew older, her body became more and more human. When the brothers had all grown moustaches and were old enough to marry, the sister called them into the house, and said, "You must tan skins for me to sew into women's clothes."

They went to the men's house, grumbling because they must tan skins, but soon they had plenty ready to be sewn. When all the clothing had been made, the sister said to them: "There are five villages near here. You must take the women's clothing, go to these villages, and pick out wives, the daughters of the best hunters. The youngest must go to the nearest village and the eldest to the farthest. You must bring back a husband for me."



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HOOPER BAY HOMES



Four brothers soon obtained their wives, and a husband for their sister, and returned home. The eldest went to the men's house in the fifth village and stated his errand. The men said: "You have come for a wife. That is too bad, because the daughter of the best hunter died yesterday."

That night the eldest brother was unable to sleep. Finally he arose and walked about the village, coming finally to the grave-box of the girl. This he opened and crawled into, lying beside the dead body. Soon he went back to the men's house and slept. During the night he was awakened by the sound of footsteps rapidly approaching. The dead girl entered with a pot of food for him, then went out. As he finished the food, she returned with a bowl of water and waited for him to drink. Then he knew that he must go with her. She was now alive. They went to her house and slept together. During the night, when he awoke feeling cold, he saw that she was again a corpse; but she became alive before morning. On the second night, he awoke several times, sometimes finding her with eye-sockets empty, again with the skull rolled to one side, or grass growing between moldered bones, or a grave stench arising from the corpse; but before morning she always came to life again. Five nights he slept with her, and each night was a year in length.

Then they bathed, threw away all old clothes and made new ones, preparing to return to his village. He drove the dogs, while she guided the sled. Once when the sled grew heavy, as if dragging a burden, he looked back and saw that his wife was a skeleton dragging on the handles. Then the sled moved fast and light again, and he saw that she was once more alive. Five days they travelled, each day a year, and on each day she became a corpse.

They were welcomed home by the sister, who was now all human, a fine slender girl, and by the brothers with their wives. All entered the house except the sister and the wife of the eldest brother, who remained outside for a long time. At last the sister entered alone, and the eldest brother asked where his wife was. The sister answered: "I have eaten her. I defecated her body, so that now she can never become a corpse again while she lives. She will bring in your food to you."

RAISERS OF THE DEAD

The best beloved son of a family died and was buried. The parents grieved so that at the end of three days they sent for two brother medicine-men, Gihlleayuh and Nüzsihyöb, who had the reputation of raising people from the dead. In the men's house they called on their spirits in song and instructed the parents to seize the boy and hold him fast whenever he should appear. Then they went out, opened the grave, stood the body on its feet, and started back. The body followed them.

Inside the men's house, in spite of the terrible charnel odor, the parents seized the boy. "Now take off his clothes as fast as you can. Work his limbs until they are limber. Give him flounder to eat and then any food after that," they instructed. The youth lived in the village for many years.

In the same village a boy was drowned, but the body was recovered and buried. The two brother medicine-men were sent for again. When they opened the grave-box and took out the body, they found that from the waist up it was human, but that the rest was animal. Though they tried hard to make him entirely human and alive, the boy remained as he was, so that they had to give up and return home.

People on the mainland heard of Gihlleayuh and Nüzsihyöb, and sent for them to employ their medicine-powers to bring a young man back to life. They sang their songs in the men's house, and the body followed them when they reentered the house after opening the grave-box. They ordered, "Seize him quickly!"

But the charnel odor was so strong that all were powerless to move, sitting with heads bowed. "Why do you not seize him? We have tried hard, but you are mocking us!" cried the two brothers, who knew then that it was useless to try further, because some medicine-man was working against them. After leaving the village, they found that, no matter how hard they paddled, they remained in one place. They knew that a medicine-man from the village was using his power to oppose them. The elder brother then threw his two walking-sticks into the sea, and they were able to return home without further mishap. After that time neither attempted to raise the dead.

THE WOMAN WHO WENT INTO THE SKY

In the times of long ago, two villages stood, one on the north, the other on the south side of a river. In the north village dwelt a great hunter, noted for cruelty to his wife. On each return from a hunting trip, he beat her severely. In despair she cried and wailed to the spirits of her parents. On hearing her pleadings, they came to her house and gave her instructions.

The following morning, after the hunter had gone forth, insects and bugs of every kind crawled through the doorway and circled about the room, following the direction of the sun's path. Upon these, according to instruction, the wife poured water from a wooden dipper. Then she went outside, where she saw a tall pole, and near by it a bowl of blood. After dipping her hands in the blood, she found that they readily clung to the pole, so that she could climb with ease. Up, up she went, until she was far above the village.

About sunset the hunter returned. He entered the house, ready to beat his wife, as was his custom. All about the house and through the village he searched. When he chanced to look up, he saw his wife resting on the top of the tall pole. Angrily he commanded her to come down, and when she refused, he shot arrows at her, all of which fell far short of the mark. She laughed at him, calling: "Even though you command me to come down, and shoot arrows at me, I shall remain here! If you wish to reach me, you will have to climb as I did!"

The man, now very angry, began to climb, pulling himself up hand over hand. When she saw that he could reach the top easily, his wife became frightened. In desperation she rocked the pole violently, until her husband's hold was broken and he fell to the hard ground, where his intestines burst from his body.

The villagers, who had watched, gathered about and in revenge for the loss of their great hunter, began to chop down the pole. As it was about to fall, the woman asked, "Where are my two sparks?" Immediately two sparks fell to the ground, where they blazed into huge fires and burned up all the people. Then the pole fell and crushed the houses.

The woman next raised the pole until it pointed to a sky-hole (a star), and climbed until she was able to crawl through. As she lay, panting from exertion, many people walked back and forth over her body. One person finally said, "She must be dead by this time." Then they all went away.

The woman painfully limped on, reaching the house of an old woman, who welcomed her. She married one of the old woman's sons. One morning the old woman announced that her husband would arrive some time during the night. After dark, she bathed and went to bed. Long after nightfall her husband entered, wearing mittens and a waterproof parka. He was a sea-serpent, and his coils nearly filled the room. He slept with the old woman. In the morning, after he had gone, they found the bodies of many sea animals piled beside the door.

A second time when the old woman said her husband was coming that night, another serpent arrived and left fish by the door. The third time, the old woman changed into a young girl and eagerly awaited her husband. Near evening people shouted that some one was coming. They saw approaching a man who was inside a cache on four stilts. The cache-man gave each person in the village a parka before going to his wife. In the morning, after he had gone, she became once more an old woman.

The woman who had come through the sky-hole disliked the serpent husbands of the old woman, and planned to kill them. When they came to the house, each in his turn, she cut off the heads and chopped up the bodies.

Some time later the cache-man came to his wife, bearing marten parkas for each one in the village. The young woman knocked his stilts from under him, so that he was helpless, and followed his tracks back until she arrived at the home of his other wife. There she saw the wife making a parka, and two skulls crawling about on the floor. These the young woman picked up and hurled at the wife, cutting deep gashes in her cheeks.

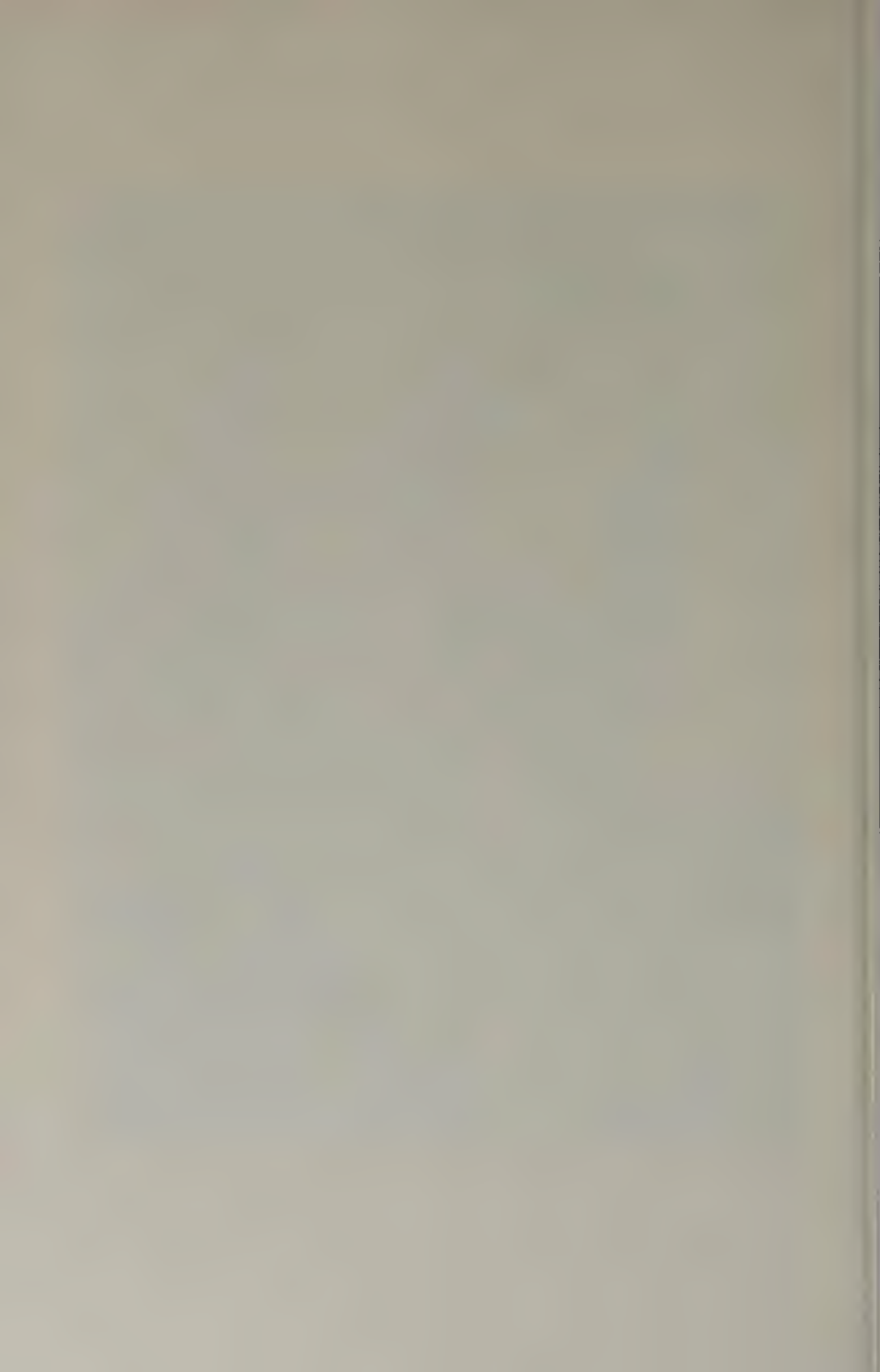
The wife in great rage picked up fire, flung it on the floor, and ran around it as fast as she could, but the blaze was so great that she burned up, and the house was soon in flames. Then the young woman ran back to her village, where she put the cache-man back on his stilts and he departed for his own village.

Soon people called, "Men are coming!" The young woman knew that the cache-man had found his wife dead and was leading his village over for revenge. She at once went to the men's house and instructed her husband to strip the skin from her forehead. Next she climbed to



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HOOPER BAY MAN



the men's house, knife in hand, to await the attack. The avengers shot all their arrows, but they fell short at the feet of the young woman. After all the arrows had been spent, she descended, and, charging the attackers with her knife, killed all but the cache-man. Him she let remain with the old woman, his other wife.

THE MAN WHO BECAME A FOX

There once lived a man who was much talked about for his hunting ability on land and sea — a man who always carried the best and most complete equipment. He rarely came home, except to bring in game. While away he offered sacrifices to the dead at fox-holes. When his son became a man, about to go on his first hunt, the father instructed him: "Take food with you and sacrifice it to the dead at fox-holes. Then spend the whole day alone and in idleness, but hunt early the following day. Then you will always get game in plenty."

The youth built himself a hunting lodge, with racks for drying meat. When he caught more caribou than he could carry home, he buried the carcasses in the snow, leaving the intestines on the surface for the foxes, which would eat those and leave the meat alone. The skins he folded and placed on one skin, hair down on the snow, which he used as a sled. The youth became a better hunter than his father.

Once on his return from a hunt, he found a fire in his hut and the remains of a meal. He wondered who could have been there. Next day he set out as usual, wearing a new pair of boots, but on returning that night he found a pot of food and his old boots repaired with fine left-handed sewing. He decided to go out and watch at a distance for the person. Soon he saw the water-pot come out, moving as if some one carried it. It returned to the house, filled to the brim. Then he saw stones rolled off the roof, and the smoke-hole cover removed, but still no person was visible. Quickly entering, he saw no one; but, when he sat down, a naked woman suddenly appeared, sitting on the grass mat, cutting meat on a board. At first she took no notice of him, keeping her head bowed. He liked her, and spoke: "Why have you acted so secretly? Do not hide from me, but always remain visible, as you now are. Be a person. Do not leave me."

She looked up, and answered, "I am following the wishes of my parents, who wanted me to come here."

He picked the finest fawn-skin and gave it to her, saying: "You may go home and tell your parents that you are going to stay with me. I also shall be away several days."

On his return he found that she was there also, and had hung the meat, dried the skins, and made sinew. When the ice was thick enough on the rivers to be crossed safely, they went to his home. The people said, "Our best hunter's son has returned with a girl we have never seen before."

His parents, glad to receive her, gave her new clothes and made a place in the home for her. In two years she had a baby. One day, leaving the baby in the woman's house to go for water, she heard a woman say to the baby: "Why are you crying so for your mother? She is nobody. Her boots are falling down about her ankles, and her eyes are like fox-eyes."

Hearing this, she felt so sad that she took the baby and ran away. The husband pursued when he learned what had happened, but could not catch up to her until they reached a fox-hole. Turning into a fox, she dived down, but he grabbed her tail and the tip remained in his hands. Soon a fox came out, and said: "My sister wants her trimmings. She is groaning in pain."

"She must come out and get them herself."

Several others pleaded for the tail, but he remained firm in his demand. Finally, weeping in agony, she came out. "Why did you leave me without saying anything? Did my relatives say anything or do anything to you?" demanded the man.

"I could not stay after hearing them say that my fingers are like fox-claws, that I have fox-eyes, and my boots hang down over my ankles."

She refused to return with him, but, after replacing the tail, invited him to stay. It was difficult for him to squeeze his head in the hole, but that once done his body became smaller and easily entered. In an underground room he saw his wife's family. The father spoke to him: "I sent my daughter to you, because you needed help. She went to your village, where she received such bad treatment that she had to come back here. You can go home or stay here, as you please."

That night some beings in human form entered hurriedly and snatched up weapons. "They are going hunting. You may go with them and take my sled, skimmer, and ice-pick," offered his father-in-law. He followed the men to the ice and skimmed the shell ice from a hole. They said to him, "When you see anything floating, scoop it up with your hands."

He fished up dirt, leaves, and wild parsnips, and disgustedly thought: "What are these good for? We can not eat this stuff. Well, I shall do as I have been told."

Looking down at the debris, the man saw to his surprise that it had changed to white whale, walrus, seal, and fish. He gave away what he could not carry to those who had caught nothing, and all went home. His father-in-law and all the village were surprised and pleased at the size of his catch.

He lived with them a long while and happily as a fox, and had great plenty. Once he thought of his home village and journeyed there for a visit, but, as he drew near, the noises were so loud and the stenches so vile that he returned to his fox home.

Thus his village lost a good hunter because a person had said what she had no right to say about some one else.

THE PRICE OF A WIFE

In a village by the sea lived a hunter, Kaiúga, and his daughter Mírök. Mírök refused to consider seriously the youths of the village, and whenever one proposed marriage she would accept his gifts and carry food to him in the men's house. If he was liked by her, she would bring back the empty dish, but never again would she take food to him. Thus the father found himself burdened with an unapproachable daughter and all the youths of the village as sons-in-law. In his distress, he ran his fingers through his hair so much that it stood on end permanently.

One day an umiak containing a man and a woman, who were messengers, pulled up to the village. The woman went direct to Mírök and said, "Ũnügchoaóchĩn told me to fetch you to him."

"I have beads on my bed and my possessions are here beside me. Can he replace what I now own?"

"Yes, will you come now?"

"Can Ũnügchoaóchĩn spread sealskins from the umiak to his house for me to walk on?"

"It can be done."

"Will Ũnügchoaóchĩn have caribou-skins spread from his door to the men's house for me to walk on when I carry food to him? Will the meat be caribou breast?"

"If you will come with me, all shall be done."

"Will Ũnügchoaóchĩn have caribou-skins spread from my door to the urine pot, and will he have two reindeer-hides to stand on and reindeer-fur for drying?"

"If you will come with me, it shall be done. He told me to fetch you."

"Will Ũnügchoaóchĩn have three grease pots, one with blubber, one with grease, and one inlaid with ivory?"

The woman messenger hesitated. Angrily Mírök exclaimed: "Even if Ũnügchoaóchĩn is a good man and if he were here, I should throw urine in his face!"

The messenger went back to the umiak, and they pushed off, anchoring some distance from shore. Then the other messenger opened a box containing an inner box, inside of which was a small whale of carved ivory. This, attached to a long string, he dropped overboard, and sang:

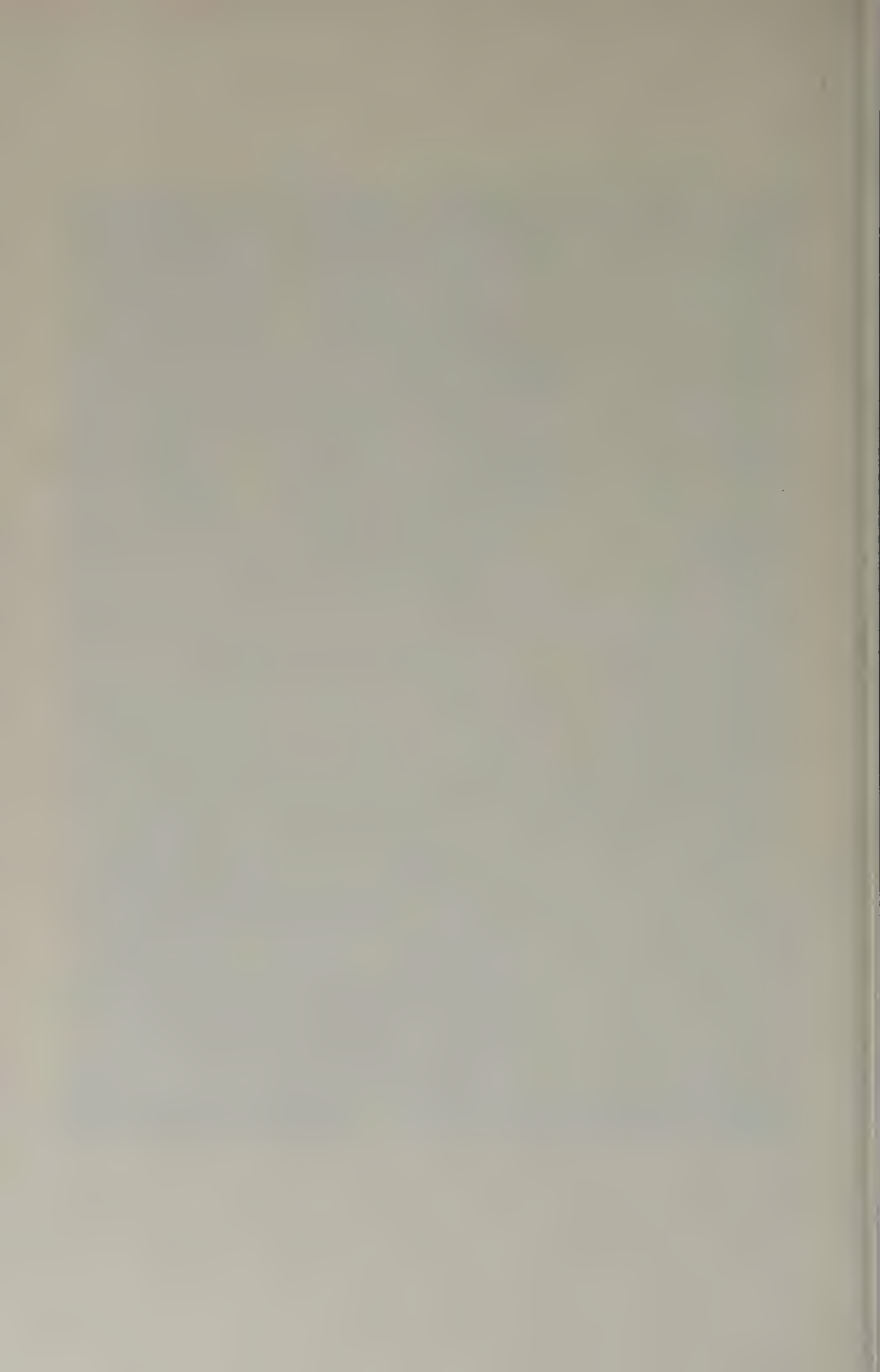
Down there below me;
Down there below me;
Under the waves;
Come up, daughter Mírök.

At once the messengers heard the voice of Mírök on the shore, shouting as if in pain, "Oh, oh! My arm has gone!" At the same instant a whale thrust his head above the sea, bearing the arm of Mírök. This the man with the whale-power took aboard. Again and again he sang, and each time the whale brought up some part of Mírök. As soon as all the parts were there, the man assembled them and clothed her. When he had reached the village of Ũnügchoaóchĩn, he bade her remain aboard while he spread sealskins from boat to house for her to walk on.



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ŬKOWŬHHŬH, HOOPER BAY



Mirök felt greatly humiliated for having asked for so much. She saw many riches in the house: nose- and ear-beads, clothing, and all necessities. There were three grease pots, one with blubber, one with grease, and one inlaid with ivory. She found fresh caribou breast to eat, and caribou-skins to walk on to the men's house and to the urine pot, all as she had desired.

Ūnūgchoaóchin, a great hunter, married her, thus winning her over all the youths of her village and the surrounding country.

THE PENALTY FOR LEAVING THE PUBERTY HOUSE

Long, long ago a couple had a daughter born to them. When she arrived at the age of puberty, she became frightened about her condition and ran to her mother, who said: "My daughter, be not afraid. All women have such experiences. Your brothers will build you a snow-house to stay in until it is over. In summer they will build a shelter. We shall be able to talk to you."

Said the father: "Be not afraid, daughter. There is much food here already prepared. When the time comes, call your mother and she will prepare you for the bath."

After three days in the puberty house, the daughter was bathed with urine, and the mother instructed her: "Be sure to keep the lamp burning all the time. I shall feed you dry fish and dock-laf soup when you are hungry."

Two days later the girl had another bath, and one on the eighth day. On the ninth day the mother came to give her the last bath. The girl was tired of her confinement, frightened, and wished to go home. The mother replied: "You must stay here tonight, but you may come home tomorrow. All girls remain alone during their first menstruation. After this you can live with us; but when your period comes, you must wear mittens, so that people will know."

The girl was unable to rest well that night, but tossed restlessly in broken slumber. Once she was awakened by the creaking of sled-runners over the snow. The sled stopped by her small snow-house, and two strangers, one with frosted whiskers, entered. They said: "We have come for you. We ask you to come with us."

She was too frightened to answer.

"Tell us now whether or not you are coming," they demanded.

She thought: "I do not know these people, where they come from or where they are going. But my mother would not take me home yesterday, so I might as well go with them."

Outside they put her on the sled, which had two tug-lines to draw it. She sat on a mat, and they flung caribou-ropes over her.

"After we start, be sure and not look out," they admonished her.

They started out at normal speed, and she soon fell asleep. Once, waking to find the sled travelling at tremendous speed, she peeped out and saw that it was drawn by two wolves, mouths open and tongues hanging out. She cried, "Oh!" They stopped at once, and said: "We told you not to look. We are trying to go as fast as we can. Now do not peep out again." When they spoke, they were in human form again.

The sled started off at normal speed, but soon gained rapidly. At last it stopped, and one of the wolves said: "Now you may look out. We are in our village."

She was taken into the women's house, which was richly equipped with utensils, clothing, and food supplies. Soon she married one of her abductors. One day the cry "Caribou!" rose in the village. The girl's husband shouted, "Bring me my bow-sheath!" She hunted all about the house, unable to locate it, while he stamped about outside impatiently. "Where is my bow-sheath? Why do you not bring it?" he cried.

"I have searched, but I can not find it."

"Can you not see it hanging on that post?"

The bow-sheath was the nose of a wolf. In the hunt the husband brought down but two caribou, and blamed her, "If you had not been so slow, I should have killed more."

"At home our sheaths are different; that kind is what I was looking for," she answered.

One day all the people put on wolf-noses, becoming wolves, and went out. The husband said to his wife: "The two 'Fetchers' of 'Woman Who Has Power' have come. You must remain inside."

Listening to the commotion outside, the girl thought: "Those people told me I could not watch games. I might as well." When she went out, she saw the two "Fetchers" flying in

the air. They had long sticks with which they reached down and struck the wolves. The wolves jumped and snapped at the sticks, but were unable to touch the "Fetchers." When she appeared, the wolves were beaten badly. Later her husband scolded her severely for disobedience.

That winter, after her baby was born, the "Fetchers" arrived once more, and all the wolves went out to fight again. She was told to stay indoors, because the "Fetchers" would fly away with her if she went out. She thought: "It is not right for them to keep me inside like this. I do not like the way they treat me. I shall take a chance with these 'Fetchers,' whoever they may be."

She put snow in the baby's mouth to stop its crying, and ran out. When the "Fetchers" spied her, they stopped beating the wolves, swooped down, and flew away with her. Soon the cries of rage and the pursuit were left far behind. When at last they came to a house, she was put down and told to enter. An old woman offered her a dish of berries and tallow, and said: "I am Woman Who Has Power. I am the Oldest of the Oldest. People sacrifice to the dead through me. This food is what your parents sacrificed to me. When young girls leave the puberty house too soon, the evil spirits, the 'Fearful Things' [*ihchi*] who dwell in the walrus and wolves, take them. I sent out my two 'Fetchers' to bring you back. Eat and then return to your family, who are grieving for you."

"How am I to travel?"

"Outside you will see several bird and animal noses. Take your choice."

The girl put on a raven-nose, became a raven, and flew away. Whenever she came to a village, she was unable to enter, because she was forced to peck around in garbage dumps as ravens do. She thought, "I shall never get home travelling like this."

Next she tried a white-fox nose, but found that she merely went from knoll to knoll, unable to go long in any one direction. Then she put on a red-fox nose, and was able to go toward her village, but often had to sit motionless a long time in one spot. She thought, "I am going home now, regardless of how long it takes."

Finally arrived, she was unable to enter, because foxes are shy of villages in the daytime. Then she took off the fox-nose, which immediately started back to Woman Who Has Power. In her home she saw her parents, now old, eyes red from weeping, each sitting in a corner. Her mother was wailing: "Why does my mind always make me see my daughter? I want my real daughter."

"Mother, I am here. I am your real daughter. I heard that you wanted me, and I came."

"Daughter, I did not think you were alive and real. If I had known that, I should not have said it."

The girl learned that the man who was to have married her had taken another wife. Now she was left to live alone.

THE WIFE-STEALER

A great hunter lived alone with his two sons, who, under his instruction, also became good hunters, so that all the girls in the village sought to become their wives. In time the sons married. In the same village lived a poor young man with his grandmother; to him the hunters gave weapons, while their wives provided clothing and food. In return for this kindness, the poor young man performed much work.

One day, when the wives of the two brothers were away from the village gathering firewood, they saw a large white *kaiak* approaching. Thinking that it might be carrying a man from the village, they watched and waited, but the man proved a stranger. "I am going to take you away with me," he announced. "Will you come?"

"No, we shall not go with you," they responded.

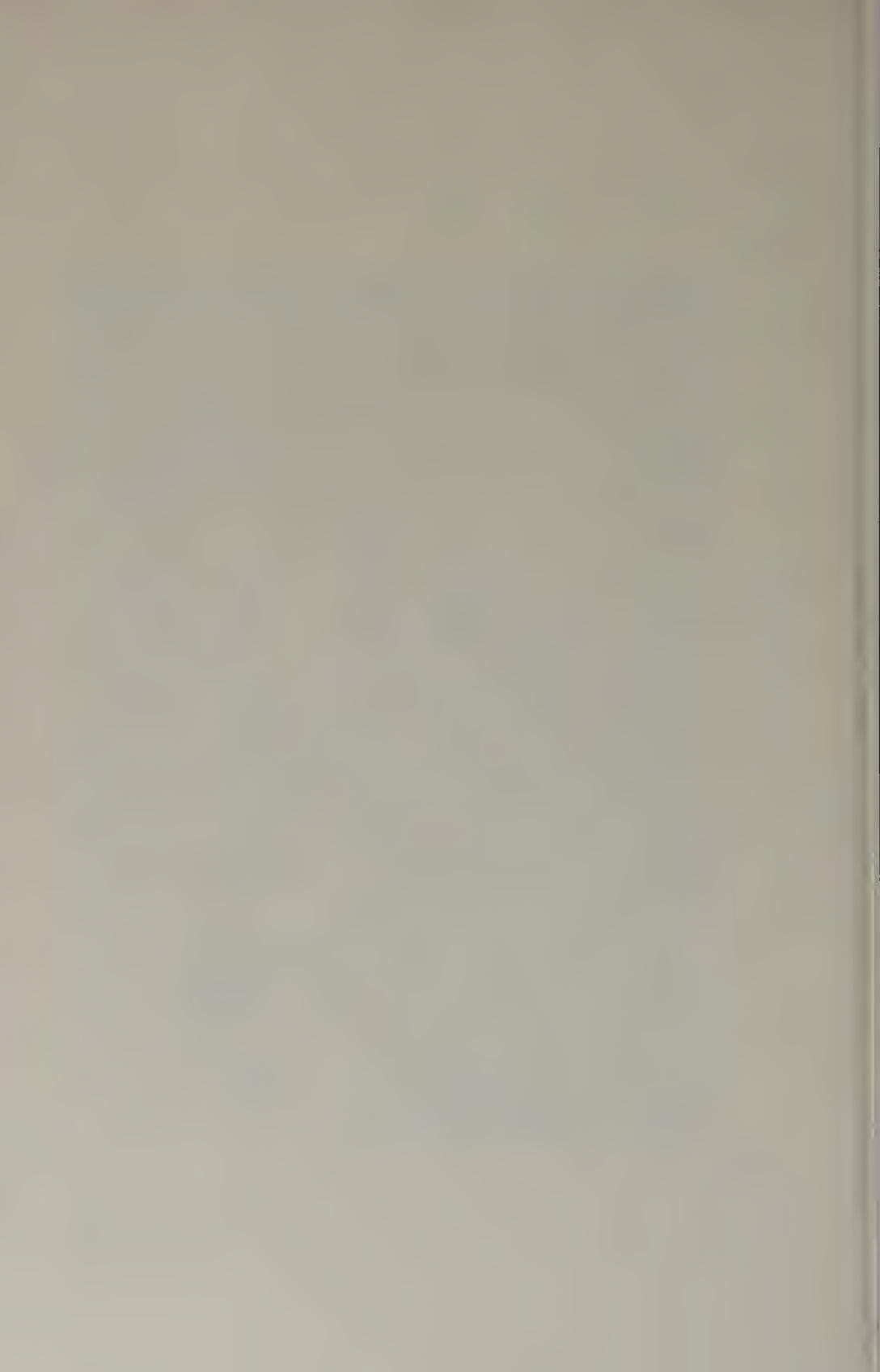
"You must come with me," he insisted.

Then he seized and bore them struggling to his *kaiak* and set out over the sea. After a long journey, they arrived at a land strange to the women. Their husbands searched long and anxiously, until they were forced reluctantly to give up the quest. It happened that, when the poor young man was gathering driftwood, he saw many footprints, those of two women and a man. The signs told him of a fierce struggle, which led to the water's edge. He could even see where the paddle had dipped, leaving a trail across the water. The poor young man, throwing a light load into his *kaiak*, hastily paddled home. He told his grandmother, excitedly:



From Copyright Photograph 1885 by E. S. Evans

DRYING WHALE MEAT, HOOPER BAY



"By some driftwood I saw signs of two women carried off by a man! I wonder if they were the wives of our hunters!"

"Perhaps; but you had better keep the discovery to yourself, because if they were not the wives, you would be putting the brothers on a false trail," she counselled.

The poor young man, after much disturbing thought, told the two brothers. The three went and carefully examined the signs. The hunters loaded their kaiaks with oil, meat, and fish-eggs. They packed clothing and weapons, but also borrowed old worn-out clothing as well as useless weapons from the poor young man. Then they set out in pursuit.

For ten days they paddled before sighting a strange land. There they saw a poorly kept house, with seeds and grasses almost entirely overhanging the smoke-hole. By the door sat an unkempt, ragged old woman. The brothers pulled away the weeds, cleaned the house, emptied the urine pot, and put new grass mats inside. After they bathed and clothed the old woman, they asked, "Grandmother, have you seen a man with two women pass by here?"

"A long time ago a white kaiak went by, going across the sea. When it returned, I saw the man had two women behind him. His village is over there."

The brothers stripped themselves of clothing, rubbed fish-eggs on their bodies, rolled in soot and ashes, put on borrowed old clothes, and took up the old bows and arrows with no flint points. They appeared to be very poor. Next they departed for the village, where they entered the men's house. There the wife-stealer beckoned to them, "You strangers come and sit by me." He laughed and ridiculed them saying: "You two are stinkers. Where did you come from, and what do you want here?"

"Our grandmother sent us to get the meat which you throw away."

The wife-stealer picked up their weapons and held them so that all the men could see. "Look at these bows of rotten wood" he jeered; "and see these pointless sticks for arrows! What would these two do if they saw a caribou?" He stood a grass mat by the entranceway, and said to them: "This is a caribou. Try to hit it."

The brothers shot and purposely missed the mark. Then the wife-stealer derided: "What will these people think of you, you stinkers? You can never get game; why carry those useless things? I shall make you my servants, since you are fit for nothing else. I shall give you a fitting new name. I shall call you 'Rotten Fish-eggs!'"

The men in the house were displeased at this treatment of the strangers. They talked among themselves: "Those two servants are well-built young men. Their muscles are hard. I believe they are deceiving us and that something will happen." Another said, "Our leader is carrying things too far with them."

The following day the two said that they were going back to their grandmother. The wife-stealer laughed and jibed at them, and laughed all the harder when they began to run and stumbled in their effort to get away. Once out of sight, they tore off the old clothes and went naked to the old woman's house, where they bathed, put on new clothing, and equipped themselves with good weapons. Then they went back to the village by kaiak. The wife-stealer, not recognizing the men, greeted them in the men's house and with much laughter told the story of the two "Rotten Fish-eggs" who had visited him the day before. They also went into the women's house and found their wives eager to return home with them.

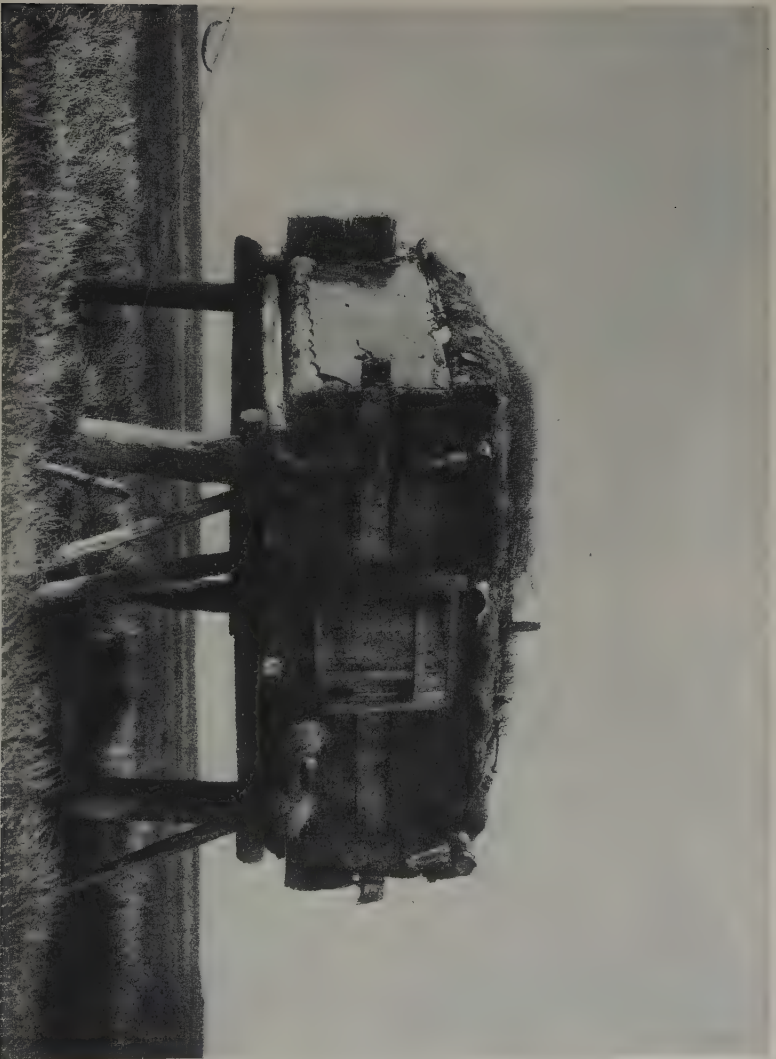
The wife-stealer challenged the two brothers to a seal-hunting contest. With weapons they set out, and the brothers soon returned loaded down with a big hair-seal, while after a whole day the wife-stealer came in with only a small spotted seal. The following day the three hunted caribou. It took the brothers but a short time to bag more than they could carry, but the wife-stealer was gone all day before he succeeded in killing a small fawn. On the third day a challenge was again sent to them, but they replied that it would be a waste of time to go out; that they had beaten the wife-stealer twice before.

The brothers loaded their kaiaks, took their wives and the wife of the wife-stealer, who begged to go along too, and set out for home. They all stopped at the old woman's house. The wife-stealer, in pursuit, came by and asked the old woman if she had seen two men and three women go by. She replied that she had seen them headed out to sea. The wife-stealer went home to his village to prepare for a long chase, while the small party came out of the old woman's house and went on their way. When the wife-stealer came past again, in pursuit of the two brothers and the three women, the old woman stretched out her hand with fingers outspread

and pushed back the horizon, so that the man, although he paddled all day, never got anywhere. Finally he gave up the chase and went home.

Another time the wife-stealer attempted the pursuit, and succeeded in reaching the home of the two brothers, who at once made him a servant and heaped so many indignities, so much hard work, on him that he was entirely exhausted. Then the father of the hunters said to him, "Those two 'Rotten Fish-eggs' gave you so much to do that you are tired out."

He begged them to let him go home with his wife, and they gave him a provisioned kaiak. His wife got in behind him, but as one brother shoved the kaiak clear of the shore, the other snatched back the woman. The wife-stealer cried, and returned home alone, but his wife remained and lived as a mother to the two hunters and their wives.



From Geographical Photographs, 1923 by E. C. R. R. R.

FOOD CACHES, HOOPER BAY



ESKIMO OF HOOPER BAY

NORTHEAST of Nelson island and south of Cape Romanzof lies the village at Hooper bay, situated a few miles inland on a tidewater river. The houses, occupied in winter, are built on a mound which rises slightly above the surrounding flats. The dwellings are dug and built into the hill with such little regard for order that the entrance to one may open on the roof of a house below.

On a spur of the hill, a short distance from the village, is an extensive graveyard containing many grave-boxes with accompanying pots, pans, paddles, and weapons. Here many poles stand erect as grave-markers, each with a small platform on top, to which is fastened a carved figure, one such being the image of a man, arms outstretched, sitting in his kaiak.

The sources of food are seemingly few. Berries in profusion grow on the flats, while beluga, flounder, sole, tomcod, and many varieties of ducks supply the remainder. Fox, mink, muskrat, and weasel are trapped for their furs. It has occasionally happened, as in the year 1927, that the fish-run yielded a poor catch, birds were scarce, and there were but few berries. The people were faced with starvation in the coming year; indeed only the aid of the Government teacher, who took out parties of hunters in his small power boat to run aground and shoot beluga, or white whales, saved them. Some sixty-seven beluga were thus caught, sun-dried, and kippered.

In the summer the Eskimo of Hooper bay live in tents and brush shelters along the banks of the stream. The surrounding country is flat; barely a foot of it is above sea-level at high tide, hence it is always marshy. The tide-flats breed swarms of mosquitoes; the blue clay of the relatively more solid ground is soggy and sticky to a depth of six inches or more, making walking difficult except on beaten trails, and travel is treacherous even there. Slimy clay prevails everywhere. In summer shelters and winter houses alike, it

oozes through the sleeping matting, and clothing, kaiaks, and everything in use become coated with it. Living conditions are therefore extremely filthy. Uncleanliness of person and possessions is the rule; the floors of dwellings are deep in filth and refuse of every description; fish and game are cleaned in the rooms, and the entrails and heads are carelessly flung on the floor to rot and to produce a pestilential stench. By reason of the continual dampness, it is estimated that nearly three-quarters of the inhabitants of the village are tubercular; yet few seem to be bedridden, but are able to pursue their daily duties. School and religious workers have endeavored many times to persuade them to move to a more healthful locality, always to meet with stubborn refusal. Say they: "How can we move? We have barely enough timber for our houses here; there is not enough for building a new village. Our fathers rest here in their graves; we can not leave them."

The dugout houses are built in a manner somewhat similar to those of Nunivak island, differing chiefly in the shorter entranceway and having the outer opening at the end, rather than on top, of the entranceway. The kaiaks are built along the same lines as those of Nunivak, but the weapons used are much cruder. What the inhabitants lack in wood and ivory carving is made up in skilful joinery. The language is spoken more slowly and is less guttural than that of Nunivak.



From Copyright Photograph 1928 by B. L. Curtis

A GRAVE-POST, HOOPER BAY



ESKIMO OF KING ISLAND

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

KING ISLAND, the home of the northern seaciff-dwelling Eskimo, is barely a dot in Bering sea. It is almost at the entrance of Bering strait, and lies about ninety miles north-west of Nome and fifty miles southward from Cape Prince of Wales. It thrusts up its head from the depths, the sheer cliffs rising about seven hundred feet above sea-level. Flat on top, about two square miles in area, the island resembles a huge stone cube. This bleak, forbidding, rocky mass supports few varieties of growing things. A mossy vegetation, low bushes, and berries grow among the rocks and on the flat top; birds flock, breed, and migrate by millions, dwelling, while occupying the island, in almost inaccessible rocky niches; walrus and seal are numerous, for King island is in the direct route of the north and south migrations of these mammals. Berries are gathered, birds are caught, and seal taken; but the natives are primarily walrus-hunters, and it is the walrus that has attracted and held this small group of Eskimo to its inhospitable island. At the south side there is a rock slide, with its talus extending into the sea. This slide, not more than two hundred feet wide and scarcely less precipitous than the cliff itself, affords the only landing on the island for boat or canoe. Few vessels call: an occasional trading ship and the rare visits of the revenue cutter are about the only ones. There is no protection from the sea, and the water is too deep for easy anchorage.

By the rock slide which serves as a trail, the inhabitants have erected a village of about twenty-nine houses, scattered irregularly on seven terraces, the lowest some eighty or a hundred feet above sea-level. Owing to the sheerness of the cliff, the dwellings are built on stilts. The rear parts of the houses rest on poles a few feet high, or else are built against the cliff. The fronts are attached to poles, well over twenty feet tall, which project above the roofs and, with

horizontal connecting poles, serve also as drying racks. On the pole framework the two-roomed house is built. The façade of the habitation is set back about two feet from the long outer poles, in order that a platform or porch may extend the entire length. The front room, about sixteen feet long, nine or ten feet deep, and six feet high, is of hewn or whipsawed planks; a wooden door opens to the platform or porch, and the roof is of walrus-hide tightly lashed down. This portion of the house with its many shelves is used as a storeroom.

To the rear of the storeroom is the livingroom proper. Entrance is obtained by means of a hole, barely large enough to admit the body, which opens into the storeroom and which may be closed with a tightly fitting wooden or skin cover. The interior, in dimensions about seven by eight feet and five feet high, is plank-lined. The floor is highly polished by contact with many bodies, and the whole chamber is kept scrupulously clean. Light is admitted by a small window in each end, formerly of intestinal parchment but now of glass. The seal-oil cooking lamp is placed just below the window, and above it is a rack for the cooking utensils. The exterior sides, roof, and floor are covered with walrus-hide tightly lashed in place. In exterior appearance this semi-airtight livingroom resembles a huge package wrapped and lashed with rawhide. About twelve or thirteen skins are required to build the house and storeroom or entry. Between interior and exterior is a filling of moss, a foot thick, which provides excellent insulation against the cold. The exterior hides are said to be renewed each year.

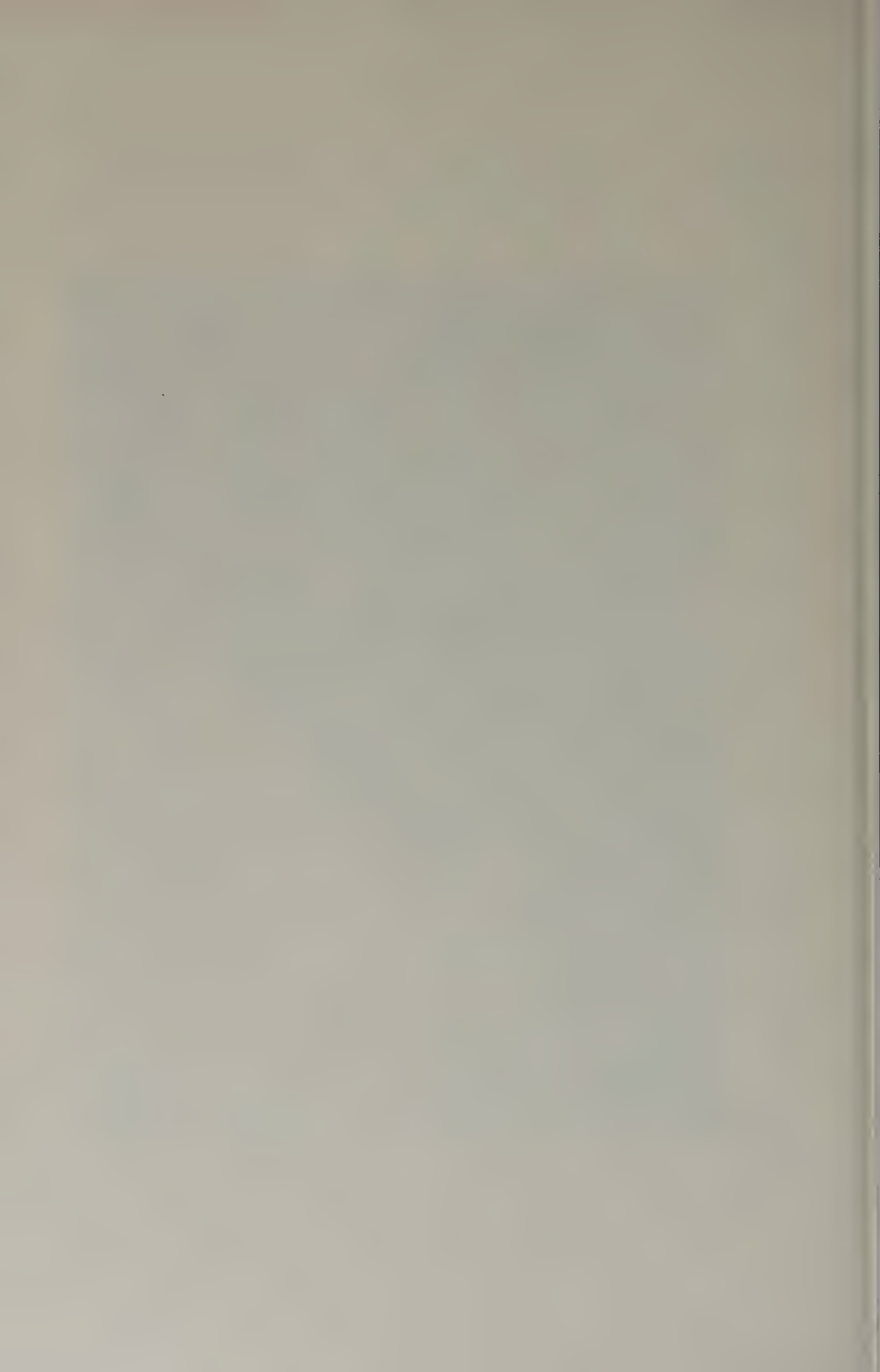
Of late years the Eskimo of King island have spent the midsummer months at Nome, leaving their village entirely deserted, except by the dogs, which remain on the island in numbers, subsisting on whatever they can hunt or on walrus carcasses left by the natives apparently for the purpose. While continually fighting among themselves — and woe betide the animal which leaves his own terrace to invade another — the dogs, some of them splendid specimens, nevertheless were pitifully glad to see the members of the expedition, leaping, fawning, rolling underfoot, and in their joy upsetting the camera many times.

In early spring, after the ice has gone out and the migratory season for fowl has begun, eggs are gathered and birds are caught in whalebone snares. The loops of whalebone dangle over the cliff edges at the ends of long lines held by the men. A quick jerk of the line draws the noose taut about the struggling bird.

Crabs are easily caught by the use of fresh fish as bait.



From Copyright Photograph 1928 by C. J. Davis



At this time the hunting of black whale, walrus, sea-lion, and seal takes place, the principal occupation of this and the fall season. The hunters of King island, like those of some of the villages farther north, put to sea in skin boats, nine men to a crew, instead of in kaiaks. The hunting takes place in slightly choppy or stormy weather, rather than when the sea is smooth. It is believed that when the weather is calm, the spirits of the drowned will upset the boats of their relatives and drown the occupants.

Black whales are not numerous in these waters; but should one be killed, the owner of the boat receives the hind-part and one flipper as his share, the remainder being divided equally amongst the crew. On the night following the killing of a black whale, a ceremony is held in the men's house by all the villagers. A number of women who are chosen to dance line up along one wall. To the accompaniment of drumming and singing, each woman in turn dances in the middle of the room with her husband. After these chosen dancers have finished, the skin of the whale is cut up into rawhide lines and divided amongst the women, an act symbolizing the spirit of the whale returning to the sea to enter another whale body. A feast follows. For nearly a week dancing and feasting are indulged in, in order that the whale-spirit may have plenty of time to escape.

The game most sought is the walrus. When killed in the spring, such sea animals as walrus, sea-lion, and seal are too thin to float, hence it is necessary, in the case of the walrus and sea-lion, to insert carved ivory sticks in holes by the larger bones and to break loose some of the muscles; then air is introduced by means of a tube in the spaces thus made, and the holes are plugged. The several air spaces float the carcass, so that it may be towed home. Seals are not thus treated, but are hauled into the boat. If, for any reason, such as lack of buoyancy in the carcass, or if the weather should be too stormy for towing, the game must be abandoned, the crew endeavors to bring back a tusk to prove the kill. When men hunt in kaiaks, two of the craft go out together, and if successful they tow the carcass between them. In dividing a walrus, the boat-owner receives the flippers, and half each of the blubber, heart, liver, and intestines; the harpooner takes the ivory; the remainder is divided equally amongst the crew.

At the end of spring, should a polar bear be caught, a dance and a feast are held for one night only. When the black bear is killed, the dance and feast are postponed until after the fall hunt.

After the spring hunt, boats are repaired. If there should be a

break in any part, the entire frame is taken apart and relashed, new skin covers are stretched on the frames, and the boats are ready for the summer migration. The food supplies, meat and oil, are stored in walrus pokes and cached in a cave, which is icy cold even in the summer months; there it remains until removed for fall and winter use.

Formerly in the summer a great many of the people paddled to Siberia, Kotzebue, the Diomedes, Cape Prince of Wales, and the Yukon, to exchange walrus-hides, meat, and oil for the skins of beaver, deer, and fox, and for fish and berries. As they journeyed along the coast, they picked up driftwood, both to trade and for their own use on the island. On these expeditions the same boat rarely returned to the same place in two successive summers, but visited another village until the circuit was made. About September the boats began to gather near Port Clarence. While waiting for all the people to assemble, the crews traded with the Sledge Island and Teller people for deer and moose, or hunted for themselves in this lake country. When all had gathered, the boats returned to King island on a good day and sang "happy" songs all the way home.

Those who remained on the island throughout the summer months caught seal with nets two fathoms long, floated by inflated bladders and held vertical by bone sinkers. Fish, especially flounders, often became enmeshed. Fish-nets were not used, but lines and hooks were employed. Berries were gathered. In these days most of the population travel to Nome, where they spend the summer working for the whites or in carving ivory for trade. They are clever, skilful carvers, and their etchings on ivory are very well executed. On their departure from and return to King island the boats nowadays are carried or towed by one of the United States revenue cutters.

In the fall, birds are caught at night by men lowered on lines from the cliffs above. Because of the numerous nests, a man easily catches the birds with his hands and stuffs them into a bag carried for the purpose. In daytime, nets or pronged spears are used. Seal-nets are set out, and sea-lion and walrus are caught. It is thought that in the fall, toward the close of day, these animals shut their eyes, hence are easily killed.

Later in the fall, preparations for the winter hunt are made. Boats, weapons, and gear of all kinds are overhauled, and clothes are made. After the ice is in, sea-lion and seal are harpooned through blow-holes therein. The animals are carried home for butchering, because the intense cold freezes and hardens the meat. Walrus is



From Copyright Photograph 1928 by E. P. Curtis

LOOKING TO SEA, KING ISLAND



cut into pieces small enough for a man to carry or drag home. Hunting on the ice occurs in the morning, before breakfast, as it is believed that sea mammals are more easily killed when the men hunt with empty stomachs.

Polar bears are sometimes killed on the ice, in which case the weapon is a hollow-pointed spear obtained in trade from the Siberians. When the bear rushes the man, the hunter sets the butt of the spear on the ice with the point directed toward the bear's breast; the beast then impales himself. This method of hunting can be pursued only by the bravest men, for it often results fatally to the hunter.

Seal are also caught in nets on long lines held by men on the ice edge. These nets (it takes three sealskins to make one) are similar to those used in summer.

Walrus are always sought, as they outrank all other animals in importance. The walrus not only forms the chief article of trade, but the meat and oil make up a large part of the food supply; boat skins require four hides each; the houses, which are re-covered every fall, need seven hides for the house proper, five or six for the storeroom and entranceway, and additional hides for the lashings.

During the long winter nights, dances are held in the two men's houses, the occupants of each giving a dance and a feast in turn. These are performed almost nightly until the days begin to lengthen and the spring hunting season arrives. So far as could be learned, the King islanders have few ceremonies: those recorded are performed in connection with social customs, such as the naming ritual, or a youth's first bird, fish, or animal catch.

As soon as a child is born, water is sprinkled on its head and lips, and it is given the name of a recently deceased relative. Thus a departed person who had left many living relatives would often be posthumously honored by having several of their children named after him. Until some child is ceremonially named for a deceased person for whom the relatives mourn, it is believed that actual death and the departure of the spirit do not occur. To the newborn is given some article that had belonged to its deceased namesake. From the period of birth until the child is able to walk and talk, the mother must isolate herself as much as possible; she is allowed no cold water to drink, and she must eat only one kind of food, usually seal meat. By following this routine, the male child is enabled to grow to be a strong, wealthy hunter and to obtain a good wife.

When a boy has caught his first fish, he is honored with a feast.

The first bird is skinned and dried outdoors, and a dance is given for the boy. A youth who kills his first seal must cut up the skin into lines and lashings, and distribute them to the villagers. He is further required to sleep four nights, without covering, at the entrance to the men's house, using some ivory-carving tool, perhaps a drill, for a pillow. On the termination of this ordeal, his father and uncle cut off all his hair.

After a youth has secured each kind of bird, fish, and animal commonly used, songs are devised for him to use in the dances, and his parents search for a suitable woman for him to marry. When both parents have expressed their approval, the youth must provide clothes for the girl and food for her parents until she consents. They then live together in the house of his or her parents, and the parents move to another home or to the men's house.

Loose sexual relations among the unmarried, should they become known, pass without notice; but after marriage they are a sufficient cause for separation. The husband may kill the adulterer; but if the people decide that he shall live, they express their opinion by cutting the husband's bow-string. Then he may not kill the man.

The body of a person dying near the time of darkness is kept in the house and guarded. At sunrise, or in full daytime, the body, clothed in its best, is carried out through a hole slit in the wall of the entranceway in order that no evil may overtake the relatives while hunting. Wealthy persons have burial clothes made long before death and kept in a bag. Outside, the body is first wrapped in a hide and securely lashed, then carried four times if a man, five if a woman, in a circle following the course of the sun's path. Next the corpse is raised, while each near relative passes beneath it. As each goes underneath, a man with a knife, on which a face is carved, makes a stroke with it, in order that none of the relatives may die soon. The body is next carried to a place near the top of the island and laid on a carved board among the rocks. The board is one used in the home as part of the clothes-drying rack. The head of the corpse faces eastward. Possessions requested before death are deposited with it. If the body be that of a woman, a bead, considered a very valuable possession, is placed with it. The remains are then covered with a walrus-hide and large stones are piled around and on them. In order that the spirit may not be injured in any way, the near relatives must wear parkas with hoods up, belts, and mittens for four days, during which time they must do no work of any kind. Then the normal routine of life may be slowly taken up.



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ON THE CLIFF EDGE, KING ISLAND



MYTHOLOGY

ORIGIN OF KING ISLAND

A man, who lived on the mainland, while fishing in a river near the Sawtooth mountains, once speared a large bullhead from his kaiak. By lashing its tail violently, the struggling fish so widened the river that it formed Salt lake. The fish towed the kaiak swiftly down the stream, but at the mouth the man was able to heave in on the line until near enough to cast a second spear. The pain-maddened fish flung about so furiously that it formed what is now called Grantley Harbor.

The bullhead towed the kaiak out of sight of land before the man was able to make his kill. Then he towed the monster by passing a line through its mouth. He paddled long and hard. Tired out, he looked about and saw that he had not moved even the length of a kaiak. Glancing over his shoulder, he was astounded to see that the fish had turned into an island (King island); the hole where the line was attached can still be seen. The man, frightened, cut the line and paddled home at full speed.

He said nothing to any one about what had happened, until one day he asked a poor youth to go hunting with him. To him he related the story, saying that he wished to see if the fish had really become an island. They paddled far across the open, when before them rose the rocky cliffs of the island. On shore the poor youth chased birds so long that the man, chafing impatiently, set out for home alone. The youth, finding that he was thus marooned, lived in a cave. With a stone knife he cut up dead seal and whale washed ashore. Here he lived all winter and spring.

In the following summer, the man, curious as to the fate of the youth, paddled to the island. Seeing the kaiak approach, the young man hid, and did not answer the searcher's calls. The man thought: "That youth must have starved. I shall see if I can find his body." As soon as the man had climbed the cliff, the youth jumped in the kaiak and paddled away. He heard the man cry out after him, but shouted back: "You deserted me on this island! Now you can stay and live as I lived; but I am leaving a supply of food, although you left me nothing!"

The man starved that winter. When the youth returned to the island the following summer, he was unable to find the body.

THE FIRST WOMAN COMES TO KING ISLAND

A woman, the first person to come to King island since it had been made from a fish, came ashore. No one knows whence she came, nor how she got there. The woman built a hut of grass and cut up much meat for winter food. After being there some time she noticed that the carcasses, as she cut them, came to life and bled from their noses. Then morning after morning, on waking, she found part of her parka-hood gone. She knew some one had been with her, but could never discover anybody. At last, waking suddenly, she saw a man beside her. She said: "You have been coming here all fall and winter. I did not see you or know who you were."

"I felt sorry for you," answered the man, "because you were alone, so I stayed with you. You and I are married. Now I must hurry; it is light, and I may be too late to see some one."

The man always brought her much meat. The woman knew that her husband was Polar Bear.

Then many seal were left for her, which she cut up and stored away. She knew that some one else was hunting for her, but neither she nor her husband could learn whom. One night Black Whale in human form entered, very angry because Polar Bear had married the woman. His gifts of seal had been his suit. The two fought in the house. Polar Bear Man cried: "There is not room to fight here; let us go outside!"

They struggled on the beach in their own forms, Polar Bear snapping with teeth and slashing with claws. Whale lashed out viciously with his tail. Polar Bear lodged himself on Whale's back and sunk his teeth in Whale's nose. With furious energy Whale vainly tried to dislodge Bear. Exhausted finally, and crying, "I can fight no longer, I am giving up!" Whale dived in the sea.

Polar Bear once more became human and lived peacefully with his wife.

THE GLEAMING BELT-ORNAMENT

A young man, a fine hunter, lived with his parents in a house built on a flat rock. His old mother, worn and tired from work, said to him: "I am tired. I need a daughter-in-law to help me. You must marry."

While hunting birds on top of the island, the young hunter came to a rock-bound pool in which five girls were swimming. He stole their clothing and teasingly refused to return them. To four of the girls he threw the clothes, garment by garment. When dressed, they emerged from the water and flew away as geese. The fifth, too shy to talk, hung her head, not even pleading for her garments. The man thought, "I should like to marry that girl if I could catch her." He returned everything but her belt-ornament. She was sad without it, because she was unable to fly after her sisters. He led her to his home, but to her the smell was so strong that she could not enter or stay inside without holding her nose tightly. The girl could eat no oil or meat, but subsisted on grass-seeds and roots which her husband gathered from the pond.

The headman, who had two wives, learned of this girl who had come from no-one-knew-where, and desired her. When she refused to go to him, he sent a messenger to demand four ducks of the young man. The girl said to her husband, "Go to that pond where you found me, and if your power is strong, you will get ducks."

Although it was winter, he found no ice on the pool, and, armed only with a club, he killed four ducks. These he threw in the entranceway to the headman's house. The headman sent another messenger, saying that if the girl would not come to him, he must have four cranes. These the young man soon obtained from the pool. The headman, angry at being defied and at the young man for being able to fulfil his demands, next asked for something which could talk. The wife now said to her perplexed husband: "Somewhere in the world is something which can talk, but I do not know where it is. When you seek it, you must take nothing but my belt-ornament. Your father will give you a staff which will show you the way. I shall make extra boots. I can not go home any more, and the headman will take me while you are away."

The man set out. Whenever he raised the staff and let go, it fell in the direction for him to take. When he had gone so far that all his boots were worn out, he came to a mountain so steep that its slopes were unscalable. At his call for help, one of his wife's sisters appeared and aided him to the mountaintop. She gave him food and new boots, and sent him on his way. Two other sisters aided him, and the fourth, hearing his story, asked, "What have you to give in exchange for this thing which talks?"

"I have only the belt-ornament of my wife, your sister," he answered.

"If your power is strong, you will soon arrive at a village where the headman lives alone in the men's house. Two men armed with knives guard the door. They kill all strangers who try to enter. Show the ornament to them, and they will be blinded by its gleam. In the entrance-way are six more guards, but dazzle their eyes and pass by. Inside lives the headman, who possesses the thing which talks."

Just as the man's boots were worn out, and he was about to drop from hunger and fatigue, he arrived at the village where lived the headman who owned the thing which talked. The two outside guards halted him, and he said to them: "I am too tired to run. You can kill me if you like, but first look at this." When they set eyes on the belt-ornament, the glare so dazzled them that the man was able to pass without further hindrance. Once inside, six men with drawn knives stopped him, and asked: "How did you pass the two outside? Nobody ever is allowed to see our headman."

He replied: "I am too tired to run away from you. You may kill me if you like, but first look at this."

When their eyes also were blinded by the gleam of the ornament the intruder easily slipped through the door into the men's house. Here were two more sentinels, who asked: "How did you enter? That person there, our headman, who is in two pieces, will kill us for letting you enter."

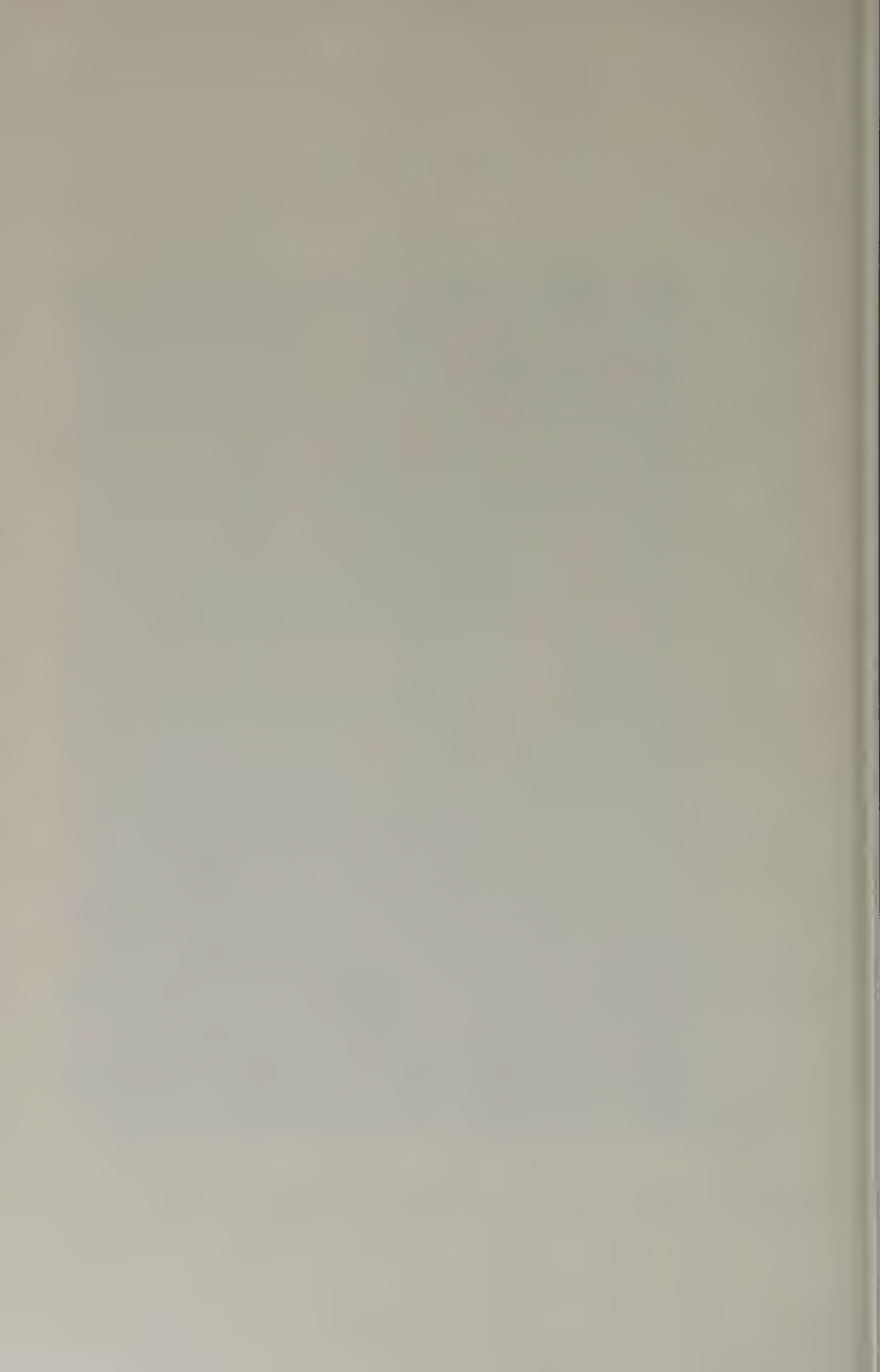
"The guards asked me to enter and speak to your headman," he lied.

The man cut in two sat up, scolded the guards for allowing a stranger to enter, bade the man sit beside him, and said: "No one, no matter how wealthy, can see me. How did you, with no gifts and no wealth, pass by my men?"



From Copyright Photograph 1928 by G. S. Davis

HOUSETOPS, KING ISLAND



"I have something I wish to show you."

"Show me what you have," commanded the headman.

The man dazzled the headman's eyes with the belt-ornament. The headman, amazed, questioned: "What is this which hurts my eyes so? I am so rich that I have everything I want, but I have no belt-ornament like that. Let me see it again."

After gazing at it covetously, the headman continued: "If you will give it to me, I shall give you anything you desire. I shall have a house built for you such as this."

"This ornament is all I possess," he replied. "I can not let it go for only that."

"I shall give you half of all I have."

"I want nothing of your possessions."

"What do you want? Why did you come to me if you will not accept what I have to offer? I shall give all I own for that ornament."

"Let me see what you have."

"I have offered all my possessions, now I shall show you my cook."

The headman called loudly for food. Immediately food was set before them by unseen hands, and a voice announced that the meal was ready. When they had finished, the empty dishes vanished.

"Now will you trade your ornament for my cook?"

"No, it is not enough."

"I shall show you my guard."

The headman lifted a box from a shelf. It contained an ivory figure on a chain and armed with a knife. The headman commanded it, "Come out of the box, but do not harm us." The figure walked about the room, knife held ready to strike. The man refused to take it. The headman asked: "I have offered you everything. What more do you want?"

"Let me try these things."

At the headman's order the unseen cook brought food and the guard walked about ready for his command to strike. When the ivory figure spoke to him, "You have bought me, I am yours," the man accepted, saying to his host: "I have at last found that which talks. Let us trade."

When ready to leave with his new possessions, he was given a boat by the headman, who said: "Take my kaiak. It will carry you anywhere you wish to go, but be sure to send it back."

The boat bore him home, the staff directed the way, the unseen cook served him food; but, once more on King island, he found that the headman had taken his wife. He strode to the men's house. When the headman saw him enter, he rose, and asked: "Did you bring for me the thing which talks? Let me hear the voice and I shall return your wife."

Hiding his rage, the man ordered his invisible cook to serve them a meal. Then he brought forth the box with the carved figure. To the headman he said: "Here is the thing which talks. It will speak to you in its own way." To the figure he commanded, "If you do not like this headman, kill him, but leave the people unharmed."

When the headman tried to pick up the carved figure, it stabbed his hand. Next it thrust the knife through the headman's heart. Then the man took home his wife and brought along the headman's wives to be his servants.

THE BIRD WOMAN

A man who owned a men's house adopted an orphan boy, whom he trained severely but thoroughly. To teach him to become a fearless youth, he sent him out alone in the darkness each night. One night, when grown, the orphan went out as was his custom, though it was storming. On the terrace below, his attention was attracted by a light gleaming through a rain-spattered smoke-hole cover. He had never seen that house, so decided to investigate. Unfastening the cover and peering in, he saw a beautiful woman combing her hair. Without turning, but sensing his presence, she said: "I always felt sorry for you each night when you were sent out. In the morning, when you see me in the ocean, be not afraid, but jump in and stay with me."

In the morning, waiting at the water's edge, he saw a bird bobbing up and down on the waves. It dived, but he stood undecided, thinking that if he jumped in, he might be drowned. At night, drawn back to the house, the woman chided him, "I told you that if you dived in

after me you would be safe and never again be treated cruelly." Three times he went to the water, but lacked the courage to dive when he saw the bird. Then the woman said: "This is the last time I shall ask you. If you do not follow my directions, you will have a hard time all your life."

The following morning, the youth watched for the bird, and, when it appeared, he dived after it. At first his ears rang from the pressure, but the ringing soon ceased. Opening his eyes, he saw that he was in a fine house, and before him was the woman combing her hair. She welcomed and fed him, saying: "Each night, when all the people are asleep, come to me; but in the morning you must return, because the water will enter and drown you. Tell no one." Each night he slept with her, for they were married.

It was winter, and the ice came in. She asked, "What are those people making in the men's house?"

"Those who have skins and furs are having new clothing made."

"You shall have all new clothing. I have it nearly ready now. I am making also harpoons and a pack-sack for you. I shall hand them to you in the men's house, and the men shall see only my arms. When you harpoon seal, be sure to cut the line, because hunters always take a youth's first catch. The carcass will drop down to me. I shall give you the words to say while hunting. When you go back to the men's house, make a loop in your line and place your boots and clothes in the loop. The men will tell you that hunters never throw their gear down that way, but then I shall take it away and fetch you old clothes and water. Good hunters always give water to the old men. Do that, and then throw the bowl down the entrance hole, where I shall take it away."

Before daybreak, an arm and a hand thrust a new outfit of clothing and weapons through the entrance. The men, puzzled and recognizing no marks, asked, "To whom do these belong?"

The youth answered: "They are mine. I shall use them."

His foster-father spoke up: "No! You have nothing like these!"

"I shall use these things today, and if some one claims them, I shall return them later."

Through a hole in the ice the youth harpooned a seal and immediately cut the line. When other hunters ran up to seize his first catch, he explained that the line had broken. Three seals he caught and sent down to his wife's home. Back at the men's house, when the hunters carefully put away their clothes and set their gear against the walls, he threw his own down the entrance hole. The others reproved him: "Good hunters do not throw their outfits down the hole. Dogs will get them."

He knew his wife had taken away his outfit. Soon the men saw an arm pass in old clothes and a bowl of water. The youth spoke, "I have not had a drink all day; let me own this bowl." He drank, and then passed the bowl to the old men, who were greatly pleased. But they scolded him when he threw the empty bowl down the hole.

Next the arm thrust up a dish of cooked meat. The young man said, when others did not recognize its mark, "I am hungry; let me own this meat."

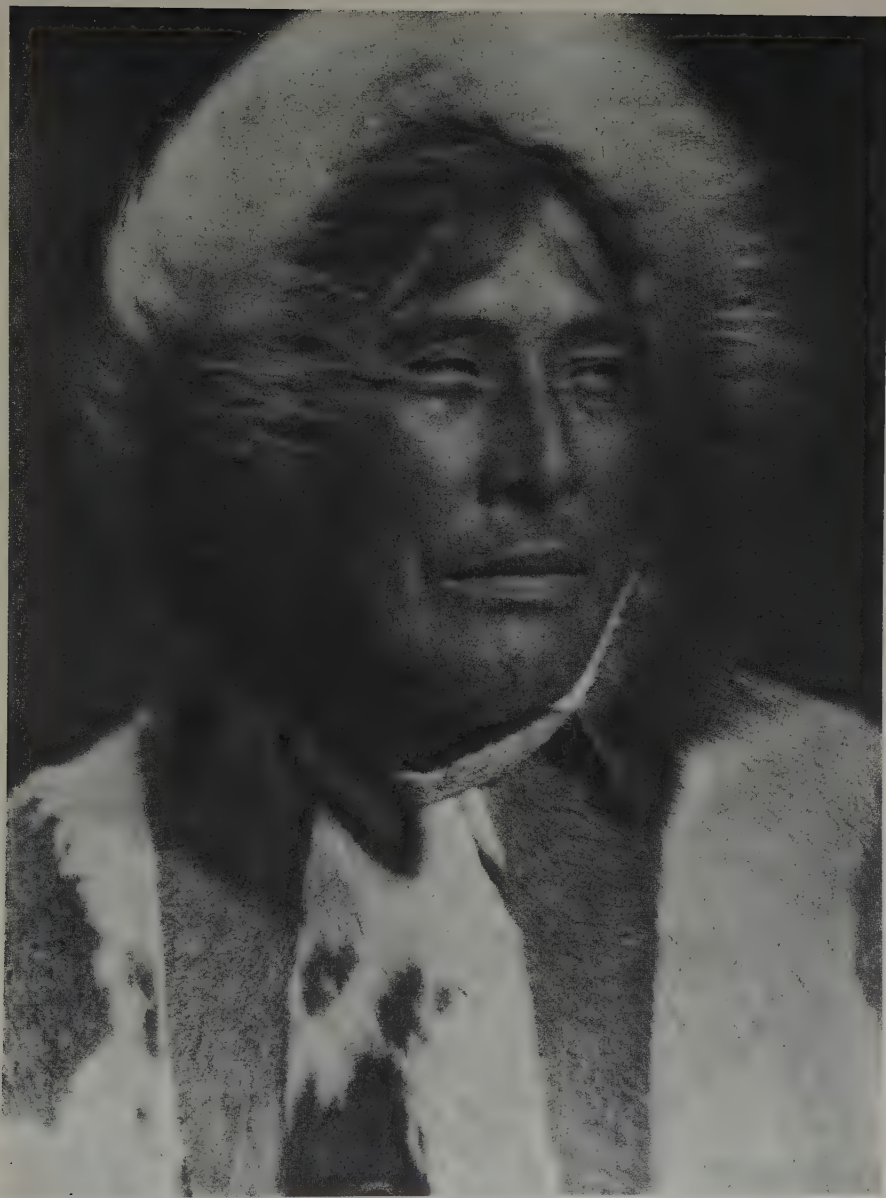
After passing meat to the old men, according to the manner of a good hunter, he threw the dish down the hole, where his wife took it away. The youth became a great hunter by carefully following the instructions of his wife. The men, seeing only her arm when she brought food, water, clothing, or weapons, knew he was married, but wondered why they never saw his wife. The youth repeated to her the wonderment of the men. She replied, "After your next hunt, when I bring water, I shall enter."

When she came to the men's house and threw back her parka-hood, all saw that she was beautiful. The youth's foster-father gazed at her at length, and finally began to desire her. Many times he tried, during the husband's absence, to corner her in the house or to catch her in the entranceway, but she always eluded him. One night he approached his adopted son and suggested that they exchange wives. "You can exchange with others, but you can not have my wife," was the answer.

"Ask your wife if she is willing, and tell me what she says."

The youth informed his wife of the suggestion. She was sad, but said: "If he stays with me, he will drown. Then you will own all he has, but I shall be lost to you."

The youth, thinking of his adoption and early training, consented to the man's suggestion, bringing him to his wife. She instructed her husband's foster-father how to get below the sea, but, like the youth before him, he was afraid. At last she said: "If you really wanted to sleep with me you would have dived as I instructed. Now I believe you do not care for me."



From Copyright Photograph 1923 by E.P. Curtis

NŪKTAYA, KING ISLAND



The man, gathering courage, dived, and stayed with the woman. In the morning he laughed at her warnings and refused to leave. The house crumbled, water came in, and she swam to safety. To save himself, the foster-father chewed his weasel talisman till soft, put it on, and rose to the surface. He crawled up on the rocks and went home. There the men clubbed him to death, exclaiming: "Here is a weasel! Kill him! Kill him!"

The youth never saw his own wife again, but he took the wives and possessions of his foster-father. The hunters of the village, that their sons might emulate the youth's prowess in hunting, sent them out at night to conquer fear of darkness and made them rise early.

THE MAN WHO WISHED TO BECOME A MEDICINE-MAN

A man wished to become a powerful medicine-man, so that his fame would spread and that children would be named after him. He asked his cousin, a medicine-man, with whom he was very friendly, to help him. The two were talking together one night at the cousin's house, when the man made his request. The cousin only laughed at him. When the village became quiet and all were asleep, the man decided to go home. Fearfully he said, "It is long after dark, and I had better go home, but perhaps a spirit might get me on the way."

The cousin derided, "How can you expect to become a medicine-man if you are afraid of spirits?"

The man scolded himself for his fear, and asked his cousin again for a spirit, but was laughingly refused. The man, fear returning, asked his cousin to accompany him home, but the medicine-man refused, saying: "I can see you as you go, dark as it is. I shall be watching over you."

As the man approached the village, he was frightened at seeing something standing near the men's house. Looking at the person's feet, he saw that they were a short distance above the ground, thus proving it was a spirit. He mumbled to himself, "I thought something like this would happen if I stayed out too late."

He ran; the spirit followed. He stopped; the spirit stopped. He stood still for a long time, and then thought, "If I stand here all night, I shall not live, no matter how strong I am."

Again he ran, this time downhill toward the men's house, followed closely by the spirit. He vaulted the whalebone fence around the smoke-hole, thinking to drop through and thus escape, but the cover was fastened. He lay still on the smoke-hole, hidden in smoke and steam. He saw the spirit walk about the roof, and heard it say, "If that man really falls through the hole, I can not get him."

Hearing this, the man jumped up, ran to the entrance, and inside to safety. Looking out, he saw the spirit standing in the hallway. An old man, awakened by the commotion, asked what was happening. The man answered: "What has that thing been trying to do to me all night? I am very tired from running. Please chase it away."

The old man threw many things, but the spirit still stood there. Then the old man rubbed together a stone knife and a stone lamp cleaner. These he threw at the spirit, which at once disappeared, for these things always drive away spirits.

The man never again tried to become a medicine-man.

THE IVORY TUSK AND THE FISH BELLY

The headman's daughter rejected the marriage offers of all the young men in the village, because they could not pass her test. On her forehead she wore a long, sharp, pointed walrus-tusk. Whenever a young man entered the house to woo her, she lowered her head and pressed the tusk against him. None of the youths were brave enough to withstand the pain, so she remained unmarried.

In the same village were two poor young men who had grown up together. They were such close friends that they bore the same name. After much discussion, they decided that one of them should attempt to win the headman's daughter. One set out along the shore to find some weapon or charm to use against her. First he picked up a seal-bone, then he saw a fish. He asked, "O, Fish, have you something I can use for a charm?"

"I have only a sticky belly."

"What good is that?"

"In the fiercest storms, when the winds blow strong and the waves roll high, I can always stick to the rocks. Nothing can tear me loose."

"Will you let me use it for a time?"

"It is all I have, but you may use it. Put it on yourself, and if a person touches you, he can not get away."

He told his friend what he had, and the friend answered, "We are too poor to marry that girl, but I shall ask the headman for you."

The headman was willing to permit the marriage, if the young man could overcome his daughter. The youth fastened the seal-bone on his forehead, covered it with his hair, and stuck the fish belly on his shoulder. When he met the girl, she placed her sharp ivory tusk against his forehead and pushed steadily. The point, resting against the concealed bone, did not enter his flesh, so he stood, disdainful and unflinching. They were then married.

The girl ran crying to her mother, because a poor youth had dared to win her when good hunters had failed. She was ashamed of him, because he was poor, and she refused to leave the house with him; then he pressed his shoulder with the sticky fish belly on it against her body, so that, unable to break away, she had to go with him. Now she began to respect him; he was too clever for her. When she chided him because he did not hunt, and hence was poor, he replied, "I can not hunt without proper equipment."

The wealthy father-in-law overheard the conversation, and offered a kaiak and weapons. The youth became such a good hunter that he could harpoon seal from his kaiak while the stern was still resting on shore. His father-in-law liked him so well that he refused the best portions of game offered to him. The youth's friend also came to live with the family.

THE STORY OF YÚMŪK

Yúmük had full possession of all his mental faculties from the moment of conception. He was aware of all that was happening while in his mother's womb and while being born. Yúmük had no eyebrows, and his mother, ashamed of him, tattooed them on him. He was so conscious of his lack of eyebrows that, when grown and while travelling from village to village, he feared the ridicule of the people. Sometimes he returned to King island.

Once while hunting with a companion, he speared a walrus. The two then lashed together their kaiaks, preparatory to cutting up the carcass. The walrus, still alive, pulled Yúmük out of the kaiak with his tusks, and dived. The man circled about, waiting for the body to come up. Soon Yúmük stuck his head above the surface and called: "I am all right! Do not cry for me! I am safe!" His companion pulled him aboard, and together they killed the walrus. They raised its head so that it would bleed in the kaiak. The blood almost filled the boat.

One winter, when Yúmük had gone to Siberia, two youths, disregarding the warnings of relatives, tore down his house to use for firewood. Yúmük, returning and learning who had destroyed his home, thought of revenge. One youth he found sitting on the men's house, arms folded under his parka. The young man, seeing Yúmük and feeling guilty, fled, but Yúmük pursued and stabbed him with a stone knife. Yúmük remained in a house all winter, afraid to come out because the youth's relatives were watching and waiting to kill or starve him.

Sometimes a friend smuggled in food, but Yúmük knew that he would not starve, because he was becoming a medicine-man. One day he put on the clothing of his friend and walked out unharmed, because if the people killed him thus dressed, it would be as if they had slain the friend against whom they had no feud.

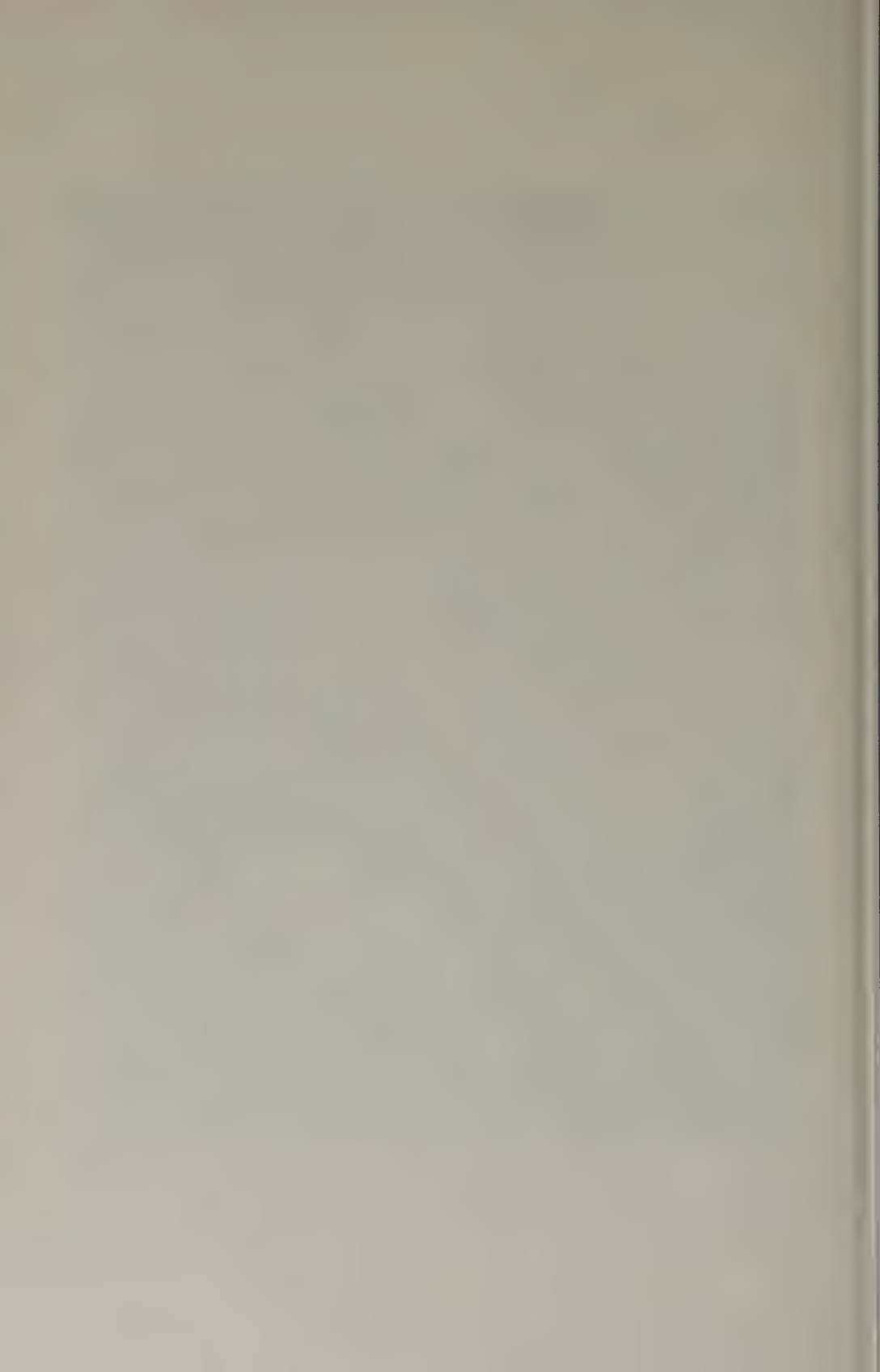
Yúmük, when ill, appeared as if about to die, but, after talking to the air, he always became well. One day when very ill he said to his children: "I am tired of living. I am going to die to rest. Look in my grave after four days. I am going to my people. If my body is not there, you will never see me again. Never name a child after me." After four days the children opened the grave, but, finding no body, they knew that he had gone somewhere.

Some people on the mainland named a child after Yúmük. Soon it died, and medicine-men declared that Yúmük had taken its life. One day, a medicine-man, while doctoring, saw Yúmük holding the child. He spoke: "I took the child. If the parents will name another child after me, I shall return this one." When another had been named for him, the spirit returned to the first child, and it lived. The children of Yúmük learned that his spirit had gone somewhere north on the mainland and that people there named their children after Yúmük to keep them from dying.



From Copyright Photograph 1928 by E. J. Purdie

DRILLING IVORY, KING ISLAND



ESKIMO OF LITTLE DIOMEDE ISLAND

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

AT approximately the middle of Bering strait, between the Alaskan mainland at Cape Prince of Wales and the easternmost Russian outpost, East Cape, Siberia, lie the two Diomedé islands. Through the middle of the narrow strait separating Big Diomedé from Little Diomedé passes the international boundary line between the United States and Russia. Little Diomedé is a bleak, forbidding shore, ruggedly resisting the gales which sweep through the straits from the vast unbroken arctic into treacherous Bering sea. Interminable fogs envelop it; the great wind-driven ice-floes of the arctic pile against its granite cliffs. The ice-fields of Bering sea, borne relentlessly northward by the arctic drifts, are split asunder by its sheer walls. In these waters sport several varieties of whale, and walrus and seal herds rest here in numbers on their northward and southward migrations. Countless birds flock, breed, and migrate to and from these islands.

Little Diomedé, a few square miles in extent, rises from the sea in sheer cliffs that support a plant life represented only by a few species of mosses and berries. On the western side, a portion of a cliff, boulder-strewn, slopes gradually to the shore, extends outward in a gravel spit, and ends in a submerged reef. Legend has it that in former times seal and walrus herds rested from their long migration on this spit. Today the small village of Eskimo, an aggregation of stone houses on terraces, is situated at a point just above the meeting of slope and gravel spit.

Each family has its own dwelling, large and roomy, the outer walls of which are of boulders. For building, there is no lack of stone in the detritus from the crumbling cliff. The interior of one such house (*inū*) was fourteen feet square and eight and a half feet high. The framework consisted of four large uprights at each corner, connected with beams at the eaves. Two whale jawbones arched to

form the main roof supports, their ends resting on the horizontal beam of the eaves; and short beams extended from the whale-jaws to the eaves as secondary roof supports. The roof itself, extending slightly beyond the walls, consisted of adzed flat timbers heavily overlaid with earth and sod. The interior walls and the floor were wooden splits. Light and ventilation came through the smoke-hole covered with parchment of seal or walrus intestine. Three and a half feet above the wooden floor a wide bench ran around the room, above which were racks, attached to the eaves, for clothing and weapons. A stone oil lamp burned in one corner, serving for both heating and cooking.

Entrance to the room was obtained through a hole in the floor about four feet from the front wall. Below the hole was a passageway about four feet high, twenty feet long, and three feet wide, gradually widening to ten feet at the outside entrance. This passageway, dug into the ground, was lined with stones; its size allowed dry storage for small boats, nets, and various utensils. Built on the roof of the entranceway, and against the house proper which forms one wall, was a small wooden storehouse, six by ten feet, covered with walrus-hide tightly lashed down and used for stowing away furs, clothing, and dried food.

The typical men's house (*kūzugi*) is constructed in a manner similar to family houses, but on a larger scale. The social usage of the men's house — for on Little Diomedé the family houses are large and comfortable — is not so complete and extensive as in the case of those, for instance, on Nunivak. Nor is the men's house used greatly for ceremonial purposes, since there are few performances of a religious character. The most important of the ceremonies are family affairs, and as such are carried on in the family houses.

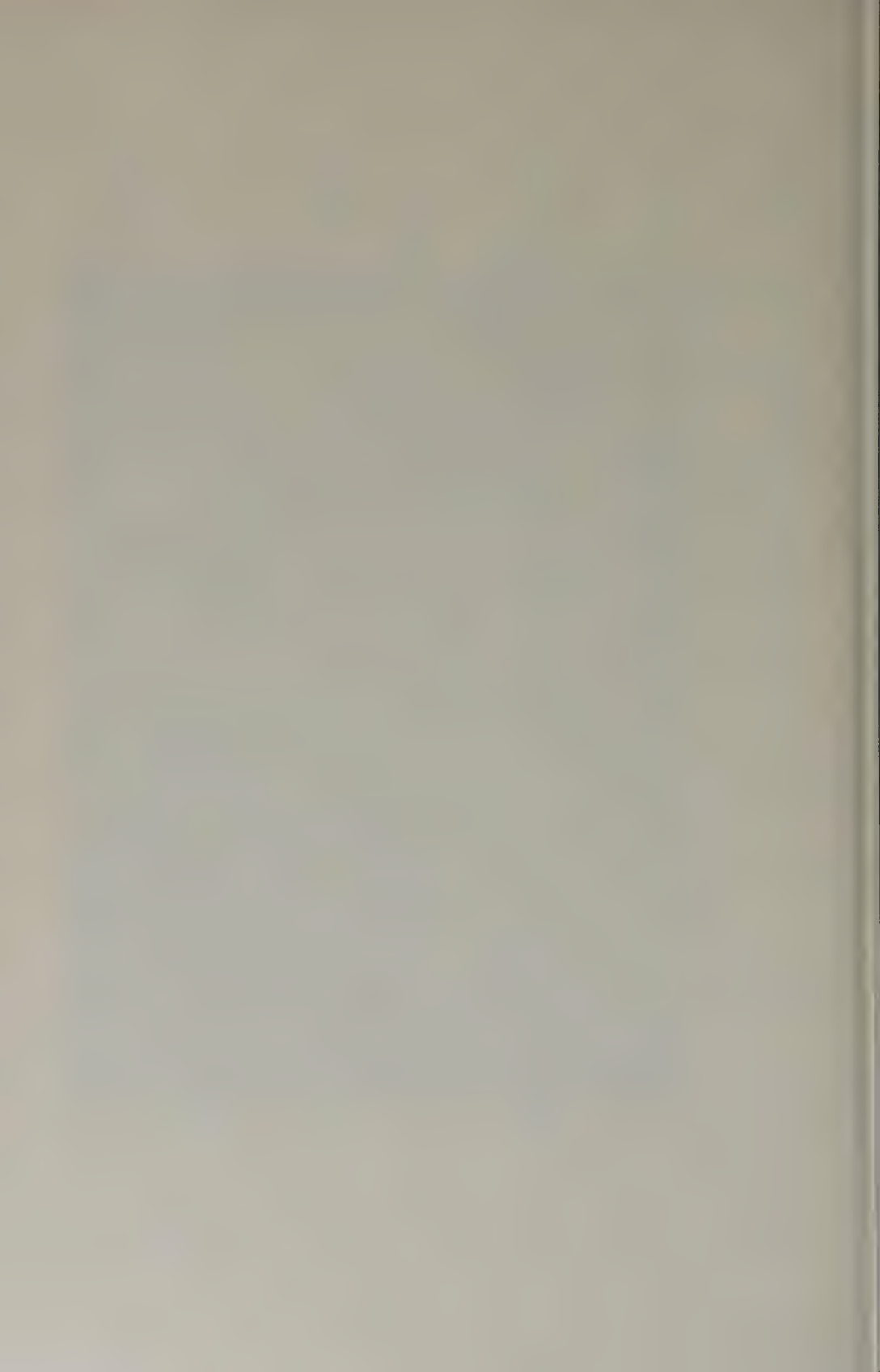
Caches, dug near the houses, are used as receptacles for oil pokes or containers, meats, and vegetables. They are circular, unwallled pits about six feet deep and five feet in diameter, sufficiently large for the use of more than one family. The caches are sealed with wooden covers weighted down with stones.

The chief foods are primarily meat, blubber, and oil of walrus, seal, and whale. The excess hides, meat, and oil are articles of trade with the mainland people on both sides of Bering strait, from whom are obtained in exchange the furs of such land animals as fox, mink, muskrat, and squirrel, river fish, and other products. Fish caught with nets and with hooks, and eaten either fresh or dried, together with shellfish, clams taken from walrus stomachs, shrimp from whale



Steen Schepers, Greenland, 1958, 1/2 x 1/2

THE BOY-DRILL, KING ISLAND



stomachs, and kelp, supply the remainder of the food staples derived from the sea. During the brief summer the rocky land provides a few varieties of berries, of which the salmonberry and blueberry grow in greatest profusion, and also the Alaskan potato. Berries are usually eaten raw. Whatever other succulent plants are gathered are either eaten raw with oil or, like the Alaskan potato, are cooked in oil. During the nesting and breeding season, birds' eggs are collected in great numbers. Men, women, and children search the rocky slopes for hidden nests, and bring back grass bags heavily laden with their find. Eggs (*maník*) are usually cooked in oil. During the summer months, birds in great number and variety are caught with nets, spears, slings, and bolas. These include, amongst many, auks and auklets, cormorant, ducks, ptarmigan, and puffins. Much of the catch is stored for winter use.

Apparently no ceremonies and feasts comparable with the Bladder, Messenger, and Asking feasts of other places, are indulged in by the village as a whole. The ceremonies which have survived, if indeed there were ever others, seem to be purely family affairs, with the ritual passed on through the generations. They have to do with whale- and seal-hunting, the naming of children, and the first bird or animal catch by a boy or a youth. The first of these, which precedes the whale-hunt, is the most intricate, symbolic, and ritualized. While each performance is broadly similar to the others designed for the same purpose, yet they differ in detail among the various families. After successful whale-hunting in the fall, meat is distributed among the villagers who helped in the butchering, and to the people in general. This is followed by feasting and dancing. Distribution, feasting, and dancing occur also in the spring.

In autumn the whaling season begins. In former years many whales inhabited these waters, and, considering the character of the native equipment, good catches resulted. In late years, however, beginning with the appearance of modern whaling ships, and especially after the introduction of bomb guns, whales became fewer in numbers and in time were rarely seen. Now, since the disappearance of the ships, it is said that whales are again increasing and are more frequently observed.

The boats and all equipment are thoroughly overhauled and made ready. The boats are of skin, smaller than the walrus boats in order to afford easy portaging over the ice when necessary. Walrus-hunting is commonly done in open water relatively free of ice. The crew of a whale-boat consists of the owner, who is the steersman; a harpooner,

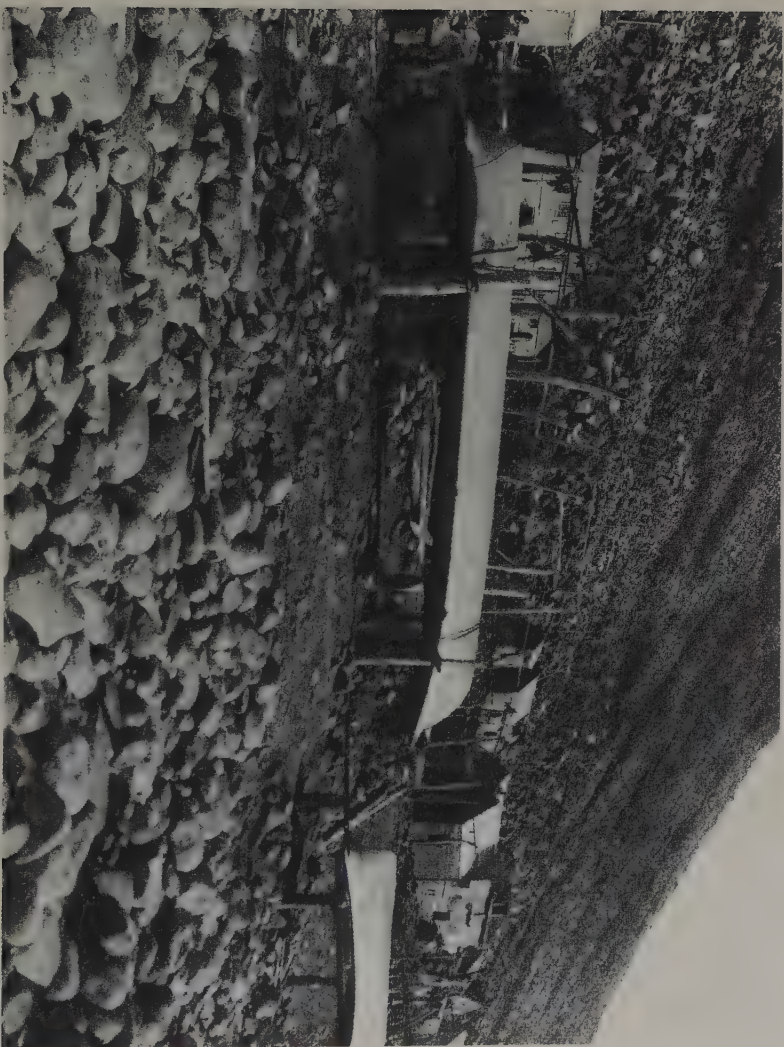
secondary to the steersman in importance and position; and two crew members. Before the boat may be launched for the season, the Whale ceremony is held, as follows:¹

When the season has been adjudged propitious, the steersman, harpooner, and the two members of the crew, all wearing parkas and mittens, and carrying ice scrapers and staffs, proceed to the southern end of the island before dawn, and there pick a willowy shrub of the species used to tie the mouths of pokes. This is brought back to the village. They carry also all boat gear, lines, pokes, paddles, weapons, *et cetera*, into the owner's or steersman's house, and, once inside, bar the entrance with a stick, a sign that a ceremony is to take place and that those within are not to be disturbed. The crew immediately busies itself with scraping the wooden shafts, burnishing the equipment, and otherwise in making all ready, aided in the sewing, when necessary, by a woman. Within the house, other than the boat crew, are only an old man, possibly the father of the steersman, who has been chosen to conduct the ceremony, and a woman who bears an important part in the ritual, symbolizing the whale-spirit and considered as a member of the crew.

As soon as all is in order, the old man sits on a bench by the rear wall, with steersman and harpooner respectively on each side of him. The woman sits in the middle of the floor, and the two crew members by opposite walls. At this time the old man sings and drums the ceremonial songs, songs which have descended from father to son and which belong to and may be used only by the crew. After the singing is finished, all gear is carried outside the entrance; the crew, aided by the villagers, remove the boat from its rack and place in it all impedimenta, each article in its proper place. Now the members of the crew don new clothing and pull on waterproof parkas and mittens. In a small procession, led by the old man and with the woman in the rear, they proceed to the house roof. The woman carries a water-bucket and a dish of reindeer fat, a portion of which latter is molded in the form of a whale to signify that the boat is going on a whale-hunting expedition. The party circles the roof once clockwise, and returns to the boat, in which the woman places her bucket and dish.

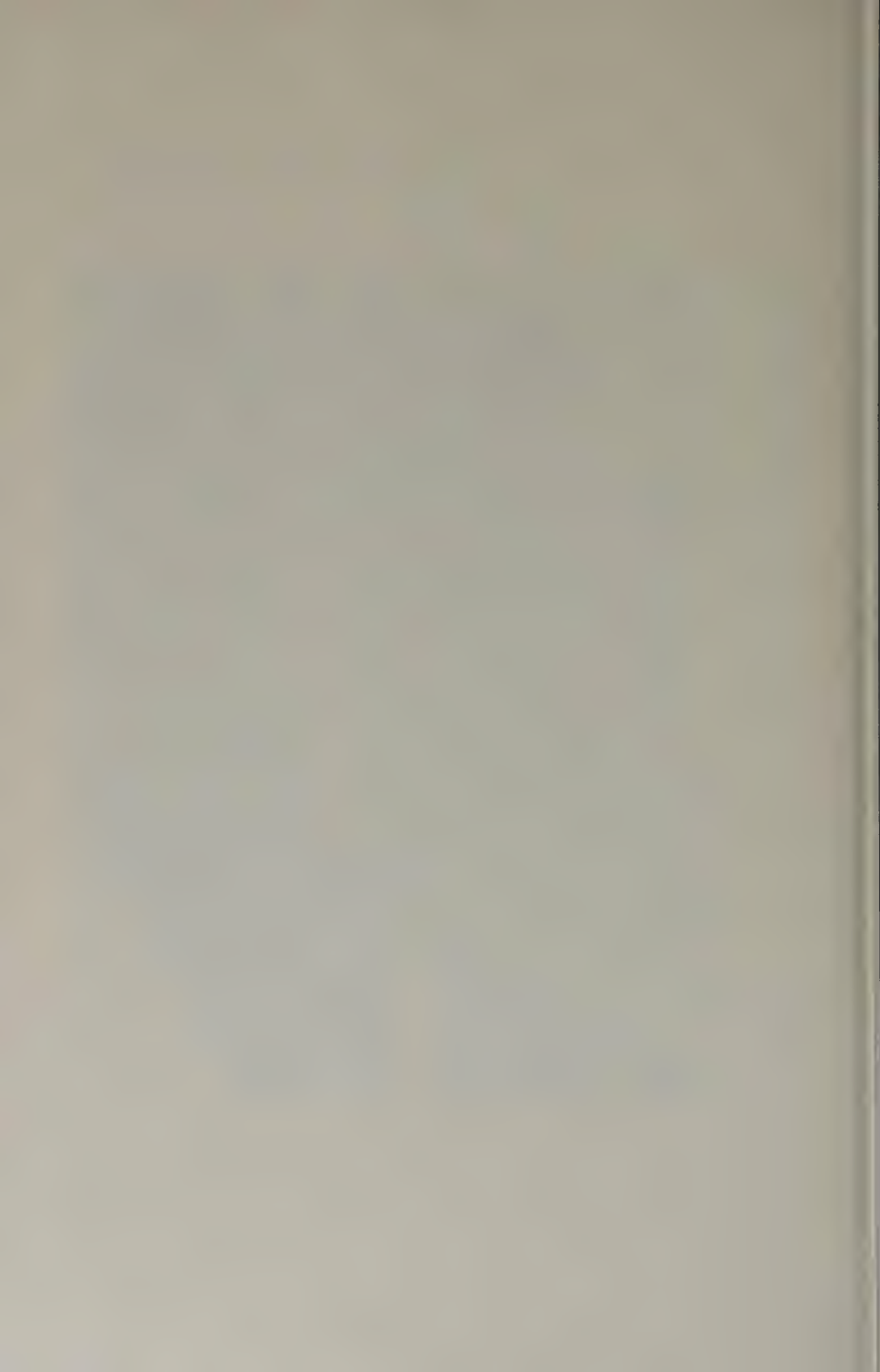
The crew now unload the boat and turn it bottomside up, the upper gunwale supported by two short poles, and the harpoon placed in the bow. While a fire burns beneath the craft, the woman dips a

¹ Compare the Whale ceremony of Little Diomedé with that of Cape Prince of Wales, pages 137-141.



From Edge of the Photograph 1020 by A. S. Davis

VILLAGE AT LITTLE LYONSIDE



small grass mat in urine and carefully washes the harpoon, singing a ceremonial song as she works. At the close of the song, the harpooner shovels the fire onto a walrus shoulder-blade, carries it to shore ice, and dumps it there.

Again the boat is loaded. Four inflated pokes are tied in pairs, one of which is placed beneath the craft near the bow, the other near the stern. These, secured firmly, prevent injury to the bottom of the boat while dragging it to the water. The crew take positions by their places in the boat, while the woman, who is standing over the water-bucket and food-dish, faces them. As the crew howl like dogs or wolves four times and raise paddles in air, the woman dances and sings a ceremonial song over the whale modelled in fat. At its finish, the crew stand clear of the boat, while the old man picks up the steering paddle, walks around the boat, and taps it on each side of the bow, that the whale may hear and approach the boat. Then, singing, he grasps the stern and raises it four times.

The crew, howling, seize the boat and rush it to the shore, passing to the left of the woman. Then they return to her with the boat. She next places her dish of fat in the boat and takes up a short length of walrus intestine filled with bone ashes. She leads the way to the shore, scattering ashes at the command of the old man behind her, followed in turn by the boat crew with the boat, and all the children of the village. Woman and entourage halt at the very ice or shore edge. While she stands with bucket and dish, the old man with the steering paddle sings. At the conclusion of the song, the woman cuts up the fat and distributes the pieces to the children, who scamper home.

The crew launch the boat, take their places, give four strong paddle strokes, and stop. Then the woman sings. At the close of the song, the steersman brings the boat about and they paddle toward her as she now stands with her back toward them. When close, the harpooner makes as if to hurl his weapon into her, since at this time she represents a whale and the harpoon motion a successful cast. The harpooner now lays down his weapon and the crew disembark, pull their craft up on shore, take out all equipment, and turn the boat over it.

Led by the old man, they return home, and other villagers are at liberty to enter. A feast is begun and lasts till nightfall, when the smoke-hole is covered and a medicine-man called in to see that everything has been carried out properly. The smoke-hole may then be uncovered and stories told. The following morning, if all is well,

the crew set out to hunt whales. It is obligatory for the old man and the woman to remain in the house until the crew return.

The following is an anecdotal narrative of an impromptu whale-hunt as told by an informant:

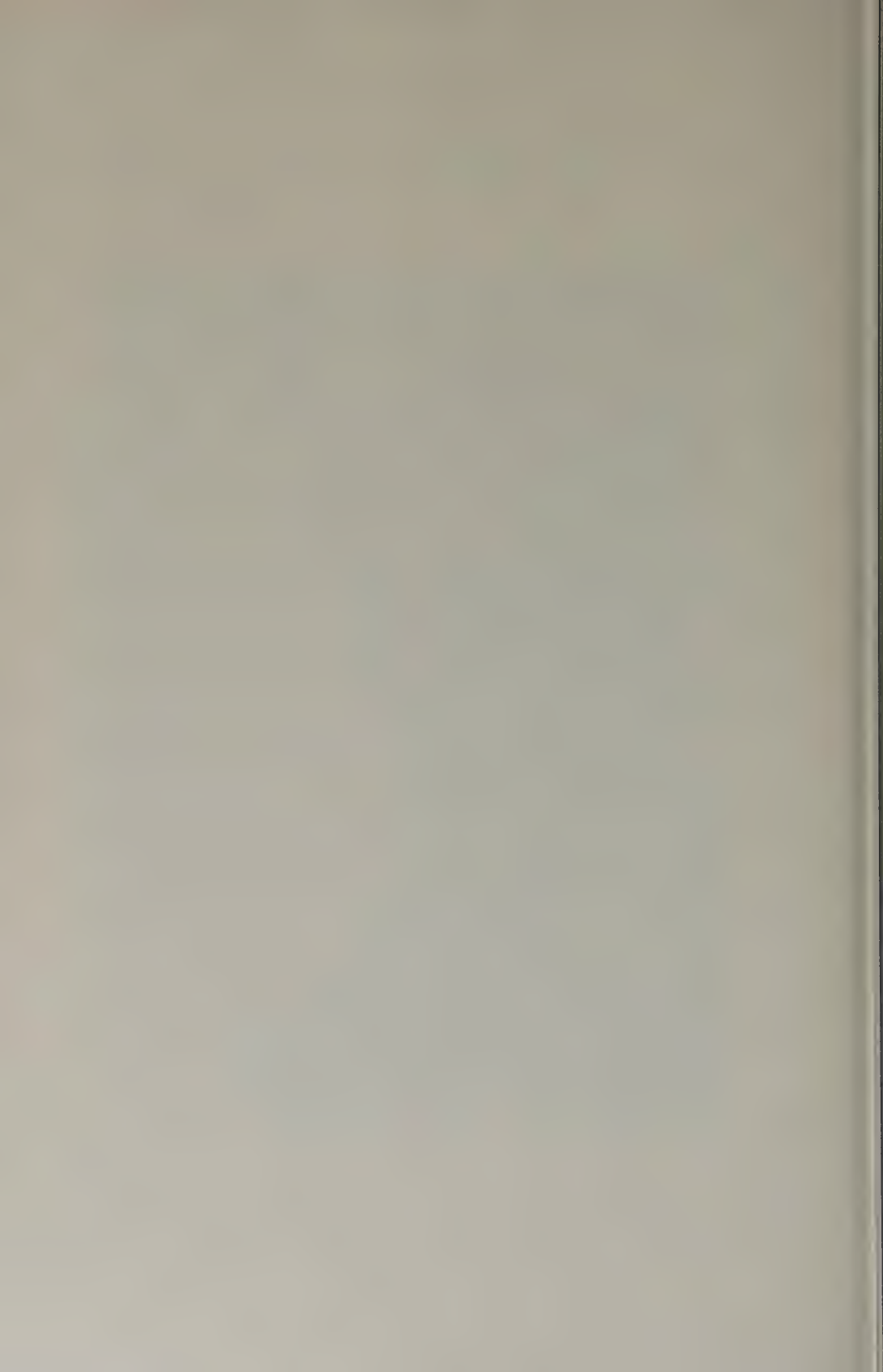
One day I paddled to sea in the large umiak with a crew of seven men to hunt walrus. Although we were out all day, not a single walrus thrust his tusks out of water. We were discouraged and sad at heart, for our families were in need of fresh meat. One man suddenly pointed, and cried, "A whale!" We dug our paddles in furiously, but our evil luck held; the whale sounded. I turned toward shore ice and carefully edged along, searching for walrus. We were suddenly startled by water breaking behind us. A hasty glance showed us a baby whale not ten boat-lengths away. It sounded, and our hearts sunk too, but we remained motionless, thinking that it might pass beneath us and come up ahead. We saw a dark form glide below, and we paddled with it. Just then a large whale suddenly came up near us. Quickly my harpooner grasped his weapon, heaved it aloft, and with desperate strength drove the barb deep into the animal's side. Others dropped the harpoon-line and air-bags into the water. Our hearts rejoiced as we foresaw a winter of feast and plenty. But alas! Our joy was short. The whale moved away rapidly, sounded, and dragged the air-bags under water. Then two other boats who had seen our whale, overtook us. The animal reappeared, but sounded again before anything could be done. It rose and dived so rapidly that the air-bags could hardly come to the surface. Finally one boat caught our air-bags and made fast to the line. This made an extra drag, and soon our whale broke water. The third boat then cast a harpoon. Now we rejoiced once more, and cast many weapons. The monster was soon dead, and exultantly we towed it to shore ice. There we cut off the flukes and hauled them ashore. Next we chopped a sloping runway in the ice. Our men of all three boats quickly cut off the whale's head, for new strength was in their arms. Head and body we heaved ashore up the runway, singing as we pulled. For two days and nights we labored cutting up the meat and hauling it on sleds to the village. There we divided it according to custom, each boat member to his share, and later held a huge feast and gave much meat to our people. All winter long our bellies were full, and in the spring we held another feast and gave away meat.

In the distribution of the whale body, the steersman of the boat first harpooning is called the "owner." He receives the right half of the head to the fluke. The other half of the head is divided and the body to the left fluke is distributed amongst his crew. In addition, they receive twenty pieces of whalebone, and the woman of the ceremonies takes her share from among the smaller portions of the



Stone Structure, Diomeide, 1928 by E. S. Evans

HOME STRUCTURE, DIOMEIDE



whale's body. The harpooner, in addition, takes a right front flipper, a section from the largest bone as long as a man's leg from foot to knee, and a section from the smallest bone the length of the foot of the biggest man in the village. A second boat to harpoon receives that portion from the head to the left flipper. The remainder is divided equally among all boats which aided in the hunt.

After the fall whaling season, weapons and equipment are overhauled to prepare for the walrus-hunt. This is accomplished in larger skin boats with crews of seven or eight men, of which the owner, the steersman, and harpooner, are permanent members. The others may be chosen at random. The hunt takes place on open water or along the ice edge. The crews endeavor to catch single animals or to cut walrus from the herd and then harpoon. It is dangerous for a boat to run into the midst of a herd, because the very numbers of the beasts inspire courage at times to attack the boat, with consequent ill fortune and short shrift to the crew.

After the harpoon has been flung and the frightened walrus sounds, the crew pelt it with stones when it breaks surface to make it sound again. This repetition keeps the animal under water so long that it soon becomes exhausted and may be pulled in by the harpoon-line and easily killed. Walrus are sometimes harpooned on the ice. When loaded, the boat returns to the village.

From the first few obtained, the boat-owner, or steersman, takes hide and blubber and the meat of the hind-quarters from the last three ribs, minus flippers and bones. The harpooner is entitled to the head and the body as far as the fourth rib. The remainder is divided equally amongst the crew. When the kill is great, hides, meat, and bones are divided equally amongst all.

When sea-lion are speared from a boat, the steersman receives the upper part of the bodies to the front flippers, and the hide; the harpooner takes half of the hind-quarters; while the crew are allotted the remainder equally. Sea-lion are also harpooned through the ice, in which case the hunter plays the animal, until exhausted, on a twenty-fathom harpoon-line. Then he reels in the line and kills the sea-lion by thrusting the pick-end of his spear through one of its eyes. The blow-hole is enlarged and the carcass drawn through.

Seal are killed by the same method, or are harpooned on open water from small boats or the larger umiaks. In former times the kaiak was used.

Before firearms were obtained, bears were hunted with throwing-spears, but the hunter usually ran from these animals. A story is

told of a Little Diomed man who, hunting on the ice, surprised a polar bear behind an ice hummock. The bear rushed; the man cast his spear, but it only grazed the animal's cheek. The bear's bulk flung the man unconscious to the ice. Then the huge beast pawed and flung the helpless body in air several times, leaving when his rage was spent. Other hunters who had watched, but were afraid to attempt a rescue, rushed up, only to find a crushed and lifeless body. Three men, gathering courage, gave pursuit to the bear, which had shambled off leisurely. One hunter threw his spear, which glanced from the animal's back. As the bear rose up, turning angrily, baring fangs and snarling, the second hunter drove a spear through its belly. The third also scored a hit. The bear fell badly wounded, and was dead when the other hunters came up. The second hunter, who was now owner of the bear because he had made the first hit, took the best of the meat and divided the remainder equally among the others.

An informant related a bear-hunting experience, as follows:

I was hunting on the ice near Big Diomed when I saw three polar bears by the water. I crept close and watched them from behind an ice hummock. One bear left and went to an ice hummock, where it looked around cautiously. This bear seemed to be a sentinel. The other two stretched out flat, close to the water.

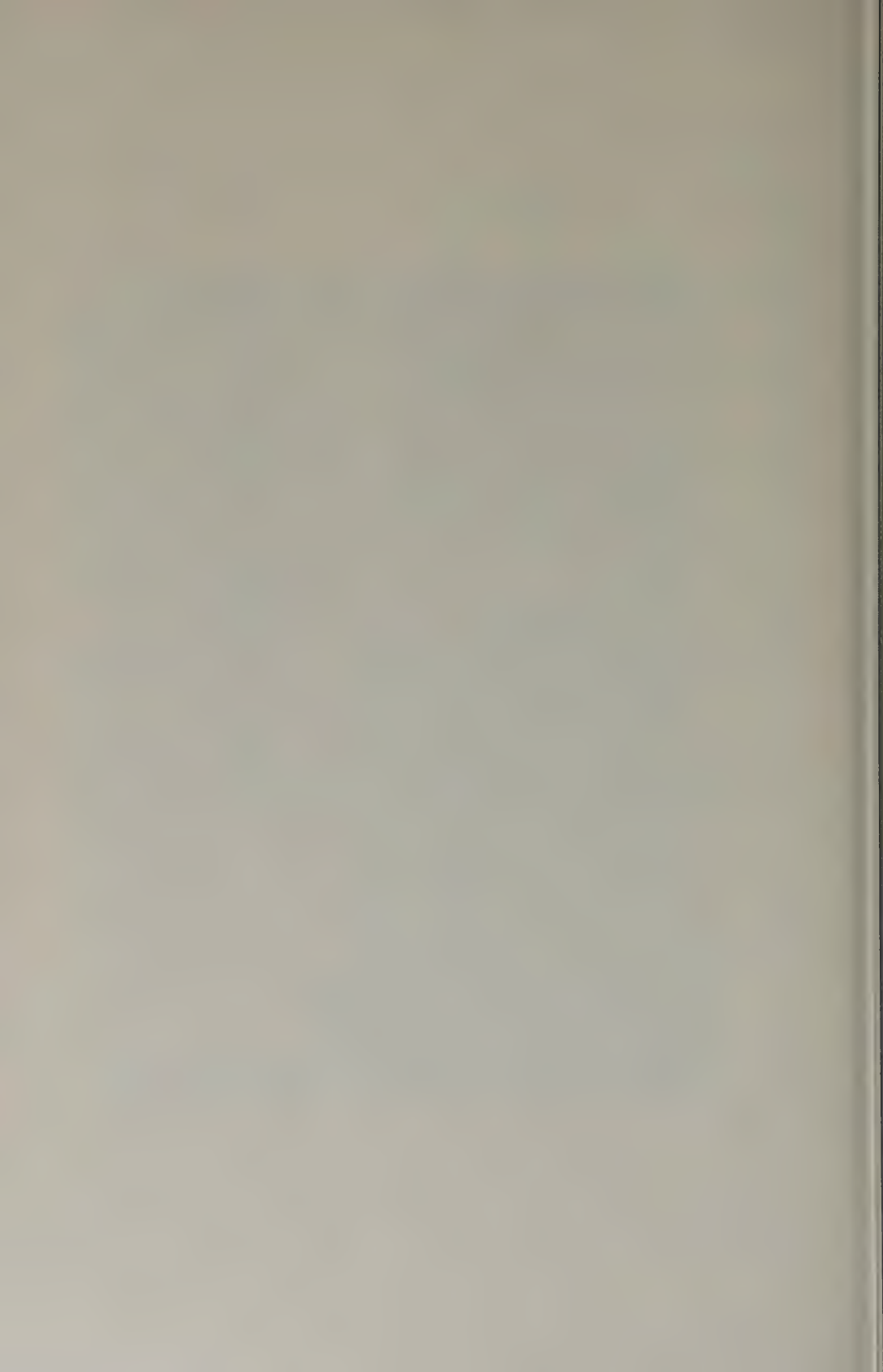
Soon I saw a seal come up. It thrust its head high up and looked around, then dived. Several times I saw the seal's head, and it gradually came close to the ice. Then when the seal dived again, one of the bears slipped in the sea noiselessly. Soon the seal broke water, and when it began to splash and thrash about, I knew that the bear had attacked it from below. The seal died quickly, and the bear, holding the carcass in its jaws, swam back to ice. Then while the bear clung to ice with one paw, the second bear leaned over the edge, reached out a paw, and with teeth and claws hauled up the seal. The two bears covered the carcass with snow to cool it, while the third kept watch from a hummock. When the seal had cooled, they pushed aside the snow and began to eat.

After a few bites, one went to the sentinel bear and took its place, so that it could feast too. Then as I was getting ready to shoot from behind my hummock, where I had built a little snow wall and thrust my rifle through, I heard shots in the distance. The bears stood up and looked around. Two were frightened and shambled off. I shot the one still eating; my bullets went through hip and chest. The other two were still within easy range, but I did not fire, because I could not carry so much meat. I took only the fore-quarters of my kill and started home. I thought to take a piece of the seal to prove my story, but did not. On my way I met two hunters and told



From Geographic Magazine 1923 by E. S. G. G. G.

UNDERGROUND HOUSE TOPS WITH WHALE-RIB DRYING RACK, DIOMEDE



them about my good luck. They set out for the meat I had left behind, and I went home.

Another informant narrated the following personal experience:

My son and I, armed with rifles, were paddling along the ice in our kaiaks. We heard shouting, but although we listened and looked all about us, we could not see anything, and the calling had ceased. Again we heard shouting, and then we saw three bears coming from behind an ice hummock — a mother and two large cubs, chased by some men.

I paddled fast to the ice and clambered up on it. As I ran, I shouted over my shoulder to my son, "Let us head them off!" I had not run far before I knew I was alone. I looked back and saw my son still in his kaiak. He was afraid of polar bears.

I decided to head off the bears alone, and ran toward them. The bears saw me, and I wondered whether they would stop when they realized that their way was blocked, or come to me. I thought to wait for them, but decided to keep on running. When I came within two rifles length of them I stopped, and they stood still. The mother bear rose on her hind-legs and I could feel her hot breath panting against my cheek. Then quickly, before she could attack me, I fired and killed her. Another shot killed one of the cubs. I had no more shells in my magazine, and I wanted to kill the smaller cub with my knife, but was afraid. I threw another shell in the breech and shot him too. As I was skinning, the other hunters came up. One of them was older than I, so I gave him a cub.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS

As soon as a child is born, a small fire is lighted in the parents' home and the baby is bathed in a wooden dish. After bathing, it is kept rolled up in a parka until the navel is healed. A male child often receives such a parka from a successful hunter. The baby is named while still in the parka. The most common practice is to give the infant the name of the most recently deceased relative, in order that the name may remain in the family and not be forgotten. Sometimes the name of the most recently deceased person in the village is given. A person with no relatives, alone in the world, in order to perpetuate his name will ask the parents' permission to have the baby named after him. When the children of a family are all of one sex, it is customary to give some of the boys girls' names, or *vice versa*, that the family names may not be forgotten. As soon as the navel is healed, the father carries the child to the beach, where, if a boy, he picks up a walrus jawbone. The belief is that if the male child plays

with the jawbone he will become a good hunter. The father then returns home, where the mother is awaiting him by the entrance, and gives her the child.

Girls are reared and instructed by their mothers. At intervals in their childhood, such as when they have caught their first tomcod or picked their first berries or greens, they are given a feast. There is no puberty ceremony for boys or girls.

When a boy is of sufficient age, his father presents him with a sling, and the boy practises until expert. Slings either cast stones or are made as bolas. Bolas spread in flight, covering perhaps three feet of space when fully extended. As soon as one bola stone touches a bird, the course of its flight immediately changes and it wraps itself about the prey; then the other bolas on the line perform in a similar manner. The change of course when bolas encounter birds in flight verges on the uncanny. Boys early acquire great skill with this weapon. The father skins and dries the first bird so caught, and a feast is held in the boy's honor, at which the parents make gifts to friends and relatives, especially cousins, and to any others in the village who may ask for a gift.

A feast is given in honor of the boy for his first kill of each of the various species and kinds of animals used. The animals are given to the man who presented the boy at birth with his parka, a gift which signified that he would train the boy to hunt by his own methods. The feasts are conducted according to ritual handed down from generation to generation, varying in the different families, as for instance when some include dancing with the feast, while others do not. As a mark of honor, the boy's head is shaved when he has killed his first polar bear. The slaying of the first sea-lion is an occasion for a great feast and the presentation of many gifts to the villagers and relatives by the family. At this time the youth's head is shaved, even the eyebrows.

As a sign of eligibility for the married state, a sign of ability to provide for a wife, it is necessary for a young man to have killed four of the larger sea animals, such as sea-lion or seal. When the parents have chosen a suitable young woman, or the youth himself has wooed and won a bride-to-be, his mother asks the consent of the girl's parents. When all has been satisfactorily arranged, either the youth or his parents present the young woman with a complete outfit of wearing apparel, after which the marriage is consummated by the youth going to dwell with his parents-in-law. He is further obliged to hunt for both his own and his wife's parents.

Divorce occurs when the couple separate, the man going back to his own home. Adultery, when either party is guilty, often results in divorce and sometimes in the death of the adulterer.

A widow, when she does not remarry, receives aid from villagers in return for work performed. She is often the recipient of help from her own and her deceased husband's parents, especially when there are children.

As soon as a person dies, the body is dressed in its best finery, and deerskin socks are put on in place of boots. The corpse is straightened; the hands are drawn in to the waist and held in place by a belt. If the death takes place during daylight, the remains are taken out at once; if at night, it is kept within the house and watched by the relatives. Those able to sleep, use the body as a pillow.

The body is next lashed to a board and pulled feet-foremost through the smoke-hole in the roof. The feet are pointed to the south if in fall or winter; to the north in spring or summer. While some carry grave-boards and the personal belongings of the deceased, the close relatives bear the body by nine lines: four on each side, and one, a spear-line, in front. It is borne feet-foremost up the mountainside to a suitable spot. There stones are rolled aside in the form of an ellipse and the body placed within the enclosure. Two female relatives then strip the corpse and stuff the clothes into rocky crevices, though any one may take them if he so desires. Trousers are allowed to remain on the corpses of females. The grave-boards are put in place beneath, on the sides, and above the body, and weighted down with stones. All depart for the village, except close relatives, who circle the grave once clockwise. These then descend to enter the village from the north, unless the season should be autumn, when they enter from the south.

When they reach the house, some one of the relatives carries in a stone. The room is thoroughly washed, and the relatives bathe. The stone is placed in the centre of the room, and all stand about and make motions as if to brush the water from their bodies onto the stone, thereby expelling any evil influence clinging to their bodies and transferring it to the stone. This rite of purification is concluded by rolling the stone to the beach.

The period of mourning lasts four days for a man and five for a woman, but for ten days after death the relatives, whenever they leave the house, must wear their parka-hoods up, and mittens. Should they fail in these observances it is believed that they will either become deaf or their hands will be paralyzed or weakened. If the death has

occurred during the fall, the relatives must do no hunting until game has been brought in by others; if in the spring, they may not embark in skin boats until meat has been brought in by other villagers. Violation of these prohibitions would cause game animals to avoid the village and result in a period of starvation for all the people.

Spirits of the dead are said to wander often through the village. When this occurs within a year of burial, the spirit wears grave clothes and plays mild, harmless pranks. Spirits returning after a year have their eyes open and do harm, which makes all the people fearful. One informant stated: "Once, when my mother entered her home, she saw a woman who had been buried a long time, sitting by the cooking lamp. My mother reached out to touch her, but the woman disappeared. The following day my mother's arm swelled, and was very painful for a long time."

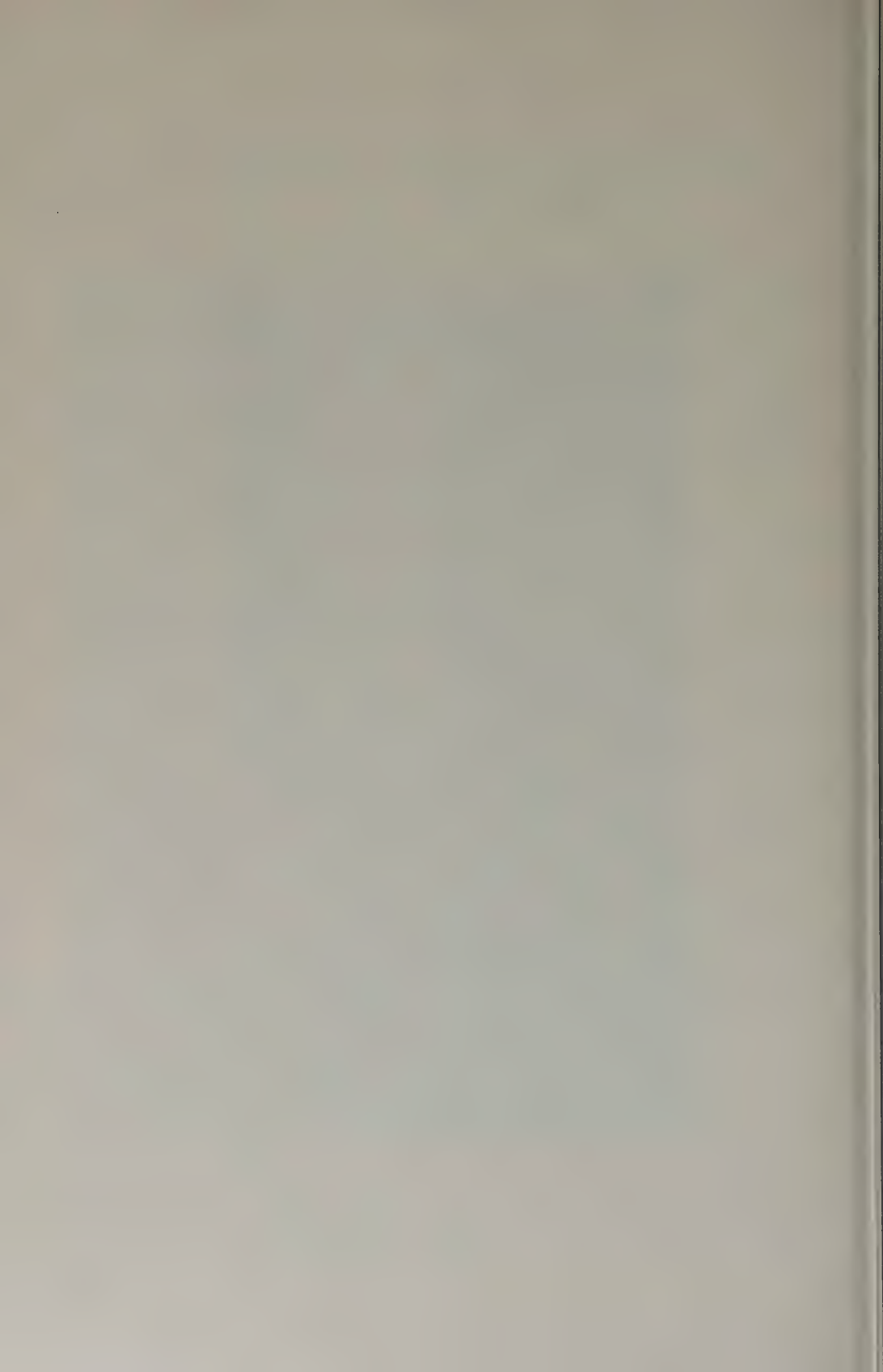
These spirits must be exorcised by medicine-men and driven to Úb'rik, the land below where the lost and drowned go. This place, where there is no ocean, where darkness prevails, and whence no spirit can return, is presided over by a long-haired woman. The spirits of the dead properly interred live in two villages, one at the north and the other at the south of the island, near where the dead are buried. Only medicine-men know these places. A medicine-man on earth is also one there after death. Here they live in plenty, in the same manner as humans; but it is said that the spirits of the northern village obtain better animals and have better food.

The spirits of the land below, when they are thirsty, hold back the ice in the fall to get water, and thus delay hunting. In this event a medicine-man builds a fire on the beach, which he allows to burn out. Then, with legs about the ashes, he sits on one edge of a waterproof parka and holds down the other edge with his feet. The sleeves he holds up and shakes. Now the spirits below can speak clearly and loudly to the assembled people. They ask their human relatives to bring fresh water, for they are thirsty; this is poured into the outstretched parka of the medicine-man. Soon after the thirst of the spirits is slaked, the fall ice comes and the people may begin hunting. When famine occurs, and it is thought that the spirits above are obtaining all the game, a medicine-man who knows the location of the spirit-land is sent up the mountainside. If he finds this is so, he orders, on his return, that the people model a seal of snow. This he takes to the north and south spirit villages respectively, and allows it to slide down the slope. This act, a sign that the medicine-man has taken the animals from the spirits, brings plenty of game, especially seal, to the people.



From Long point, St. Lawrence Island, N.Y.

WALRUS BOATS, BIG DIOMEDE IN DISTANCE



It is through the control of spirits, human or animal, that the medicine-man obtains his supposed supernatural powers. However, the spirits are by no means abject slaves subject to the beck and call of their masters, for, as shown in the legends, it is often a spirit who directs the medicine-man, failure on his part to carry out instructions resulting in loss of spirit-power and consequent loss of status as a medicine-man, or possibly death. Of course this leaves a loophole for the shaman in case his incantations and performances fail in the desired effect, for he can say that while he followed strictly his spirit's instructions, his assistants neglected their duties and angered the spirit, with the inevitable result.

Spirit-powers may be handed down from a medicine-man to a son, relative, or close friend, with instructions how to use them. A spirit may appear to a man when he is alone and far from the village, and then fully instruct the man how to use his power. Then by demonstration in the village, showing what he is able to accomplish, the man assumes the functions of a shaman.

Again, a spirit may enter a person's body, making its presence known by emitting weird noises through the man's mouth. People hearing the sounds, and recognizing them for what they are, immediately seize and strip the man naked. The spirit then causes the man to bleed profusely at the mouth, and to dash wildly about. While still under this spirit influence, the man visits each house in the village, pointing out the sick and instructing them in the causes of their ailments. If he walks about thus naked in winter time, he suffers no ill results. Such a procedure is conceded to be a demonstration that a person has received some supernatural power, but a long time must elapse before he may use a drum and be acknowledged as a medicine-man, a period during which he must prove his ability by successful performances.

The political system here, as elsewhere in the north, is simple to the extreme. There is no chief or ruler, no executive, legislative, or judicial body. However, some one man is termed the headman. He may assume a nominal leadership, with the sanction of his fellow villagers, on account of his wisdom and by his example and advice. The qualities necessary for this honorary position are respect for the aged, including listening to and heeding their advice; material aid to the poor and helpless in the form of food and clothing; natural ability in excelling as a hunter and as a leader of men, by virtue of which the man is the wealthiest in the village; or by reason of being a successful medicine-man.

MYTHOLOGY

THE STORY OF MANÍNA

Manína, a Little Diomedé hunter, had married a King Island woman. Though not a medicine-man, he, like many others, had a spirit-power which he called by stretching out flat on the floor, with a stick bound to his head. Then the spirit-power entered him, so that he became unconscious, while people questioned him. If a person could raise the man's head, the question was answered in the negative; if the spirit caused his head to be rigid, the answer was affirmative.

One time Manína visited King island and participated in the dances there. The people divided into two groups, each trying to outdo the other in dance and song. The side of Manína, weak in song, was losing, so a medicine-man drummed and bent his head to the floor, as is customary when about to send spirits out, saying that he was about to obtain songs from his spirit-powers below. He said, "If any man wishes to learn songs from my spirit-powers, he must come below with me."

Manína whispered very low to his neighbor that he would like to go. When his spirit returned, the medicine-man asked: "Who is that man my spirit heard talking and saying that he wished to go below with me? I shall take him, even though he be no medicine-man. If he refuses now, my spirit-powers will eat him."

Manína's neighbor spoke up, "This is the man."

Then Manína sat on the floor, legs and arms wrapped about the medicine-man, who directed the people, "When I lay down my drum, some one must hit Manína with a grass sock."

When Manína was struck with the sock, after the drumming, he lost consciousness. On reviving, he found himself sitting on the floor of a huge, strange men's house far down below. Amazed, he looked about at all the spirits filling the benches. Ámüktúltk, the spirit chief, sat on a bench at the rear wall. He was very ugly, with a sharp slanting mouth on one side of his face. His mumbled words were hard to understand. The medicine-man said: "Manína wants to learn songs. I have brought him here."

All the spirits had once been human. Some of them, including the chief Ámüktúltk, had killed men when he too was human.

Ámüktúltk called for his drum and directed Manína: "I shall sing a song from the mainland. You must learn as I sing it."

Instead of stopping at the end, he went into a series of songs. Then Ámüktúltk handed Manína the drum and ordered: "Sing! If you have not learned my songs, my spirits will eat you!"

In spite of the uncouth articulation of the chief, and the unfamiliar mainland songs, Manína had learned easily and well. When he had finished, all the spirits yelled in delight. Ámüktúltk said: "We shall leave this medicine-man whom we have helped in the past. Now we shall be the spirit-powers of Manína. Where are you from?"

"I am not a King Island man. I have come from Little Diomedé."

"We are now your spirit-powers. When you return to your village, we shall go with you. Now go above and repeat these songs."

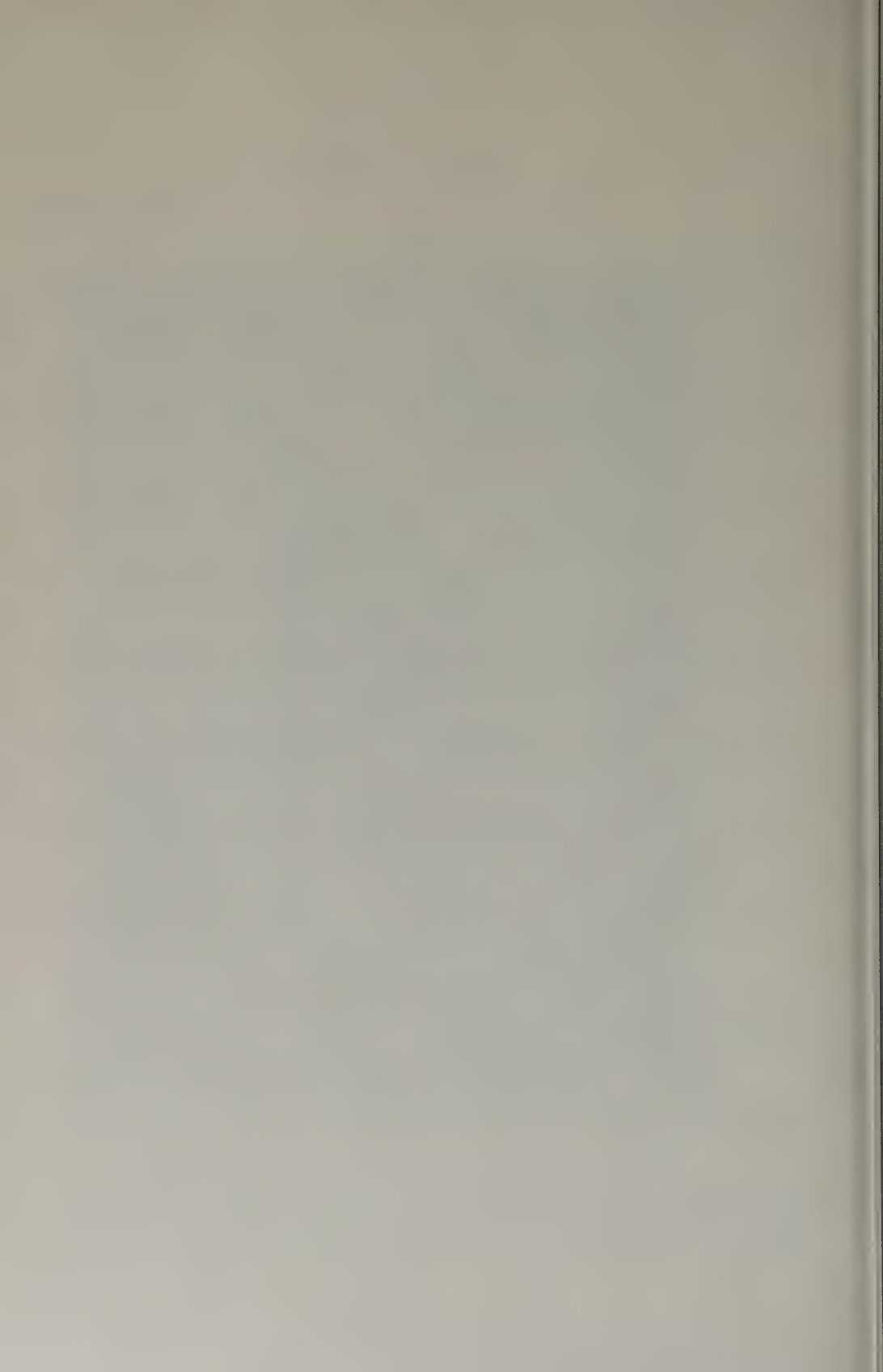
Again above, Manína gave so many new songs that his group easily won the song and dancing contest. Aided by his spirit-power, which gave him a fair wind, Manína returned to Little Diomedé quickly. Following his return, he became a great medicine-man and cured many sick people, regardless of their ailment.

During the winter, the chief spirit-power, Ámüktúltk, commanded Manína to go under the ice, so that there would be many seals in the spring. Manína knew that if he refused, the spirits would eat him; he knew that medicine-men must do as their spirit-powers ordered. The people cut a hole in the ice and collected all their ropes, which they tied together. These they piled inside the men's house in two great stacks, making an end of each coil fast to the entrance posts. In the evening they bound Manína, who was clad in waterproof parka and long mittens, his hands behind his back and his ankles fastened together. While most of the men remained inside, several of them carried Manína, as soon as possessed by his powers, to the hole in the ice and cast him into the black, swirling water. Then they ran back to the men's house. After



From Copyright Photograph 1888 by G. W. Davis

DRYING WALRUS HIDE, DIOMEDE



the lines ran out to the final ends and Manína was far below the surface, two men and a woman grasped each rope and hauled in. As soon as Manína was dragged through the entrance, his spirit-powers left him. The people quickly unbound and unclothed him. They found seal whiskers in his right mitten. These were distributed among the boat crews. A great catch of seal was made that year.

The next winter Ámúktúlik ordered Manína to have his head cut off and thrown into the sea. Men thereupon cut a hole in the ice and gathered in the men's house after dark. Manína ordered all lights out and brought a single stone lamp to the middle of the floor. Then he ordered his elder brother to use a fire-drill on his right eye. The brother twirled the drill rapidly, so that very soon the eye of Manína glowed with flame. This flame he put in the stone lamp and from it lighted all the lamps in the room. Next, two men held a waterproof parka under the entrance hole, while Manína lay flat on his back, head hanging over the hole. His eldest brother snatched out a long, sharp knife and cut off Manína's head. As it dropped into the waterproof parka, the two men folded it and ran to the hole in the ice, where they cast it into the water. The headless body was thrust down through the entrance hole. There the spirits ate it. The two men, bearers of the head, returned quickly and reported that as they came through the entrance the body was gone. The people covered the entrance hole with a mat and commenced to sing. At the end of the third song the eldest brother became worried, and wailed, "Why did the people listen to him when he wanted his head cut off?"

At the end of the fourth song, the mat was lifted and all saw Manína standing in the entrance hole, as well as ever and with his head on his shoulders.

His power thenceforth greatly increased. Manína could pull from his body anything people asked for. He brought schools of fish, herds of walrus and seal, and whales, to Little Diomede. The following summer, when the chief spirit-power, Ámúktúlik, ordered Manína to have himself burned alive, he objected.

"If you refuse to be burned, I and the spirit-powers shall eat you," was the threat.

"But I have no wood for a fire," objected Manína.

"We shall give wood. In the morning you will see a tree with many branches drifting in to shore that will furnish enough wood."

Manína knew that spirits feared bird-droppings, and that if any fell on him while being burned, the spirits might not be able to bring him back to life. After hearing this objection, Ámúktúlik answered: "The birds may leave droppings on you. You need not be burned."

In the fall, when the ice was coming down from the north, Ámúktúlik, chief of the spirit-powers, ordered Manína to kill his son when the ice was in. Manína sat day after day in the men's house, grieving and worrying that he could not raise his son Túktuk from the dead. When the ice came in, Manína still sat in the men's house, disregarding the instructions of the spirits. Then the wound where his head had been cut off opened and bled freely. He grew so weak that he could not talk. When he ordered preparations made for the slaying of his son, the wound healed and he recovered the use of his voice. Two grass mats from Kotzebue, and a long knife, were brought in. A man was chosen to drum for the people; two others in waterproof parkas screened off one end of the room with a single grass mat. All lamps were lighted. Manína stood in the entrance hole with the knife and called Túktuk, his son, to him. At the end of several songs by the people, Manína cried and kissed his son. Quickly then he thrust the long blade in the neck of Túktuk. The two men caught the body and shoved it behind the curtain. Manína at once stabbed himself, and his body slumped down into the entrance. Then the entrance hole was covered with the second mat. While the people sang, they heard spirits sucking the blood from the two bodies. When all songs were ended, Túktuk crawled from the curtain and Manína stood up in the entrance hole, their wounds healed. The power of Manína greatly increased, and his fame spread far.

Again he was instructed by Ámúktúlik, chief of the spirit-powers: "This fall you must make masks just like us and one like yourself. This is the last thing for you to do, and this dance to be held will be all in fun. Bring the masks and a woman's decorated parka to the men's house. Then cut off your fingers with an adze and throw them to the dogs."

All summer Manína was busy making masks, and he also made one to represent his first spirit-power, before the King Island spirits had come to him and before he was a medicine-man. This spirit, Kangína, was but half a person from head to heels, and the other spirits feared him.

When the people gathered that fall in the men's house, Manína cut off his fingers with an

adze and flung the severed members to the dogs. Then he reached his hands through the entrance hole, withdrew them, and the people saw that he once more had fingers. Manína covered the entrance hole with the decorated parka and surrounded it with all his masks.

While all watched, Ámúktúlk, chief spirit-power, slipped into the parka from below. Hiding his face behind his raised forearm, he picked up and fastened on his mask. Then he danced while the people sang. At the end he dropped the mask and disappeared through the entrance hole. Each spirit-power danced in turn, and the half-man spirit, who had to have some one hold it the drum because he had only one arm, danced longest. The people liked his dance best and called him back several times.

When through with the dance, Manína gathered up all the masks in a waterproof parka and stored them away. The people still hold these dances. Even now, when a spirit comes to a medicine-man, he must act like his spirit. If the spirit-power is a walrus, the medicine-man must go through all the movements performed by a walrus.

One spring some Siberians, among them a medicine-man, visited Little Diomedé, and, as was customary, were asked to dance and sing. After the singing, Manína placed a bead in a sling and held it in the sea. He called, "Bead, return!"

When the bead returned, Manína was unable to find it. He called for a walrus-stomach drumhead, and, holding this outstretched, circled before all the people and visitors. Each time he passed the Siberian medicine-man he went very slowly. He then ran twice about the room very fast. He struck the Siberian medicine-man with the walrus stomach and ran back a few steps. When Manína shook the stomach, the bead rolled from it. As soon as the Siberian medicine-man returned to his own village, he dropped dead.

Manína was the greatest medicine-man ever on Little Diomedé. His fame spread to the Alaskan and Siberian mainlands. He cured all sick, brought sea animals in the hunting seasons, and broke up the ice when it filled the straits.

THE STORY OF ÚBUK¹

Long, long ago, when a gravel bar extended from Little Diomedé almost to Big Diomedé, a couple came to live on it. No one knows whence they came. The woman said, "The people will live here forever, and never die out."

The man answered: "No; if the people live here and multiply fast, they will find it hard to feed a great number."

From this man and woman descended the people of Little Diomedé. They subsisted mainly on walrus, which in those days pulled up on each side of the gravel bar. In the fall the walrus came up under the ice and poked their heads through to breathe. Even when ice is thick enough to bear a man's weight, walrus can thrust their noses through.

Úbuk, a good hunter, for sport often ran along the ice, slashing walrus on the cheeks as they came up to breathe. One day Úbuk speared a walrus by the edge of the ice. It dragged him to the edge, and when he tried to let go the line, he found his hands stuck fast. He splashed in the sea and was carried far under. Coming to the surface, the walrus, a female, caught Úbuk and rubbed her flippers over his eyes. Then Úbuk saw as a walrus. She stripped him of clothes and they started south, joining the herd to go to the home of the walrus. When they dived to feed, Úbuk was the last to reach bottom; when they rose to pursue their journey, he was always behind. They fed on clams, eating fast, but Úbuk was slow and never got his fill. He became starved, thin, and weak. He was instructed: "When it is time to go below, look up into the sky and pick out a cloud. Then kick hard, as if you were trying to touch the cloud, and you will go to the bottom fast. While feeding, do not open the clams and pick them out, but swallow them whole, as we do. Then you will get your fill."

Úbuk soon regained his strength, and was able to dive and come up as rapidly as any. After a long journey, the walrus arrived at their home in the south. There, to Úbuk, they seemed like humans, living in houses and burying their dead behind the village. He saw many with scars on their cheeks, and was told that he had caused them. Úbuk, craving the food of humans, sometimes cut meat from the dead. The herd objected strongly to this disturbance of bodies, but the chief ordered: "Let him eat. Walrus are the food of humans."

¹ Compare the Prince of Wales story of The Man Taught by Walrus, page 154.

He noticed that the walrus went out in bands each summer, some going to the mainland or to Siberia, others to the Diomedé islands, but all returning to winter together in the village. He travelled and lived with them for four years, becoming like a walrus, with hair growing on his body and arms. Once when his band came up on the shore ice south of his village on Little Diomedé, Úbuk broke away and ran home. The village and home smelled so strongly that Úbuk set up a tent of walrus-skin some distance away, and there lived until he could become used to the odor. His mother dug roots and brought them to him to eat. After a long time he was able to go home.

Whenever the walrus on their migrations came by, Úbuk took a boatload of roots out to them. He often dived under the ice and brought a waterproof parka filled with clams from the bottom to the villagers, because clams near the Diomedés are found only in very deep water. When the people needed meat, Úbuk went to the mountain, called four times like a walrus, and the herd would come to the island.

Úbuk told the people that when he became old he would not die on the island, but would go to the home of the walrus. One day Úbuk disappeared, and all knew that he had gone to the walrus.

SEA-MAN AND MOON-MAN

A man, a great seal-netter who always kept a full cache beneath the floor, lived with his wife, two sons, and a dog. One winter, when the straits were solid with ice, so that no fishing or hunting could be done, the people began to starve. The man died, and his family existed only by devouring his seal-nets.

One morning, during a cold north wind-storm, the elder of the sons set out with his walking-stick to see if he could find anything on the shore which might be good to eat. Far from the village he found a peculiar conical object on the ice. It sounded hollow when struck by the walking-stick. A very heavy blow toppled it over, revealing a hole beneath. Looking through, the young man saw another world beneath the water. While curiously craning his neck, his body slid through, in spite of frantic efforts to recover his balance, so that he fell far below, limbs sprawling, until at last he struck bottom. While lying dazed, he heard the sound of chopping. Following the noise, the youth came to a house, where, beside the entrance, a man was cutting up wood with an adze. The man invited him inside, and his wife fed the young man whale meat. He ate voraciously, for it was his first meal in a long while.

The man asked: "What are the people doing in your village? How are they getting along?"

"We have no food. The people are very thin and worn. My father starved to death."

"Spend the night here; you can go home in the morning."

The youth remained overnight, though he lay awake long, puzzling how he was to reach the hole far above. In the morning, his host inquired, "How many people are there in your home?"

"There are only my mother, one brother, and our dog."

The wife then gave the youth a long strip of whale blubber and meat. The man asked another question, "When your father was alive, how did he hunt?"

"He always hunted seal with nets."

"Your village is surrounded by solid ice, so you cannot fish or hunt. Take this staff, which has an ice-pick on one end and a scoop on the other. At home go outside the village, out of sight, and strike the ice with the pick. Something will happen. Spread the net, and if you get something you can not kill, touch its head with the stick. Do not take this pick home, but bury it under snow near where you make holes."

The man brought out a large top, as wide and taller than a man. The young man, pick in hand, grasped the top's pole. Then the host spun the top, which rose in air and glided through the hole in the ice. The young man dropped the top back through the ice, and went home. The family were weeping for him; they had thought him lost or dead. He removed his parka and cut a small piece from the whale strip. It swelled until it was large enough to provide a huge meal for the entire family. They soon became well and healthy.

One evening the youth took net and ice-pick and went far to the north of the village. He chose a suitable place, struck the ice with the pick, and it cracked until there was a large space of open water. Next he scooped ice away from the hole and set the net. As soon as he felt it drag, he hauled in a large seal, which he killed by touching its head with the pick. All night

the youth netted, until he had a great pile of seal. Then going back for the whole village, after hiding his pick near the hole, he had them haul in the catch. All the village, and even the people on Big Diomedé, feasted, and soon were strong again. The youth became a great hunter, always keeping a filled cache and giving away much meat to others. One night, when he went to find his pick, it was gone. There were no tracks; it had disappeared. In despair, he went to where he had fallen to the world below. There he wept and cried all night. In the morning the cone-like object appeared beside him. This he rolled aside, dropped through the hole, and went to the Sea-man's home. The Sea-man, upon hearing the tale, asked his wife to bring his sealskin hunting bag. From it he drew a long piece of seaweed. As soon as he flung the seaweed to the floor, it became a boat crew of eight men. Then Sea-man called for his broad-bladed steering paddle. The handle was on a swivel, so that it could be turned in any direction; and set in the handle were two eyes. Sea-man asked the paddle, naming all the villages thereabout, "Is the person who stole my ice-pick in any of these villages?"

"No one from these villages stole the ice-pick."

"Did Sun take it?"

"No."

"Did Moon take it?"

"Yes."

"Young man, you will have to recover the ice-pick yourself. These men will carry you to the moon. When you get there, ask for the pick. If Moon-man refuses to give it back, let my paddle steal his wife and bring her here."

The youth, paddle in hand, sat amidships and the crew took their places in the boat. They paddled up, through the hole, and then in the air toward the moon. Arrived there, the young man got out and approached a home where he saw Moon-man adzing wood. The man confronted the youth, who said, "I have come for my ice-pick."

"I did not take it. I have everything of my own which I need."

"I am told by the man who lives on the sea-bottom that you took it."

Moon-man denied all knowledge of the ice-pick, so the young man returned to his boat, but, unnoticed by Moon-man, he first threw his paddle into the entranceway of the house. Moon-man's wife, startled by the clatter, rose and bent over the paddle. She saw the eyes staring at her. Curiously, she poked it with a foot. Her foot stuck to the paddle, and she was unable to release it. Desperately she kicked with the other foot, but it too became fast to the paddle. Then losing her balance, she fell to the floor. The paddle bore her to the boat and they quickly set out back to earth. Then the youth went home, while the boat crew with the paddle and Moon-man's wife went to the sea-bottom.

Near midnight the young man was awakened by something striking the smoke-hole. The voice of Moon-man called through: "I have brought your ice-pick! Return my wife to me!"

"I shall not get your wife. Find her yourself!"

"I shall pay you anything for her. I shall make you the strongest man in the village," offered Moon-man; but the youth only answered as before.

"I shall make you the best hunter on earth."

"No. You must get your wife yourself."

"I shall make you a great medicine-man."

"No. You must find your wife yourself."

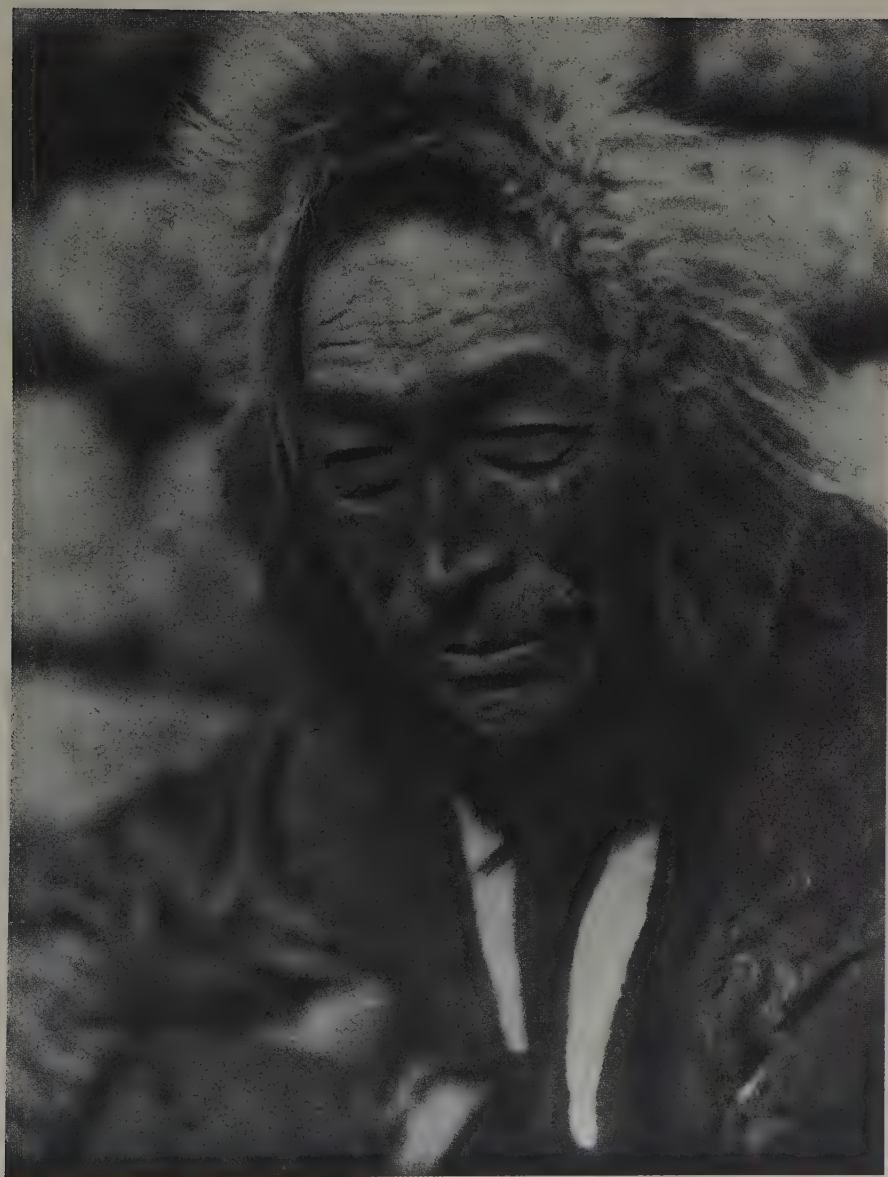
"Come out and see what I shall give you."

In curiosity, the young man dressed and went out. Moon-man said: "I shall give you this ivory hook. With it you can reach out and pull in anything in the world that you wish. I shall show you the man from Big Diomedé who used to visit your father."

Moon-man reached over to Big Diomedé with his hook and dragged back a man who was still sleeping. "This man often came to your father's house. You too can do this. I shall put the man back where I got him."

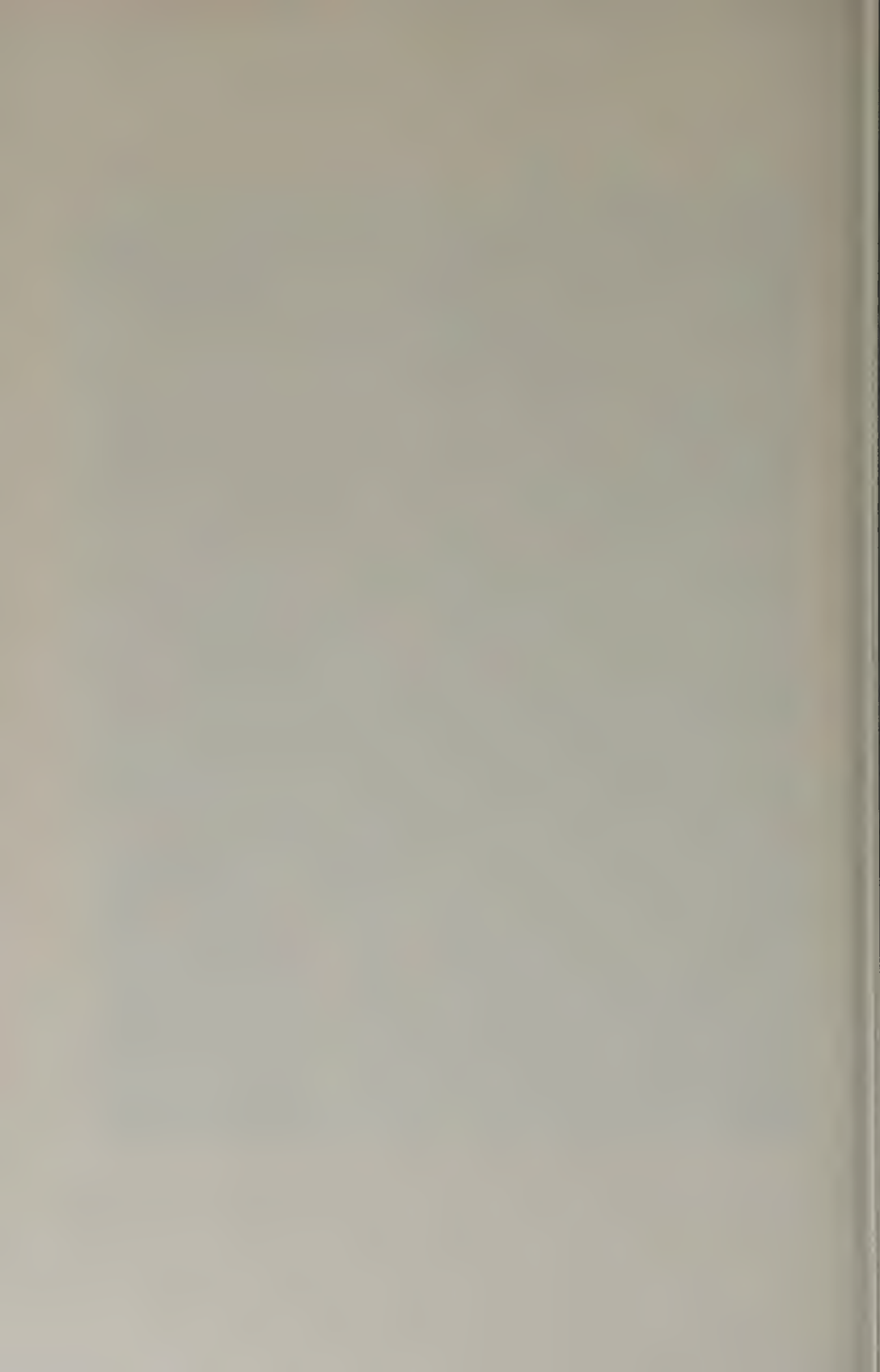
The youth accepted the ivory hook and took back his ice-pick. Then he guided Moon-man down to the sea-bottom through the hole in the ice to get back his wife. Arrived there, Sea-man rushed out of his house and began to beat both of his visitors severely, shouting the while to the youth: "What did Moon-man pay you to do this? I told you to refuse all offers from him!"

Sea-man stopped the beating, and Moon-man said: "I gave him an ivory hook with a



From Copyright Photograph 1928 by C. S. Lewis

SÍLŮK, DIOMEDE



supernatural power. For my wife I shall give you this spear. See! There is a polar bear! Watch!"

With the spear Moon-man reached far away and touched the bear. It fell over dead. Pacified by the offer, and greatly desirous of such a weapon, Sea-man replied: "I shall return your wife for that spear. It will be an easy way to hunt. I shall not take you above; you must get up by yourselves."

Moon-man declared: "Watch us! Something will take us back."

A ladder appeared, reaching far above through the hole in the ice. Moon-man and his wife, dragging the youth by his wrists, climbed. On the earth's surface, before leaving for the moon, Moon-man said: "O, youth, now I am pleased. I have my wife again. I gave you the ivory hook. Whenever you want anything, no matter how far away, reach out the hook and you will get it."

The youth, with ice-pick and hook, became a great hunter and married a young woman from Big Diomedé island.

One time, on the far side of the mountain, he caught a mouse by the tail just as it was about to dive in a hole. He skinned it alive and flung down the body. Mouse, in great pain, ran home where her young ones, frightened at seeing her thus, hid whimpering. That night Mouse told her young: "That youth was helped by Moon-man and the man down below."

Then she went to the young man's home, where all were sleeping. Across the entrance she raised her paws over her head and slapped them so hard on the floor that all arose and looked at her. Immediately the youth, his wife, and all the family became old people, wrinkled, doddering, and just about at the point of death. She ran over their bodies and went through the entrance and then up the slope behind the village. The youth, with his entire family, followed Mouse over the mountain. Where they went from there, no one knows.

THE BIG DIOMEDE MEDICINE-MAN

A man, a powerful medicine-man and formerly a killerwhale who now had become human, lived with his son across the mountain. When the son became seriously ill, many medicine-men were called in, but although much food and many gifts were presented, none could cure or find the cause of the malady. Then the boy died. Instead of being buried, the body was placed in the back of the room and medicine-men were gathered from all around to try to raise the dead. The father gave each a huge bowl of food to test his supernatural powers, but none could eat all, and none could bring back the son's spirit. The distracted father brought all the medicine-men first from the Alaskan mainland, and then from the Siberian shore. None could raise the boy.

As a final resort, the father invited the only medicine-man left, one from Big Diomedé who had no reputation for being powerful. This man was able to eat all the meat in the bowl, and the father said, "If you succeed, I shall give you the hind-quarters of a whale, because I am a great whale-hunter."

The medicine-man, after eating, commenced to drum and sing. Soon his spirit left the body, still drumming, and travelled all night over the world, asking every living thing if it had seen the boy's spirit. At dawn his spirit returned, and the medicine-man reported: "I have travelled all over the world, asking every living creature if it had seen or heard of your son's spirit. I could not find it."

"All medicine-men and I too have tried to raise him. I shall bury him in the morning, because I can find no one else to try."

"Let me attempt it once more, tonight," urged the man from Big Diomedé.

After talking all day, then eating a pan of meat, the medicine-man drummed, sang, and sent out his spirit once more. When it returned, he said: "I have travelled all through the sea, asking every living creature if it had seen or heard of your son's spirit. I was unable to find him."

"You have tried again and failed. At daylight I shall bury my son."

"No, let me have one more trial."

The medicine-man's spirit, sent forth again, went out the entranceway under the house, and to the rear. There he saw two pairs of tracks leading into the sky. He knew then that the Sky people had stolen the boy's spirit, so he followed through the air, arriving after a long

journey in a land in the sky. There he saw a house with a bird perched on each corner of the roof — crane, loon, eider-duck, and ptarmigan. At his approach, they protested loudly. He turned into a blade of grass, whereat the birds ceased their shrill calls; but each time he tried to approach closer as a human, the birds shrieked. Then he became a mouse, and entered the dwelling unperceived by the birds, but four spirit-powers of the house-owner saw him. They remained quiet, neither saying anything nor calling out in alarm. The house had two stories; the one below a men's room inhabited by the spirit-powers, one sitting on each bench along each wall, while the owner lived alone above.

The owner of the house, the Sky-man, shouted down to his spirit-powers: "Some one must be approaching! The birds called warnings, but I can see no one! One of you come up here!"

The chief spirit-power thrust head and shoulders through the upstairs opening, and said: "You know that there is no sign of any human about. Those birds lie sometimes."

The chief then returned to his place and instructed the others, "When our owner sends for you, do not tell him about that mouse we saw enter."

The second spirit told Sky-man: "There is no one near here. The birds have lied."

The third declared, "If any one had come here, we should have told you."

The fourth complained to his owner: "You know that I am the weakest of your powers. There was no need to call me when you knew that the others had found nothing."

In the presence of the other spirits, the chief instructed the medicine-man's spirit, which now had changed from the mouse to spirit form: "You can go upstairs now. You will be asked by Sky-man to show what you can do, so go outside and enter from the smoke-hole. If you succeed in overcoming him, refuse all his offers until he gives us to you."

As the medicine-man's spirit was entering the room above, he heard Sky-man muttering to himself: "There must be a human about. Those birds always make a noise when any one approaches, but those spirits below sometimes lie to me."

Then the medicine-man's spirit saw the boy's spirit for which he had been searching in the room. At the same time he was discovered and told by Sky-man: "This is the first time that any human or human spirit has entered my house. I have known medicine-men all over the world, but none has ever been strong enough to come up here. Why did you come?"

"I came for the spirit of that boy."

"You came to get him, but you can not take him."

"I shall take him."

"He must stay. I took him because I like him. Now you must show me your powers. Wife, bring my drum."

The medicine-man's spirit took the drum from Sky-man's wife, and sang, calling on one of his powers. A snowbird entered, and when Sky-man struck at it, the bird disappeared. Sky-man laughed scornfully: "Your power is so weak it does not amount to anything. Why did you come here, since you have powers fit only to be laughed at?"

While the medicine-man's spirit was drumming, he called, unknown to Sky-man, a hair-seal, which began to undermine the house. Next he called a gull, and Sky-man derided: "Here is another weak power. Watch me drive it away!"

The medicine-man's spirit, now angry, then brought in a many-legged monster of the sea. Sky-man, in terror, jumped back and cried: "Send that away! I shall let you take back the boy's spirit!"

As the sea-monster power was being drummed away, the hair-seal carried the house down to earth on his back and brought it to the boy's home. Then the medicine-man's spirit put aside the drum, and said to Sky-man: "I shall take the boy home. Your house is now on earth."

"You are very powerful, and you reached my country in the sky, but no medicine-man has the power to bring my house to earth."

"You know it is lighter up above in the sky than here on earth. If you doubt my word, go out and see for yourself. If you refuse to let me take this boy, I shall call back my sea-monster power."

Sky-man went out, returned, and wailed: "I am on earth. Take the boy's spirit, but do not bring back your sea-monster. Send me back to my land in the sky!"

"You are a medicine-man. I shall not help you. Go back by your own powers."

"I shall give you half of my powers if you will carry me back," said Sky-man.

The medicine-man, remembering the instructions of the chief spirit-power, refused. "You are not very strong, but you must go back by yourself," he declared.

"I shall give all four of my spirit-powers if you will send me back," protested Sky-man.

Then the medicine-man returned Sky-man and his house to the land above, but kept the four spirits, who belonged to him thereafter. Next he took the boy's spirit to the father's house and raised the body, so that the boy was alive and well once more. The boy, on becoming a hunter, brought much game to the medicine-man, and thenceforth was as a son and hunter to him.

SÍUKTÍNYI AND ÁNGASUK

Three brothers, all married, lived together in one home. The eldest, Síuktínyi, so hairy that his skin was completely covered and hidden, was a powerful medicine-man. He had four forms: seal, whale, cormorant, and a knife. He always instructed his brothers to keep a careful lookout to the north, because, said he, something would come from there some day. The others continually scoffed, "No one will ever come from the north, because there is no land in that direction."

One day a speck appeared on the horizon to the north. As it grew larger, the watchers discerned a large boat with a crew of eight men. It followed the island coast to the village and landed. All were strangers to the villagers, but were welcomed, as are all newcomers, and taken to the home of the brothers. Síuktínyi asked: "Whence came you? Where is your village? Why have you sailed here?"

"Our headman has sent us to bring you to our village. We shall let you return soon."

Síuktínyi asked his brothers: "What shall I do? Shall I go with the strangers?"

They answered: "Do you not know? You are a medicine-man."

He decided: "You, my brothers, do not want me to go, so I shall stay here. Let the strangers depart without me."

The wind, which had blown from the north steadily for a long time, veered to the south the following morning, and the strangers made ready to sail away. All the village went to the shore, but Síuktínyi remained in his home. Just as the boat was launched and the stern pushed out, Síuktínyi rushed down, a long knife in a sheath under his arm, caught the stern-line, and pulled the boat back. Taking off the knife and presenting it to the steersman, he said: "Give this to your headman. It will take my place, because it represents me."

At their village the steersman gave the knife to the headman, Ángasuk, who was also a medicine-man. Ángasuk, a great whaler, used the knife to cut off flukes and flippers. His two wives examined it closely, because it was something new. When Ángasuk did not go whaling, he hung the knife from a peg on the back wall. One time a watcher called, "Whale! Whale!" In the hurry to launch his boat, Ángasuk forgot the knife, and in the bustle, unnoticed by the crew, an orphan boy slipped aboard. In the chase, each time when about to harpoon, the whale sounded. The whale was one of the forms of Síuktínyi.

In the house of Ángasuk, one of the wives saw the knife shake, then fall to the floor, where it stuck, quivering, in the wood. At once it changed into Síuktínyi. He said to the women: "I have stayed here too long. I am homesick and am going back to my village." He snatched the younger and prettier wife of Ángasuk, swallowed her, turned into a cormorant, and flew away. As he flew over the whale boat, the orphan boy pointed, and shouted, "I never saw a bird like that before!" The whale form of Síuktínyi sounded and never was seen again, so the boat went home.

Síuktínyi flew home to Little Diomede. There he vomited forth the girl and took her as his second wife. Síuktínyi had a tall pole before his house, with a live hawk chained to it. The Hawk could see anywhere in the world and tell what was happening: it foretold future events; it gave notice of any one's approach to the village. Síuktínyi drummed, and asked Hawk to find Ángasuk. After long drumming, he questioned, "Did you see Ángasuk, the medicine-man?"

"I saw him once, but he has hidden. I can not find him now."

All summer they tried to find him, but failed. In the fall, many walrus came down with the ice, so that the village was very busy hunting. All boats had gone out, except that of Síuktínyi and his brothers. Hawk called: "I still see nothing of Ángasuk, but there are birds diving for fish near our village. There is something strange about one."

Then, as other boats came in laden with meat, the brothers shoved off. Síuktínyi, a rope

about his waist, rushed to the shore at the last moment and clambered in over the stern. The walrus had left the shore ice, so the boat followed them into the straits to the floes. The brothers paddled hard to pass between two large bergs before they could come together. Suddenly, with a terrific rumbling and grinding, the floes crashed, crushing the boat.

Siuktinyi, when he regained consciousness, was sitting on the sea-bottom, the dead bodies of his brothers around him. He saw a large salmon swimming slowly near him. He knew that the fish was Ángasuk and that he had caused the ice to smash the boat. Siuktinyi swallowed his brothers, turned into a spotted seal, and chased the salmon, which he also gorged. Then he swam home and vomited forth his brothers, alive and well, and Ángasuk. He gave back his wife to Ángasuk, and told his brothers: "I must find out why Ángasuk came here. Bring me an adze and an ivory tusk."

For a long time Siuktinyi deliberated, but said nothing. Finally, he addressed Ángasuk: "You will never go back to your home. You will stay here for the rest of your life and make spear-points, nothing else."

THE ORPHAN WHO RAISED THE DEAD

The daughter of a wealthy man died, and was buried on the mountainside. Although the medicine-men from up and down the coast, stimulated by offers of great reward, did their best to raise her, none was successful. The daughter's spirit went up and down the coast trying to find some good hunter to help her. She found none on the Alaskan mainland, and only two on the Siberian shore who might be of some use. At last, coming to the village of Kúma, on Big Diomedé, she found a hunter who could carry out her instructions.

In the morning, this hunter, seeing the weather to be calm and young ice forming, picked up harpoons, carrying the coiled line about his neck, and went out. He heard a hair-seal blowing through a hole, and carefully crept to it. Then when the seal breathed again, he thrust the harpoon downward. Immediately he lost consciousness. When he revived, he found himself standing on the sea-bottom, a woman beside him. She explained: "I came here to get you. I died, and my father had many medicine-men try to raise me, but none could do so. I have looked about for some good hunter to help me. I have found you after a long search. Here, take this harpoon-point; it possesses a power. There is an orphan in my village, not yet a medicine-man, who is to raise me, but you must help."

The spirit-woman and man walked far on the sea-bottom; above was ice. As the sea became shallower, the ice drew closer until it touched their heads. They emerged through an ice crack and went up the mountain to her grave. There she instructed: "This is the grave containing my body. I shall enter, but you must remain here until night. When you see a stirring, roll off the stones and lay aside the boards and wrappings. First I shall sit up and then stand. You must put your arms about me. Do not be afraid, but remain, even if you are alarmed. No harm will come to you." With these words her spirit vanished into the grave.

All day he watched. After dark, he detected a movement in the grave. The hunter was frightened, but remained, because, he thought: "I can not run. I am very far from home. This spirit-woman promised no harm would come to me."

The man rolled aside stones, pulled off boards, and raised the body to a sitting position. It fell forward again, breathing out fire four times, and then sat up as if just awaking. The girl said, "I am very glad you have helped me, for I shall soon be alive again." He held her in his arms as she arose. Then she exclaimed: "Listen! That orphan is about to begin. I hear drumming and singing in the men's house." They walked toward the village. Meanwhile the orphan, as he was conjuring, said to the girl's father: "I have seen your daughter approaching with some one who walks on the ground. He must be a human. He is wearing an auklet parka and carries a harpoon and line."

The father, pleased, answered, "If you succeed in raising my daughter, I shall give you a *kaiak* with equipment, and fill it with seal meat and oil."

On the way down the mountainside, the girl, still part spirit, told the hunter: "The orphan has already seen us. My father offered him a *kaiak* filled with seal meat and oil. The orphan does not know where you are from. Now my father offers more riches. The orphan is telling him we are behind the men's house."

Then the orphan said to the father: "Your daughter and this human are now in the entranceway. They are coming in."



From the page of the book "The Girl" by S. K. K.

DIOMEDE GIRL

As the two came up through the entrance hole, the father recognized his daughter and sprang toward her, but was stopped by the orphan, who explained that he was not quite finished in his conjuring to return her to life.

After all was done, the father embraced her. He gave the orphan an umiak, a kaiak, half his wealth, and even offered his daughter to wife. The orphan refused her, saying that because the Big Diomedé man had done most of the raising, he should have the girl. The Big Diomedé hunter married the daughter and took her to his own village, while the orphan became the wealthiest and most powerful medicine-man in the village.

STORY OF ŪNGŪKTÚNGŪK

No one knows where Ūngŭktúngŭk obtained his power, but all knew that after drifting to sea on an ice-floe and returning with a frozen heel, he became a medicine-man.

One time he made two sets of masks and brought them into the men's house, where were all the people. After men put on the masks and danced, Ūngŭktúngŭk ordered a large piece of ice with a hole in it to be placed over the entrance hole. His seal-power took possession of him, and he went under the piece of ice. He came up to the hole three times, blowing like a seal. When he rose a fourth time, the chief dancer harpooned Ūngŭktúngŭk through the head. He bled profusely, and all present saw the weapon with attached line through his head. He then disappeared below the entrance hole, and men pulled in the line with the harpoon on the end. Soon Ūngŭktúngŭk, his seal-spirit gone, reappeared as well as before.

One summer, when two boats failed to return to the village, he announced that he would fly through the air looking for them. As is customary when medicine-men prepare to fly, all the people crowded into the men's house. There they blocked up entranceway and smoke-hole, stripped Ūngŭktúngŭk to the loins, tied his hands and feet, and laid him on a bench. Sealskin trousers were hung from beams for him to use as wings. On the floor below him they placed a plank with sharp knife-points inserted and pointing upward. To his body they attached a long rope, with a sharp knife at the end. Ūngŭktúngŭk directed: "When I fly, you must all shut your eyes. Whomsoever looks will be stabbed with this long knife trailing behind me. I shall find those lost boats."

All lights were extinguished, and two men pulled Ūngŭktúngŭk off the bench, so that he fell on the sharp knife-points. Then his hawk-spirit entered his body and cried out loudly. They heard him flying about the room with a great flapping of the trousers used as wings. At his bidding, men lit the lamps again, and all saw him sitting on the floor, chest bleeding. Although he was still tied, the sealskin trousers, his wings, were on his arms. The long line with the knife was woven in and out among the overhead beams. Three times he flew about the room, and then commanded: "I shall fly once more; then light the lamps and look for me. If I am not here, sing until I return."

When they looked for him, he was gone, although the entranceway and smoke-hole were still blocked. They sang all his songs, and at the end heard him call faintly from outside. Three men rushed out and found Ūngŭktúngŭk hanging on a drying rack. He was chilled through, but his nipples were the coldest. They carried him in the men's house, and he said: "I flew up in the air to go over to Cape Prince of Wales. Then the rope and knife caught on a drying rack and dragged me down. That is a sign that I can not find the lost boats and that I must not fly again."

Ūngŭktúngŭk often went under the sea, and then there was good walrus- and seal-hunting for the village. On the sea-bottom he saw ropes used by former medicine-men when they were lowered down. Down there he set up a large stone, thinking that his son, after he himself had died and turned over his powers, would get it.

One time he decided to give his supernatural powers to his son by both going to the sea-bottom together. The night before, he called all the people into the men's house and spent the whole night telling stories of medicine-men. The next day men cut a hole in the ice and prepared the lines to lower father and son. The son was naked when bound, though he felt no cold. Ūngŭktúngŭk was clad in waterproof parka and mittens. When they were cast into the sea together through the hole in the ice, their bodies broke through a thin scum of shell ice. This was an evil omen for Ūngŭktúngŭk, for the hole should remain free of ice. They were soon pulled up by the men and women inside the men's house. The son became a medicine-man, but in the following year Ūngŭktúngŭk died.

STORY OF ŪNURŪTŪK

In the men's house all the people were gathered to watch the medicine-men in their incantations. Among these latter were ŪnurŪtŪk, clad only in a reindeer robe and boots, and his cousin, also a medicine-man. When ŪnurŪtŪk announced his intention to visit the land below, two men doubted his ability. Bidding these come with him and watch, and instructing his cousin to keep the people informed as to his progress, he went out. As he passed the last house, he stumbled and fell. A little farther he fell so hard that his head burrowed under the ground. Falling a third time, he was nearly buried. Then ŪnurŪtŪk instructed the two men, "If I fall again and do not rise, you must run back to the men's house."

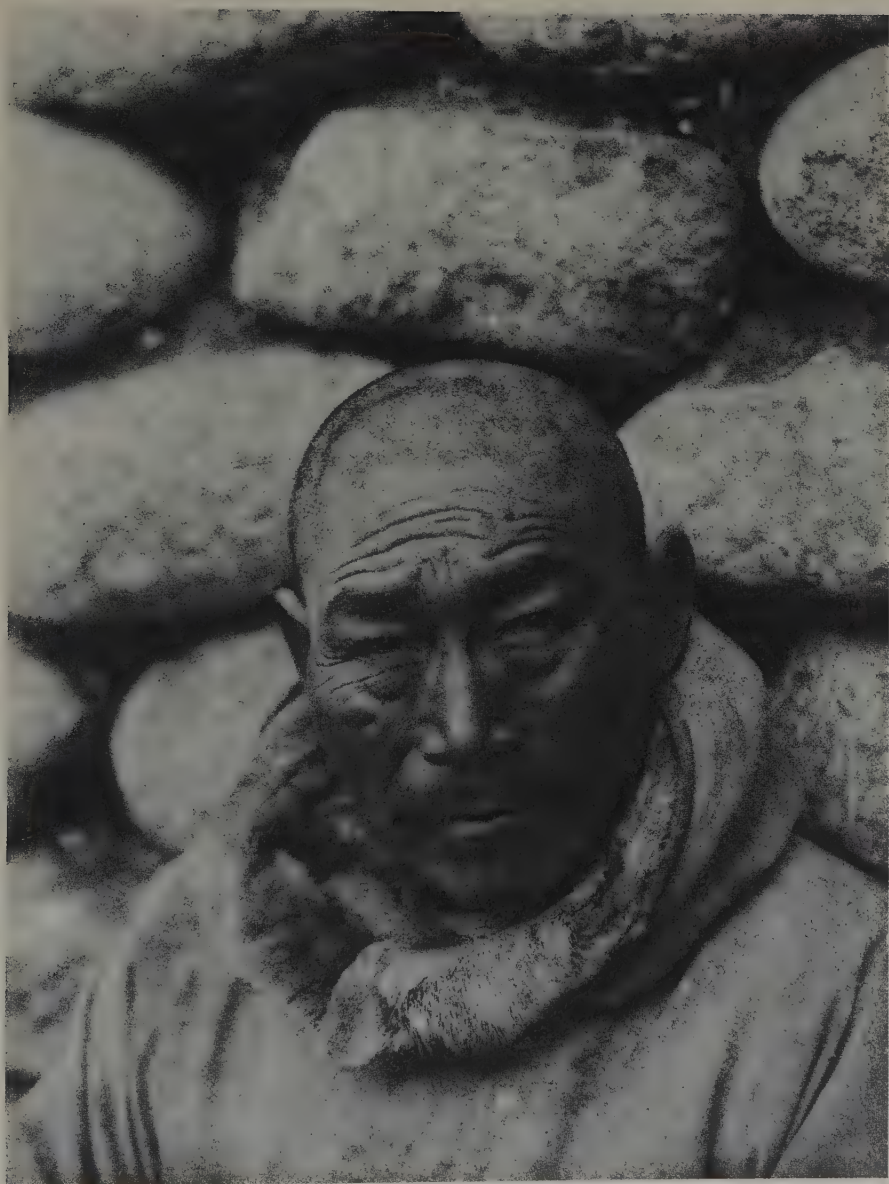
ŪnurŪtŪk stumbled once more, and this time his body sank completely out of sight in the earth. After waiting a long time, the two men ran back to the men's house, where they told what had happened. The cousin of ŪnurŪtŪk took a drum, and, beating softly, intoned what ŪnurŪtŪk was doing: "He is now far below. I see him going in the entrance of the spirits' house. He comes out. One of you men build a fire on top of this men's house to guide him." Soon he cried: "ŪnurŪtŪk is returning! He is near! I can hear him on the roof! He is coming in here!"

ŪnurŪtŪk, robe and body covered with earth, howling like a dog as he always did when possessed by his spirit, circled the room several times before sitting. Then the spirit left him. He beat the drum, pulled some whale-bones from his mouth, and said: "On my way back, a medicine-man in a grave asked me for some of these bones, but I refused him. In some way he made me drop a few. I shall give one to this medicine-man who built the fire which guided me, and without which I should have been lost and missed the village. The bone will bring him a whale. To boat-owners I shall give the rest, but they must be careful not to miss whales when harpooning. I went only in the entrance to the spirits' house, because they informed me that I must come four times, once each year, before I can go inside. On my fourth journey below I shall be gone two days and two nights, and one of the spirits will take me around the world. Then I shall have great power."

In the following spring, all boats speared whales, but each man lost his whale because the medicine-man in the grave had stolen some of the whale-bones from ŪnurŪtŪk. As he was preparing to go below on his second trip, a child died in the village and was buried on the mountainside. Because this grave blocked his way, ŪnurŪtŪk followed the shore before diving down through the earth. On his return, he distributed walrus whiskers to medicine-men and boat-owners, saying, "I have brought these things from the land below, so that our people will have much walrus meat."

That spring the people made such a large catch of walrus that it lasted more than a year. A third time ŪnurŪtŪk went to the land below, diving through the earth after the fourth stumble, as he had done before. This time he went up the mountainside, because the grave no longer blocked his way. Returning, he distributed seal whiskers, with the result that a great seal-killing was made the following spring.

As ŪnurŪtŪk prepared for his fourth and last journey to the spirits below, on which he was to be taken around the world in two days and two nights and given great power, an epidemic of sickness came to Little Diomed, during which ŪnurŪtŪk died.



From Copyright Photograph 1928 by E. J. Curtis

ТАНÓРІК, DIOMEDE

ESKIMO OF CAPE PRINCE OF WALES

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

KÍNGEGAN, the village of Cape Prince of Wales, lies on a long, gently curving beach which extends northward and eastward for more than a hundred miles to Kotzebue sound. Back from the wind-swept arctic shore stretches the low-lying tundra plain. The tundra flat behind Kíngegán and extending to Shismareff inlet is broken by many shallow lagoons with narrow outlets to the sea. Lopp lagoon, which is close to the village, is more than fifteen miles in length. These lagoons are of economic importance to the natives, as they are the breeding and feeding grounds for countless waterfowl. The summer and fall hunting and fishing camps of the Cape Prince of Wales people are scattered along the beach at favorable points as far northeast as Shismareff and southward to Prince William sound. The southern end of this sandy shoreline, where the village proper is situated, terminates abruptly in the high, stony Prince of Wales mountain, the cape itself. The traveller observes small figures resembling men in watchful attitudes stationed at intervals up the seaward face of the mountain to the top. One is informed that these are stone piles built in human form so that enemies approaching from the sea would believe the village to be ever alert and ready. The enemy, then thinking a surprise attack to be unfavorable and not caring to risk heavy losses in landing and open battle, would turn back.

The present population of Kíngegán is only about a hundred and sixty-five, but a century ago it was probably one of the largest of the North Pacific Eskimo villages, and no doubt the dominating group; indeed the village numbered four hundred in the year 1880. They were a vigorous, aggressive, seafaring people.

Cape Prince of Wales is the most westerly point of the American mainland. The unbroken winds from the arctic sweep down from the north upon its inhabitants, and from the south, across the full

stretch of Bering sea, blow no less vicious storms, while the ice-packs of two seas pile up on the shores. Upon these grinding packs and storm-swept waters the Eskimo hunt and fish. None but a hardy and fearless people could wrest food, clothing, and shelter from such a cruel environment. Emboldened by their numbers, these people preyed on many disabled or icebound whaling ships; but all their contact with the whaling fleets was not that of piracy, for it was here and on the Diomedé islands that ships recruited native crews — and they also spread the diseases of civilization. At Cape Prince of Wales, as at all points on the North Pacific coast, the native population dwindled rapidly after the coming of the white man's ships. As a final blow to Kíngegán came the influenza epidemic of 1917 which reduced the population to the meagre number before mentioned.

At one time, it is said, the village was divided into three parts. The northern was separated from the others by a small river, now filled in. The southern section in turn was divided from the other parts by a small stream. Such bitterness prevailed between the three groups that there was no social intercourse between them, but open warfare never broke out. Legend has it that one night the medicine-men of the northern village caused a dense fog, and, concealed by it, the people silently withdrew and disappeared. It is said that they migrated to the Point Barrow region, where place and family names of Cape Prince of Wales origin may still be found. Kíngegán today, therefore, is composed of two settlements, each with its own men's house. While they still remain aloof to some extent, much of the former enmity has died away, so that the inhabitants of the two now engage in free intercourse. Each settlement gives the Messenger feast, and intermarriage takes place. In the latter instance, however, the man retains his affiliation with his own settlement and men's house.

The Kíngegán houses are of dugout construction, with wooden framework, differing only in details from the dwellings of other places on the Alaskan coast. The most distinctive feature is the commodious entranceway, large enough to shelter kaiaks and small boats. Along the coast, in the summer and fall camps, before the innovation of canvas tents, round shelters were erected, their frames consisting of wooden hoops with ends thrust in the ground and crossing one another at the top. The covering consisted of seal- or caribou-skins. Another type of summer shelter was a conical structure resembling a tipi. The poles were braced inside by a wooden hoop to which the poles were lashed about a third of their length from the top. The hoop



Home Structure, Cape Prince of Wales, Alaska

HOME STRUCTURE, CAPE PRINCE OF WALES

itself was strengthened by two crossed sticks intersecting at right angles and lashed to the rim.

Hunting at Cape Prince of Wales, as throughout the Alaskan Eskimo area, is largely that of migrating animals as they pass by, each kind in its season, when they must be captured, if at all. In more southerly regions it may be the habit to defer work until the morrow; but with the Eskimo in the matter of securing food there is no morrow. From the sea they take whale, walrus, sea-lion, seal, and fish; from the ice-fields, the polar bear and white fox; from the lagoons, tundra, and rocky cliffs come many kinds of birds and their eggs. Primarily the Cape Prince of Wales people were whalers. Other food animals were hunted, to be sure, particularly by those who were not strictly whalers; but it was the whale which furnished the most important food staple. Naturally the whaling crews were composed of the sturdiest and bravest men of the village; in fact, they were regarded as a class by themselves. To go out upon the storm-swept sea in small skin boats, provided with the most simple if not crude equipment for killing an animal twice the length of the craft, required courage and skill indeed.

Hunting for the bullhead or bowhead whale takes place only in spring, the season which ends about the first of June, when the whales migrate northward. The belugas are caught during spring, summer, and fall, either in seal-nets or by spearing from the ice. The whale crews, who hold their positions permanently, are usually relatives of the boat-owners, who steer when on the hunt.

Just before the time for whale-hunting arrives, preparations are begun. New skin covers are drawn over the boat frames. This is done either in the entranceway of the owner's house or in that of the men's house. The boats, each having a crew of eight men, are smaller than those used for hunting walrus, in order that they may be more easily dragged over the ice, for walrus-hunting is done in open water. While the men are re-covering the boat, two boys engage in a tug-of-war, using for the purpose the stick employed in cleaning the smoke-hole.

A woman, considered a member of the crew, is now chosen to take part in the ceremonies, which sometimes are performed in the boat-owner's home; or several crews may choose the same woman and hold joint ceremonies in the men's house. When the boats with their new coverings are taken out of the entranceways and placed bottom-up on the racks, the woman follows, bearing a dish of food, and takes her position beside a boat. The boys of the village line up on the opposite

side of the craft, and the woman throws portions of food over the boat, for which they scramble. The boats are allowed to dry and the skin coverings to become taut. Meanwhile the crews choose a day for launching.

At night, all wooden boat gear, such as harpoon-shafts, spear-shafts, masts, and paddles, are brought to the boat-owner's house, or to the men's house when several crews hold the same ceremonies. New equipment is made when necessary, and all the wooden gear is shaved with knives to impart the appearance of newness. Following this, the crew or crews feast and dance. The dance is for the purpose of driving away any evil influence which may cling to their work. At this time they wear new clothing.

A few days later, all air-pokes, or floats, are soaked until pliable. Then the boat-owner and harpooner proceed to a cache on the mountainside. Each owner and harpooner has a cache, carefully hidden and known only to him, where are kept harpoon-heads and -points, talismans and charms, after the season has passed. These talismans of spirit-power, when the boat is ready to be launched, are placed in various parts of the craft, attached to the frame, on pokes, paddles, and harpoons. Each crew places them invariably in its own particular position year after year, although no two crews have exactly similar objects, nor does any one crew place its talismans in the same positions as any of the other crews. This prescribed custom is illustrated in several legends. Knowledge of the cache, of the objects therein, and of their usage, is carefully transmitted from father to son. The epidemic of influenza, above referred to, nearly eliminated the village, hence the locations of many of these caches were lost. During the season of 1927, however, one such cache was discovered. It contained several stuffed bird-skins, thoroughly disintegrated; a wolf and a fox skull, each including the jawbones; a caribou hoof and shin-bone; a wolf-claw, to which two small stones were lashed; a headband with a blue bead in the centre; a box for talismans, made from a tree branch, six and a half inches in length and three inches in diameter. The inside of the box was hollowed out and the ends plugged. The cover end had a sinew handle. This box contained a pebble, a blue bead, several beads wrapped in intestinal parchment, and a rolled parchment. From several long sinew belts depended sewn skin bags, each about six inches long and an inch wide, hung side by side, and each containing dried whale meat. Other objects were a wooden harpoon-rest for the bow of a boat, a large wooden ladle, and a wooden bird. The body of the bird was thirteen inches long, with a wing

spread of eleven inches. The belly was hollowed out to hold spare harpoon-points, and had a snugly fitting wooden cover held in place with a rawhide thong passing around the body. Several harpoon-points and -heads were found.

When the boat-owner and harpooner return with their sacred objects, the crew bring in the pokes, stand them in the front of the room, and then return to the rear bench. Then at dark the men prepare four other pokes or air-bags. These, lashed together in pairs, are sewed to the boat-bottom to prevent harm and wear to the boat-cover while dragging the craft over the ice. The women do any necessary sewing, such as making long mittens. Some crews devote a special day to these tasks.

When necessary, a day is spent in making a harpoon-point. The bone or ivory is chosen by a medicine-man, and then fashioned. The medicine-man next, to determine if the point has been made properly and is without any evil influence, has an assistant recline, with a stick bound to his head. If the medicine-man can raise his assistant's head with the stick, it is a sign that his spirit-power approves the work and can "feel" no evil in the point. Should the man's head remain rigid, the new point, however well made, must be rejected. The harpoon, the last implement to be made, consists of three sections. The wooden shaft is about ten feet long, two inches thick, and an inch and a half wide; it tapers slightly for about a foot from the butt to afford an easy hand-hold. Next is a tapering bone foreshaft, twenty-three inches long, its greatest circumference about three and a quarter inches and the smallest an inch. This member, which also is slightly curved, fits into a hole in the wooden shaft and is securely lashed in place. The third section, the head, of ivory or of bone, is about a foot long and also is slightly curved. The top edge is nearly an inch wide at the butt, and tapers narrowly to the front. The sides are bevelled off in three grooves, so that the bottom is sharp. The last five and a half inches, from the top to the butt, is cut obliquely to a point at the bottom edge. On this sloping end surface is a hole for the insertion of the bone foreshaft described. The centre of the head is pierced to accommodate the long loop, about twelve feet, of heavy walrus-line. A slot is cut into the front of the head for a slate point. The point is further secured by a sinew thread passing through a hole in one corner to the hole in the head. The thin slate point is about three inches long and two inches wide. When the spear is cast, the downward-pointing curve of the bone foreshaft prevents it from glancing off the whale's back, so that it drives into the body, the force of the

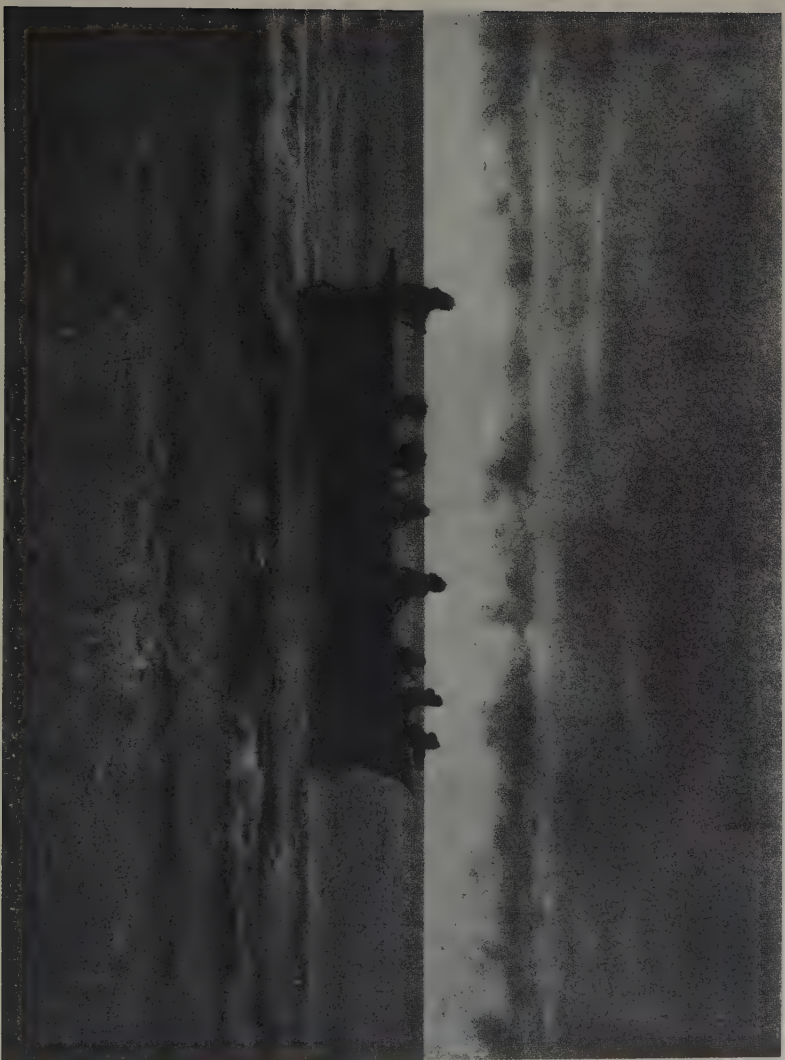
throw being greatly aided by the weight of the weapon. The ivory head detaches itself from the foreshaft and swivels till at right angles to the looped line. The loop is secured to another line, at the end of which are the air-bags, or floats. The wooden shaft, now disengaged, floats attached to the loop and forms an additional drag to the air-bags. At the present time such harpoons are in disuse, small bomb guns being employed. The head of the one described, with others, was found in the cache along with the talismans above mentioned. These were all identified by the owner's mark, the old men who made the identification stating that the owner and his family had succumbed to influenza. All refused to touch any of the objects, and predicted dire misfortune to the members of the expedition who handled them.

After the harpoon is made, the air-pokes are inflated, brought into the men's house, and stood up in the front of the room. The crews fast all day and sing ceremonial songs, after which the pokes are placed in the boat, with the harpoon over them, as a sign that the boat is ready to be launched on the following morning. That night, while the boat-owner and harpooner keep vigil outside, the crew remain within, singing the ceremonial songs of the boat-owner all night.

In the morning the boat is carried to the shore, all implements are laid on the ground, and the boat turned over them. The boys of the village stand at one side of the boat and sing as the chosen woman brings out a dish of food. This she throws over the boat to the boys, who scramble for it. She now puts a mark on her forehead. The boat is righted, all gear is put in its proper place, and, while the owner sings, it is dragged to the ice, where all stop and render a song accompaniment. The boat is next hauled to the middle of the shore ice, where the night before a paddle was set up by the owner. As the men pass, the spearer seizes the paddle and sets it in the bow. The boat, to singing, is carried to the ice edge, where all is made ready for launching. The boat-owner then ties a pair of animal-ears on the blade of the paddle and lightly brushes the surface of the water.

The boat is launched and allowed to drift out. The crew sing, and the woman, left standing on the ice, sings. The boat is then put about and headed toward her, while the spearer makes as if to harpoon her. She then scatters ashes to drive away evil influence, and runs home without looking back. There she remains and fasts until a whale has been killed or the crew returns.

As soon as a whale is killed, a member of the crew wraps some of the skin and blubber about his shoulders, in proof of the kill, and



From Copyright Photograph 1028 by E. S. Davis

START OF WHALE HUNT, CAPE PRINCE OF WALES

runs home to the woman. She distributes these evidences amongst the families of the crew or crews. The whale is dragged onto the ice, and one man is sent to the village with a piece of fluke on a small spear as a signal for the crew families to make ready to help in the cutting up. All the women line up on the roof of the men's house, behind the smoke-hole, and sing as the messenger approaches. When he reaches the spot in the shore ice where the paddle has been set upright, he stops. Then the woman, dressed in her best, leaves the house and advances as far as the boat-racks, where she dances, and sings as loudly as possible. The messenger sings and dances at the same time. She then returns to the house, and he runs to the smoke-hole, where he lowers the portion of fluke. The woman, singing, takes it and cuts it into small pieces, which she cooks. When done, they are placed in a new pot and carried by her as she rides out of the village in the first sled.

As soon as the boat-owner sees the dog-teams in the distance, he sets the boat-mast upright beside a poke. When near the whale drawn up on shore, the dog-teams stop, and the woman dances and sings. The boat-owner then dances and sings. The woman distributes the cooked meat to the crew, who at once eat it. The woman sprinkles some fresh water on the whale's head to refresh the whale-spirit's thirst, and also presents it with a hair from her parka. The crew pack all boat equipment but mast, paddles, and oars, to the village. The pokes are placed on the platform caches, and lines are strung on the boat-racks to dry. They then sleep, because the cutting up of the whale takes about two days of steady labor. When ready again for hunting, the boat is launched from the ice without ceremony.

When the crews of several boats have harpooned a whale, the entire right side and the hind-part to the navel belong to the first boat which cast a spear; the second boat receives the left side and flipper; the third boat takes the tongue and head down to the breast-bone; the fourth is allotted a strip from the chest, while any others are allowed only portions of the lips. In addition, the owner of the first boat may give away a strip from the nose over the head to any one he pleases. Ordinarily the hind-quarters and portions of the head are stored away for the feasts of the following winter. The owner of the first boat takes all the whalebone from the right side, while his harpooner receives that from the left side. Of this, however, they must distribute ten bones to their own crew and some bone to the next two crews. From his share the harpooner gives the woman of the ceremonies some bone taken from the middle of the whale. During the

whaling season, children may play games imitating their elders in a whale-hunt, but after the hunting is over, they must play the games of the following season, and so on through the year.

In the early spring (*úbaṇagrūk*) the seal-hunting begins. The hunters move out to the edge of the ice, where they build snow or ice barricades to hide them from their quarry. They sit behind these walls on air-pokes and peep through holes on the lookout for seals. As the animals come up, they are harpooned and hauled in by the harpoon-line. When the southwest wind blows the shore ice in toward shore, the hunters watch for seal blow-holes and harpoon the seal as they come up for air, enlarging the hole to drag the body through. Since food is likely to be scarce at this season, unsuccessful hunters and their families ask the more fortunate for a share of the game. Their requests are granted, and it sometimes happens that a hunter is left only with the head and stomach for himself.

Those hunters using kaiaks for seal-hunting first stretch new skin covers on the frames. A kaiak is placed on a rack, and an air-bag covered with a waterproof parka is set in the manhole to represent the owner. The hunter and his wife remain in their house and sing ceremonial songs until daybreak. The man, followed by his wife, then carries the kaiak to open water, both singing ceremonial songs as they proceed. While the woman, wearing mittens and holding ashes, stands on the edge of the ice, the hunter, with full equipment of weapons, lines, and air-bags, launches the craft and slowly drifts offshore, singing as he goes. He then paddles toward her, and, when close, motions as if to spear her, because at this time she symbolizes a seal. At that moment the woman scatters the ashes to drive away evil influences, and runs home.

The hunter sets forth for game — the sea-lion and hair-seal which are now about to continue their northward migration. When these animals are harpooned, exhausted, and hauled in, the hunter kills them by clubbing, rather than spearing, in order to save the blood. This is poured into a bag of walrus stomach. After the skin has been removed, the cut-up meat is stored beneath the decks of the kaiak to be carried home. The first sea-lion or seal is cut up to be eaten without first removing the skin.

Some walrus are caught when the southwest wind blows in the shore ice. These are harpooned through blow-holes and the meat hauled back to the village by dog-teams. Polar bears are killed with spears and bows. Following the sea-lion and seal migration, about March and the early part of April, the hunting of young sea-lions and

seal, which appear then, occurs. At this time tomcod are caught with lines and hooks through the ice.

During the last of April and the first part of May, eider-ducks come in large flocks to the edge of the shore ice. These are killed with bolas. Each ovoid bola of the six is of ivory or bone, secured to a three-foot section of sinew. The handle usually bears a charm or talisman of the owner. Each hunter carries about five sets of bolas, the five considered to be worth a red-fox skin. When these are thrown from boats, floats of seal-bladder are attached to the handles. After the first ducks have been killed, boys play at duck-hunting with slings. One boy throws his sling in air while others try to hit it with theirs.

While the smooth ice is still beyond shore, crabs are gathered, but they are found only in the region between Cape Prince of Wales and what is called Tin City, a few miles southward, around the cape. Crabs are caught in dip-nets, of which the hoop is made of horn. The weighted net is baited with bits of fish or blubber, and lowered in deep water, to be drawn up at intervals and the catch removed.

In May, some hunters depart inland at the caribou fawning season. After a herd is sighted, the hunters lie hidden and watch until the fawns are dropped and cleaned by the mothers. Then they kill the newly born animals either by running them down or with dogs trained for the purpose.

Squirrels, just emerging from their holes, are caught at this time of year in snares laid at the entrances.

Herds of walrus appear about the time when the whales have gone north, and the walrus-hunt lasts until about the first of July, when these animals migrate in their turn. Skilful hunters stalk them on the ice, but this method needs extreme care, because the walrus is very wary. The hunter must creep slowly toward his quarry, and always in the same direction. From time to time he scratches on the ice with an implement carried for that purpose, in order that the walrus will think that the hunter is a walrus and pay no attention to him. When close enough, the harpoon is cast and the animal played on the line until exhausted. It is then brained through the eye with the small end of the harpoon, or clubbed with the bone end.

The usual method of walrus-hunting is by boat, one larger than the whale boat, and capable of holding a large catch and of carrying a crew of nine or more. Boys and sometimes women are allowed to participate in the hunt. When a herd is seen upon the ice, the boat creeps along the ice edge. The crew don waterproof parkas with hoods, make ready the harpoon, and attach air-bags to the heavy

line running from stem to stern. When near enough, the harpoon is cast and the animal killed with the long spear when hauled in on the line. It is cut up on the ice and stored in the boat, which then proceeds to its next victim. If walrus are scarce on the ice, or difficult to approach because wary, the hunters sing as they draw near, in the belief that they will be forced to sleep soundly and thus be easy to kill. When the herd is moving in the water, the boat approaches from the rear and the nearest walrus is harpooned. As the wounded animal tows the boat, other weapons are cast into the walrus swimming near by. These are hauled in on the harpoon-lines and clubbed or brained until a boatload has been obtained. The carcasses are towed to ice, cut up, and taken to the village.

Polar bears are sometimes killed from the boat. In this event the harpoon is thrown at the hind-quarters and the crew keep the line taut by backing away. This keeps the deadly forepaws and jaws away from the boat. Heavy stones on loops are then slid down the line until the bear sinks with the weight and drowns.

The early summer (*uwūnnōk*) is occupied with the storing of the spring catch, drying and tanning of skins, the making of lines, repair of equipment, and other necessary tasks. At the village, gill-nets are run out from the shore. Many families go in camp along the beach, perhaps fifty miles to the north. There they also set out gill-nets. While wading out to set them, the people wear a waterproof garment of sealskin in which the only opening is at the neck. This garment is also very useful in cutting up whales, inasmuch as it protects the wearer from blood and grease.

Hunters go inland to a lake where caribou are killed by the enclosure system. Runners round up the animals and stampede them toward the lake, driving them between two lines of men whose shouts and gestures frighten the animals so that they head for the water. Once in the lake, they are speared from kaiaks. People stationed around the shores prevent the animals from escaping. The runners and spearers take the best of the meat.

The families who move up the coast stalk caribou and pack the meat on sleds to a nearby stream before the snow melts, if possible. There it is dried. Then walrus-hide is wrapped around the sled and sewed to make it serve as a boat, and the dried meat is brought down to the lagoon. After the caribou-hunting, the poorer families remain along the coast to fish. Some families go south as far as Teller for this purpose. Those who can afford large skin boats travel to Siberia, the Diomedes, and Kotzebue to trade. The Diomedé people often



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UMIAK AND CREW, CAPE PRINCE OF WALES

come to Cape Prince of Wales before the villagers have scattered along the coast. The trade with Siberia is for iron for weapons, and for such furs as beaver, deer, fox, otter, and wolverene; with Kotzebue for furs of caribou, fox, muskrat, and squirrel.

In the fall (*úgiûksûk*) the people return to the village and engage in placing in caches the summer's catch and in repairing houses or building new ones. At this time nets are set out for beluga, sea-lion, and seal, but this must be done only when the water is cold, otherwise they will rot. When set out at the proper time, and cared for, a net will last for as long as six years. The nets are visited every day and kept out until ice forms.

Some boat crews, about ten men, take their nets to the rocky point of the cape. Here they put out five anchor-stones on lines, each stone as much as two men can carry. The five nets are extended in five directions, and the other ends also are anchored. Each net is in three eighty-foot sections, five or more sealskins being required to make a section. In depth a net is about twelve feet, or thirteen to sixteen meshes. Two heavy lines run along the top edge and are secured to the net at eight-foot intervals. Every twenty-four feet is a float of sea-lion bladder or flipper, or of walrus bladder or flipper. Opposite the floats, on the bottom edge, are sinkers. The owners, two to a net, take whatever is caught in their net. A good catch will fill a boat. Some crews stretch their nets straight out from the shore.

Men who own nets, but not boats, or who do not belong to boat crews, and sometimes even boat crews, wait for a south wind and then go up the coast, stretching their nets seven or more miles apart from one another. The men who work together tie their nets end to end as one long net. The shore-lines are securely fastened to posts. The other end is then carried beyond the breakers as far as it will reach, and there anchored. The net is visited several times a night, and the owners take whatever is in their sections. Nets placed out in this manner must be hauled in during stormy weather or be lost. One informant put out his net three times in the season and made a catch of eighty seals. As many as fifty have been caught in all the sections on a good night. It is said that nets employed in this manner keep in better condition than those left out in all weather. Those set out by the cape, it should be mentioned, receive some shelter from storm.

After the fall storms, many clams are collected on the beach. In late summer and early fall women went south to Tin City to make pots and lamps from a clay found there. Since the epidemic of influenza, however, the site has been lost.

In winter (*úguiŭk*), after the freeze-up, seal-nets are set out. One method of seal-netting is with the short, two-fathom net. The hunter makes or chooses a seal blow-hole and hangs the net under the ice from four pegs in such a manner that when the seal comes up for air, it is enmeshed. When the shore ice is solid, and very thick, the hunter goes out to smooth ice by the water's edge, where he stretches a section of net underneath the ice, the ends suspended through two holes. The waiting hunter makes a tinkling sound above the net by lightly touching the ice surface with a small piece of ice attached to a pole. The curious seal then comes up to find out what causes the sound, and is enmeshed. These methods can be used only in winter, when the days are short and dull, and the nights long; for in the longer, brighter days, the animals see and avoid the nets.

When the families move into the village in early winter, the boys gather and watch. In the evenings, as the houses are opened, the boys go from one to another in turn. They gather by the smoke-holes and shout, "Is it time to come in?" As soon as an affirmative answer is made, they enter and sit around the walls, keeping their faces concealed. A woman will give them food, after which they depart to visit the next house.

After all the families have returned, the men's house is opened; there is no women's house. Each family brings in its stone lamp and sets it before its place in the house. Food is brought by each family for a feast, games are played, stories told, and whole crews dance and sing. Each family has songs and dances, records of lives and hunts, handed down from generation to generation. During the winter, dances are held, lasting a day, wherein families render their songs and dances. The old men, young unmarried men, and boys live and sleep in the men's house. Here the men perform work on sleds, weapons, and implements of all kinds, and while working receive food brought in by the women. It is a gathering place at all times, and a place where men return after hunting and other work to tell stories.

Some time during the winter, the Messenger feast is held by the two men's houses. These take turns in holding it in successive years. One men's house, the hosts, practises songs and dances for four days, and then sends out two messengers to the other men's house. Only about five of the members are invited, although all are privileged to come, and usually do so. Each morning the messengers bring their guests and wives, and before leaving their own men's house the guests feast the messengers. In the hosts' house the guests sit by the rear

wall, their wives in front of them, and are feasted. The wives bring bags along to hold the food they can not eat immediately. Opposite them, by the entrance hole, are the hosts with many lamps on each side, and they render their practised songs.

On the morning of the fourth day the messengers bring in the guests at an early hour. Now the hosts paint ludicrous marks in charcoal on the faces of their guests, who must endeavor not to laugh. While painting, the hosts ask gifts of their guests. Men ask for women's utensils, and women ask for men's implements. Guests are not allowed to ask verbally what they desire, but may indicate their wishes by signs, such as pointing to their boots or parkas. The guests then leave, and both parties indulge in brisk trading amongst themselves to get the requested articles.

The guests are brought back that night, wearing their best clothes and bringing the requested articles, which are sent in the entrance by the messengers to the persons requesting them. While still outside, they request articles of their hosts, which must be procured by the following night. Each guest enters in turn and sings two songs as he thrusts his head through the entrance hole. When all are within, a dance and a feast are held.

On the morning of the fifth day the guests make up songs for their hosts and a special one for the headman — songs which pertain to the gifts they desire. Then, preceded by their dancers, wearing light clothes and dancing as they go, all bearing sticks with food on the ends, the procession marches to the men's house of their hosts, who are outside waiting for them. As they arrive, the dancers hold out their food-laden sticks to people whom they like. Then the hosts enter and take their places, sitting with heads averted in order not to be recognized. The most athletic of the visitors, as they enter, endeavor to jump through the entrance hole and to land on their feet. The hosts, women, and boys surrounding the men, stand in the middle of the floor, while the guests sing their new songs. If the visitors are able to recognize their hosts, they touch them with the food-laden sticks. All day and until midnight gifts are exchanged, both guests and hosts trying to outdo one another and to be the last to give away an article. The Messenger feast is concluded on the following, the sixth night, by a dance at which the guests receive quantities of food.

While the more important ceremonies at Cape Prince of Wales are connected with the hunting of whales, walrus, sea-lion, and seal, and include the Messenger feast, other ceremonies, relative to the

various events of social life, are held. Of these, the first in order of human life, is concerned with customs of childbirth and the giving of names. As soon as the navel of a child has been tied and healed, the child is given a name, customarily that of a relative to keep the name in the family. If the name of a recently deceased relative has not been given as yet to some child, the newly born receives that name. When the birth occurs during the winter, the mother is obliged to limit her diet to one form of food, usually seal meat, and refrain from drinking water until the following spring. It is believed that this regimen will aid a male child to grow up to be a good hunter, and the female to become skilled in womanly duties.

Boys are given bows and arrows as soon as they are old enough and able to use them. The first bird the boy kills is carefully skinned, and the skin, together with the bow and arrows, is laid away. Then the parents make gifts to those who visit them on hearing of the boy's good fortune. The following fall, after the men's house has been opened, the parents give a feast at which the boy's head is shaved and the bird-skin and weapons are hung on the wall. After the feast, the bird-skin and the bow and arrows are burned behind the village to signify that the spirit of the bird may return to its nest and that the boy will be aided in becoming a good hunter. When girls pick their first berries and plants, they must present them to the old men and women of the village.

A youth is eligible to marry after he has killed both a sea-lion and a seal. Should he presume to take a wife before he has shown his prowess as a hunter, the other men may take his first sea-lion and seal, leaving him only the heads. Before a youth may live with the woman of his choice, after the consent of the parents has been obtained, he must present her with a complete outfit of clothing and provide meat for her parents for some time, in order to prove his worth as a hunter and provider of food. When the youth's parents choose a suitable wife for their son, they send a woman, an intermediary, to ask the girl's parents for their consent to the marriage. If all is arranged satisfactorily, the youth's parents must provide the bride-to-be with clothing, while the youth hunts for his prospective parents-in-law. But if the girl does not consent to be married, she signifies her rejection by returning the clothing. Clothing also is returned when the couple agree to separate. Divorce occurs by mutual agreement, or when either party is unfaithful. An adulterer may be killed.

When a person is about to die, new clothes are made for him. In any event, the body is dressed in its best and kept in the house



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AÍYĀK, CAPE PRINCE OF WALES

overnight, watched by the relatives. Then it is wrapped in a walrus-hide and securely lashed. The body is hoisted through the smoke-hole, that all sickness and evil may pass out with it, and laid on the roof, head toward the south. The relatives, six of them carrying the corpse feet first on sticks thrust beneath, others bearing food, water, grave-boards, and the person's tools, implements, utensils, and weapons, all proceed up the mountain to a suitable spot. There the body is laid, head toward the south, a grave-board underneath, on each side, and on the top, and covered with stones. The possessions are placed around and on the pile. Before the family leaves the grave, they build a fire and burn a pungent herb (*iksudit*), purifying themselves by making rubbing motions over their bodies in the smoke. After returning home, the smoke-hole is closed, the room is heated, and the family bathes. During the bath, each rubs his body with a stone, an act with a dual meaning: evil and sickness pass from their bodies into the stone, and they are further hardened against evil or sickness. If the deceased is a man, the family remain indoors, performing no work and fed by relatives for four days; if a woman, five days. Men may not hunt, nor women fish, until the next new moon, before which they must first bathe, put ashes in their boots, and sprinkle them over their clothes to drive away any lingering evil influence. On returning from their first hunting or fishing trip, and before partaking of food, men and women must bite a stone; this is to prevent their teeth from falling out. The period of mourning prevents the spirit of the deceased, which may be wandering about the village, from doing harm, and the preparations for the first hunting and fishing are necessary to keep game and fish from avoiding the village. After a year has elapsed, the family carry food to the burial-place and scatter bits on the grave. A feast, to which the relatives who helped with the burial are invited, is held. It is believed that the spirit which lives somewhere on the mountain will also be present and eat of the food on the grave. If the deceased had been a good hunter, the bones of the whales he had killed, his polar-bear heads, and his kaiak, would be placed on the grave at this time.

The spirits of the dead go to a village somewhere on the mountain-side, where they meet and live with their relatives. The spirit may linger around the village, therefore to keep it from doing mischief and harm, the mortuary observances and purification rites must be carefully followed. When a spirit continues to haunt the village, to show itself to people, and work mischief, it is a sign that some possession or article which it desires has been kept in the house. To satisfy the

spirit and cause it to go to the village of the dead, it is necessary for the family to consult a medicine-man, who finds out what the desired article is, and informs the family, who then place it on the grave.

MYTHOLOGY

THE SON OF ÓGLAZHÚNA

Óglazhúna, a great whale-hunter, had his own boat crew. With himself at the steering oar and his cousin as harpoon-thrower, they brought in four whales each year, two in the spring and two in the fall. The meat caches of this crew were always full. On one of their whale-hunts, darkness overtook them as they were towing a whale to the village, so Óglazhúna decided to make a landing for the night. Each time he tried to land, the shore rose as a sheer cliff. At last, when about to give up and sleep in the boat, Óglazhúna saw the land sink to its normal form and he beached the boat. A woman carrying a dish and a bucket awaited their approach. She commanded: "That whale belongs to me! Cut it up and carry the meat to my house! You will never see your own homes again!"

After the crew filled her cache, stowed their whaling gear in the entranceway, and went into the large house, the woman said: "You will never go to your homes again, because I need hunters. I should have taken you before, but your sons were not then old enough to take care of your families. Now they can help at home while you stay with me."

They hunted whales for her, always being forced to return to her home. Their village gave them up for lost. The families of the missing boat crew were on the verge of starvation. Their stored meat became exhausted, and they had to trade nets, weapons, and whaling equipment for food.

One day the son of Óglazhúna went along the shore far from the village, picking up clams. After dark, as he walked along feeling tired and hungry, the smell of cooking meat came to him. He thought: "There must be a house over that hill, though I have never seen one here before. I smell food; perhaps they will give me something if I go there."

The youth reached the house. Whaling gear was stacked in the entranceway, and a great heap of freshly cut whale meat. The thought came to him, "There is so much food here that perhaps I can take some home."

Inside he saw eight men, a boat crew, feasting. They were solemn and unsmiling. Óglazhúna looked up, not recognizing his son, for he had been away so long. He shouted: "Who are you? Name your parents! Answer quickly!"

His son, so frightened that he could hardly speak, stammered: "My mother used to tell me that my father was a great whale-hunter. He never returned from a hunting trip. My father's name was Óglazhúna."

Óglazhúna, greatly surprised, now made himself known and gladly welcomed his son. He pointed to the sleeping woman, and said: "That woman is the cause of all our misfortune. She has great spirit-power with which she holds us here. We can never return home."

When he learned that the families were poor and nearly starved, he gave his son four pieces of whale meat. This he was to take home and put in the cache. Then he showed the youth how to use whaling equipment, and gave instructions: "There is a place on the mountain to keep a whaling outfit in the summer. Take this equipment to the mountain; you will find the place even though you do not know where it is now. Go home now to your mother."

He carried the full pack home, though it felt light to him, cached the meat, and laid away the whaling equipment on the mountain. Then he went to bed. In the morning his mother woke him, asking if he had brought home clams.

"No, I found none."

"Why were you out so late, my son?"

"I travelled far, searching for clams."

"Why do you not get up?"

"I am too hungry to get up, mother. Go see if there is any meat in the cache."

"The cache has long been empty."

"Take your dish and look again. There might be something in it."

She was greatly surprised to find meat, and excitedly called to her son that some one had filled the cache. He told her the story of finding his father. They shared the meat with their cousin's family, but they used only a little at a time, in order to make it last long.

He asked his mother where his father's boat-rack had been. She answered that he was not old enough to think of whaling; that he had no boat. The youth replied: "I have no boat, but my cousin and I shall put up a boat-rack, even if we only dry skins on it. It will remind us of our lost fathers."

When the people were making ready to go whaling, the youth spoke to his mother and cousin: "If we had a boat, we too could hunt whales. Mother, ask that family with the two boats to let us use one."

"My son, you are not yet old enough to go out. Besides, you have no outfit."

He insisted: "If we had a boat we could take other poor boys along as a crew. I shall get equipment somewhere."

The mother asked the man to lend one of his boats. He consented, saying: "Sometimes poor boys, whose fathers have been great whalers, can hunt successfully. Your son may use one of my boats."

The two youths chose six poor young men for a crew. All were ragged and hungry. They brought the boat and put it up on the new rack. They feasted, and the youth said to his mother, "From this time the crew will eat in my home." After the feast, the mother told the youths to send their mothers to her for fresh meat.

People wondered where this fresh meat had come from. Most caches were almost depleted at this spring season before whaling, and many came to the woman, exchanging all manner of hunting equipment and clothes for food. The young men were now well equipped. The mother asked her son why he had not his own outfit ready. He answered: "Let all my crew gather here tonight. My cousin, who will be my harpooner, and I then shall go up to the mountain to see if there is any gear in my father's cache. Tomorrow we shall launch the boat."

The two brought down a complete outfit of pokes, lines, paddles, spears, and talismans, and put them in the entranceway. The crew carried all these inside. They inflated the pokes and carefully washed all the equipment, because they did not know how to scrape and shave it to make it look like new. The youth placed the talismans on lines, pokes, and harpoons, as instructed by his father. His mother recognized them all and wept silently. The crew sat on a bench while the youth sang ceremonial songs for each talisman, as he had learned them from his father. They took all the hunting implements to the boat, and then feasted. The pokes by the boat signified that it was to be launched. Through the long night they sang ceremonial songs.

At daybreak, while the crew were making ready, the youth carried out a paddle and stuck it up in the shore ice. They next carried the boat to the water's edge. The mother followed to the shore, carrying a pan of ashes. They embarked, and paddled away, singing the whaling songs. Then they turned to paddle toward her. Just then a whale came up between the boat and the woman. The spearer cast his weapon. The mother poured out the ashes and quickly ran home. She could hear the ceremonial shout of the kill. She quickly bathed, dressed, and was ready to receive the messenger, who came in shouting, "A boat is killing a whale!"

The mother knew that the whale was harpooned, but could say nothing about it until one of the crew ran to her with some fresh meat. If the whale should be lost, she would be shamed. Soon a messenger brought meat to her. The crew returned home, and the youth gave the boat-owner a large share of meat. News of his success spread rapidly, and people knew that the boy had done exactly as his father used to do.

He kept the same boat crew and became the most successful whale-hunter in the village, killing four each year. His paddles were always plain, with no mark painted on them. After each season, in accordance with his father's instructions, he burned the paddles. His father had been lost because the spirit-power of the woman was greater than the power of the talismans painted on his paddles.

THE LAND OF THE WHALE PEOPLE

Four men once drifted to sea on an ice-floe. They were carried to the Land of Whales, where the whale-spirits all gathered in a large men's house. All wounded whales came there; also the dead were laid away behind the house. The men lived with the whales, eating shrimp,

and often, when needing meat, cutting slices from the dead. But after eating meat, they had to remain away from the whale people for four days. During the winter the whales left their bodies on the beach to be cared for by the young ones, especially to clean them after storms. Some of the older whales did not have their bodies washed. For this reason stones are sometimes found in whale kidneys. The whale-spirits dwelled in the men's house. The spirits of dead whales also lived there. Those wearing new parkas had been killed by hunters who had performed the proper whale ceremonies. Spirits with old parkas had been killed by men who had conducted the whale ceremonies carelessly.

The four humans learned that in the spring, two white whales, belugas, are sent out to report on conditions; to find out which villages are clean, because whales avoid those places which are unclean, or where there are houses in disrepair or burning rotten fuel. Whales also go out to sea away from a village if the dead are improperly buried. After learning these conditions, the whales choose their route north. Before starting, one of the old whale men brings out a pan of dark liquid. The young ones then dip two fingers to the knuckles, the older dip in over the knuckles. After feeding, they are ready to travel. The four men were informed that, as the whales are making ready for their northward migration, the humans ashore are preparing for the hunt; that they are overhauling gear and getting talismans ready: animal talismans of fox, wolf, or any four-legged creatures. As soon as all preparations have been completed, the hunters set a day for the pursuit of whales. On the preceding night, the boats to be used in the hunt become animated — they have an animal-like appearance, because the talismanic animal heads serve as heads for the boats, the boats themselves are like bodies, and the four posts of the boat-racks are used as legs. Thus filled with life, the boats waddle off on their stiff legs toward the Land of Whales. It is believed that those animated craft which succeed in reaching their objective and return will carry their owners and crews to a successful hunt on the following day.

After the four humans had been fully instructed by the whale-spirits, they returned to their village and told of what they had learned. Since then people have been very careful to keep the village clean, to put away neatly all whaling equipment, and to observe burial rites faithfully. Thus the whale-spirits are pleased, and successful whaling seasons are assured.

A GOOD WHALE-HUNTER

A good whale-hunter lived in the south village. Near him dwelled a woman with her son, to whom the hunter always gave a part of his catch. Through her supernatural power, he always caught one whale a season.

One spring, when the boats were out, the woman suggested to her son: "It is a good day for hunting. Let us go out to the point and cut grass to put in the boats."

She carried a bag containing ashes and a knife, but instead of gathering grass, she led her son over shore ice to open water. She said: "We shall rest here and then go back. But look! What is that in the water?"

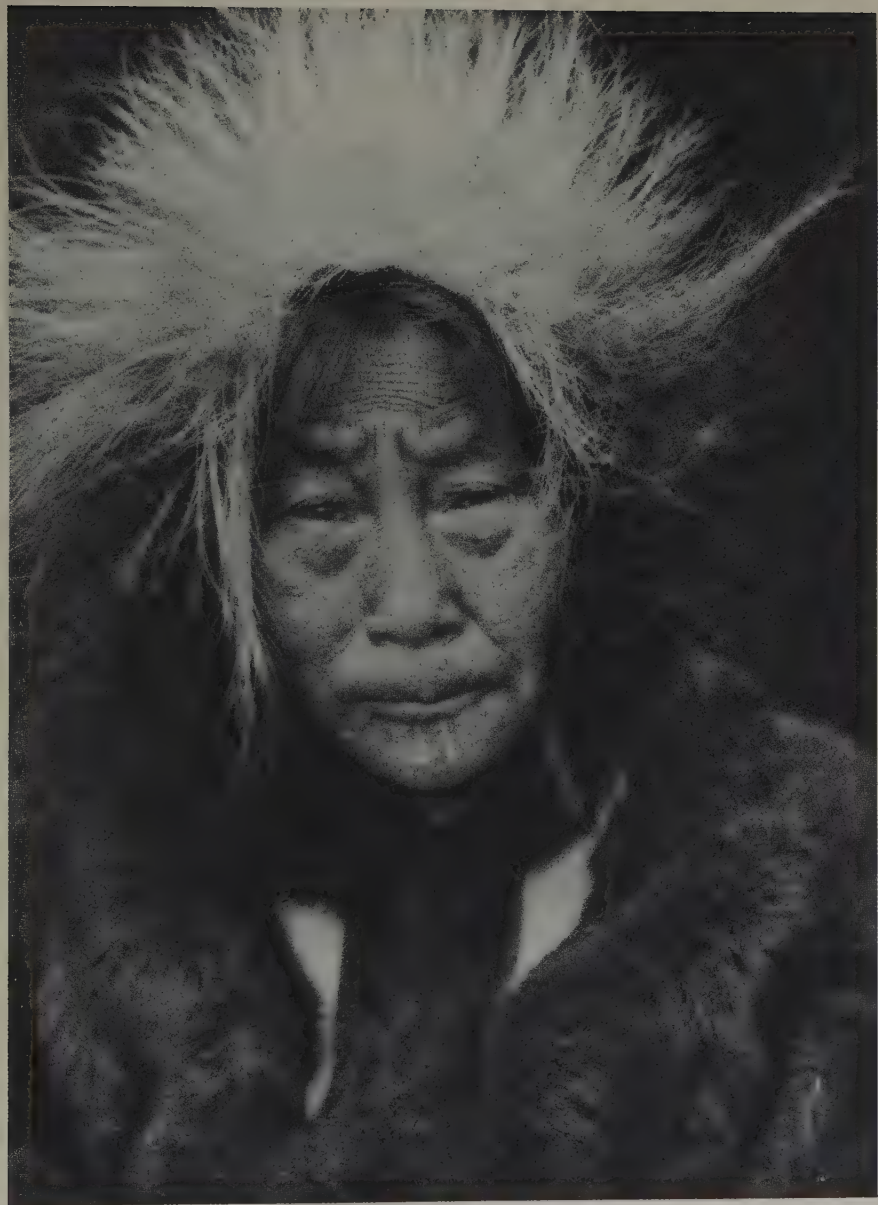
As the son bent over to look, she pushed him in the sea, then plunged in herself. Her son did not feel the cold or the lack of air. At the bottom they became whales, and the mother said: "We shall look for the hunter who brings us meat. I shall show you why he kills a whale every spring."

They swam along shore ice, and every time they came up to breathe, the mother threw ashes in the air to represent whale-spouts. Soon they spied the boats on the ice, about half a mile apart, with crew members standing by their seats, ready to push out and jump in.

A crew yelled: "There is one! There is one! But it is too early for the young."

They launched, but the crew were so careless and rattled the gear so much that mother and son heard them and dived to safety. Other boats came out as the whales went along the ice. Some were dirty, some noisy, and some rattled harpoons. These the whales easily avoided. The last boat was the good hunter's. "Now," predicted the mother, "I shall show you why he always gets a whale."

They broke water, were seen, and dived. The boat crew launched and paddled swiftly. The boat was clean and noiseless. The bird-skin charms flew over the boat. The whales, coming up again, watched these bird talismans until the boy said, "Let us dive, mother, before they spear us."



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KOÁNINÖK, CAPE PRINCE OF WALES

"No, there is plenty of time to get away."

The boy watched the charms, fascinated, while the boat drew near. When the spearer stood up, the mother dived. The boy felt the harpoon stab and drive deeply in his flesh. He sounded, and down below his mother cut the line. She probed for the point and put it in her bag.

They swam back to land, became human again, and went home.

The hunter's boat came in empty. The crew carried up the gear, while the man came to the woman, saying: "We lost a young whale on account of a poor line. If we had caught it, you would have some tender meat."

The woman lamented with him, pretending to know nothing about it. The following day the hunter was successful and brought her much whale meat (*máktúk*). During the winter he gave away meat at the dances.

In the spring, at launching time, meat was very scarce, and the people were nearly starving because it was too stormy to go out. Then the woman ordered her son: "Take this spear-point to the hunter and give it to him in exchange for meat. If he asks you where you got it, say you found it on the beach while gathering clams."

The hunter took the point, and was astonished to see that it was the one he had lost. After hearing the boy's tale of finding it, he exclaimed: "It must have worked out of that young whale and been washed ashore! I am glad you brought it to me; some one else might have kept it."

Although he had little meat left, he sent a large dishful to the woman. Then the weather cleared enough to let boats out, and the hunter soon caught a whale. After that, with this spear-point he killed several whales a season.

STORY OF PUTÚGŪK

One time there was no hunting on Cape Prince of Wales, because ice stretched solid far out to sea, even to the Diomedes. It remained frozen fast so long that the villagers became alarmed, and asked Putúgük, a medicine-woman, to break up the ice. "Oh Putúgük!" they cried, "Help us! The ice is thick; we can not hunt nor fish; our children will starve!"

Putúgük ordered all ropes, heavy and light, to be tied together and coiled in the men's house; she ordered also an air-poke, and a mitten such as is used in setting out seal-nets. At night, following Putúgük's instructions, all took their places, and the men blocked the entrance to the men's house, that no dog might enter. Putúgük sat silent while medicine-men performed. When they had finished, she walked about the room many times, clad in a waterproof parka and with no drum, but accompanied by medicine-songs sung by the people. At last she raised a hand, and all fell silent. "Now I am ready," she announced.

Putúgük tied the mitten and air-poke to the coiled line. Then men bound her hands and stood her in the entrance hole so that head and shoulders only showed. "All who can sing, now sing until I have finished!" she commanded.

As the people sang, they saw the mitten and air-poke slide slowly across the floor toward Putúgük. Mitten and air-poke entered her open mouth, and fathom after fathom of line slid down her throat. "My mouth is tired," she gasped at last. Then all saw the line shift to her neck, where it crawled under her waterproof parka.

Putúgük announced: "The rope is all paid out. It is hardly long enough to reach open water, but it may do. Now I can feel air-poke and mitten returning."

A chosen man reeled in the line, and the end was found to be wet and frozen. The wet mitten and air-poke, as the man hauled, stripped the parka from Putúgük. Then they pulled her back into the room and unbound her hands. Putúgük instructed: "Pour out the mitten in a drum. Perhaps something is now in it."

Sea-water and fresh seal whiskers cascaded into the drum; this was a good omen. "Now," directed Putúgük, "go home and look out at daylight. I have touched the ice in the straits, and tomorrow it will be gone. These seal whiskers which I shall give to the best men will bring good hunting."

The people slept, and at daylight came out. "See!" they cried, "There is open water. Now our children shall have meat." The hunters went out and returned at night heavily laden with the kill.

THE MAN TAUGHT BY WALRUS

A good hunter, a strong man, used to play tricks on all in the village, even the aged. Some he mimicked; he ridiculed the peculiarities or mannerisms of others, so that he was avoided and disliked by all. Medicine-men and all who had supernatural powers worked against this joker, but he could not be harmed. He tricked animals as well as humans, for when the walrus herds were thick, he used to jump from one to the other, slashing their cheeks as he leaped.

One fall, when the walrus were southbound and passed near the village, this man went out on the ice to hunt. He harpooned a large bull, which dragged him to the edge of the ice in spite of all efforts to hold back. Then the man, when he decided to give up and let go the line, found that his hands were stuck so fast that he could not release the line. He was dragged into the water.

At first the salt sea-water choked him, but he soon found to his astonishment that he could breathe under water. The bull walrus said: "You have trifled with walrus. Now I am going to take you south with us, so that you may see all those whom you have slashed and hurt. Some day you may return to your village. Now take this harpoon-point out of my side. There! Now you will live."

To the rest of the herd, the bull walrus said: "I am taking this man south with us, because he is the one who has troubled us. I am going to teach him a lesson."

The man now had a walrus form. He travelled with the herd, but when they dived to feed on the sea-bottom, he was always behind them. Before he had his fill of clams, the food of walrus, they rose to the surface again, so that he became thin and weak from lack of nourishment. Noting his condition, the bull walrus instructed: "If you eat as you do now, you will starve before reaching our land. When you eat clams, blow on the shells till they open, then suck in the bodies. You waste too much time opening and cleaning them. The skin of the clam will make you fat. When you get ready to dive, look into the sky for a cloud; then pretend that you are kicking the cloud, and the force of the kick will carry you to the bottom."

The man carefully followed instructions. The first time he dived in this manner, he descended so rapidly that he bumped his nose on the bottom. He was now able to finish eating ahead of the herd, so that he grew fat and had no difficulty in keeping up with them.

Arrived in the south, the man saw a large village with a huge men's house. In this house were a great number of men and women walrus, many of which had deep scars on their cheeks. The walrus, as they came in, took off their tusks and piled them in a corner. The bull walrus pointed to the scarred people, and explained: "Those are the people whom you have harmed. They are eager to teach you, so that you will injure them no more when you go home."

The man saw many carcasses behind the village, the walrus graveyard. Some of them were hairless, and he remembered that, back home, when blubber was put in a warm place, the hair came off, and then the meat could be eaten either cooked or raw. Viewing these bodies and becoming hungry, he drew a knife and cut off slices. They tasted good after the long clam diet; but some walrus saw him violating their graveyard, and the headman of the walrus made him keep away from the village four days. Whenever he became hungry for flesh, he returned for more, even if he did have to remain by himself.

The walrus people repeatedly told him: "When you return to your village, never harm our people any more. If you do, we shall capture you and turn you into some kind of an animal, and you will never go home again."

The days became longer, and people said, one to another: "It is nearly time for us to go north. After our women deliver their children, we shall 'try.'" The man did not understand the word "try"; he thought that it might mean a dance, because there had been no dances all winter. After the walrus calves were born, the headmen called all the people into the men's house. There water came in until it rose to the benches where sat all the people of the village. The headman announced: "It is nearly time for us to move north. On our way, human boat crews will chase us. The women must try now. They must show us how they will escape with their young. You, young woman, jump in the water and show us how you would protect your baby when pursued."

The indicated young woman, baby on back, was swimming. When she dived, her calf dived too, but they came up immediately. "You came up too soon. The hunters' boats will get you; but if you can swim without being seen, you will be safe," criticized the headman.

"I could stay below longer, but my baby could not," she answered.

Another woman tried. After she dived, she came up swimming at right-angles to the direction in which she went down. Walrus usually come up on the same course. The headman approvingly said, "You will escape boats." All women tried. Those whom the headman approved, would escape death, while the others would be taken by humans, although he announced that even some who were good at dodging would also die.

One evening the cry went up, "New moon!" Then all rushed for the tusks piled up in the corner and departed north after obtaining them. Some were slow, and succeeded in getting only one tusk. The man got none, and, with the bull walrus, was the last to leave. They overtook the herd on an ice-floe, where they bedded down for the night. There was so much talking, singing, and bawling that the man could not sleep. He was taught: "Do not sleep too soundly. Raise your head and look about every once in a while, because humans may slip up in their boats."

The following day a strong wind made large swells, so that instead of resting and sleeping, the herd continued northward. The man saw the herd begin to separate, going in family groups. He and the bull walrus followed the shore, but kept well away from the villages. The bull walrus said: "You must go north with us. When we return in the fall, after the ice has formed, you may go to your own village."

The summer was spent in the north. Many walrus were missing there, killed by humans, because they slept too soundly on the ice or because they could not stay long enough under water. In the fall, when all were migrating south and came opposite Cape Prince of Wales, the bull walrus said: "We are going south, but I can not take you with us. You must now return to your own home; but remember not to play any more tricks on the walrus."

The man left the others and came up on the ice in his walrus form. Then he emerged through the nose of his walrus shape and was once more a human. He walked down the beach and met hunters returning. When they appeared not to see him or to hear his voice in greeting, he became very uneasy, thinking that perhaps he was now a spirit. He was more alarmed when he noticed that his feet did not touch the ground. He felt then that he might have become a spirit. He walked to the men's house, but when he saw the painted marks, one red, one black, extending around the house,¹ he knew that he could not enter. As the man stood by the door, a youth came out and extended his hands to empty a urine pot. At once the man who had been with the walrus flung himself on the ground. Then the young man saw him, but was unable to avoid drenching the man. He apologized: "I did not see you lying there. I did not mean to throw urine on you."

The man answered: "That is all right. I lay down purposely, so that you could save me from becoming a spirit. I am now a man again."

He went in the men's house, where all recognized him. He learned that he had been given up for dead and that his parents mourned him. He satisfied their curiosity, and told all that had happened while away from the village. From that time he was kind to all, and helpful to the aged. He had learned his lesson, and no more teased or played practical jokes on men or animals. All in the village respected and had a good word for him.

THE SPIRIT MARKS ON THE MEN'S HOUSE

One night, after all the old men and married men had gone home, the young men and boys, as is customary, were playing, dancing, and singing in the men's house. The moon was full, and a strong wind blew from the north. At midnight the youths were startled to hear something bump heavily on the roof and roll off. More alarmed, they heard a strange, peculiar step, a thumping, waddling step coming up the entranceway. In terror all the young people sprang up on the wall benches and fearfully watched the entrance hole. The step ceased, and a frightful face, skin torn and hanging to the breast, thrust itself up.

The thing slowly walked on elbows and knees about the room while the youths gazed, hardly daring to draw breath. It bumped against each bench as it passed, and the young men, unable to resist, followed in single-file behind the thing, the evil spirit, walking as it did on elbows and knees. They followed it out through the entrance.

¹ See the following myth.

One orphan boy saved himself by putting his fingers in his mouth, biting the tips, then hanging with his fingers from cracks in the wall. The people entering next morning found all the young men gone and a terror-stricken orphan hanging on a wall. After he gasped out his tale, the people trailed the youths. They found frozen bodies all along the trail to the interior. They did not trail the evil spirit. Since that time there are two marks by the entrance to the men's house to prevent evil spirits from entering.

THE WOMAN TAUGHT BY SPIRIT MEDICINE-MEN

A great hunter and medicine-man, who had his own men's house, was married to two women, keeping them in separate homes. One had several children, but he lived mostly with the other, who bore no children, but was a medicine-woman.

One night, his first wife, sleeping with her children, suddenly awoke, feeling that she must take her urine pot and go outside. There she found two men, whose feet, as they stood before her, did not touch the ground, thus indicating that they were spirits. They informed her, "Our chief has sent us for you."

"I can not leave, on account of my children. My lamps are burning, and they will smoke while I am gone."

"Your children and lamps will be safe while you are gone. We shall bring you back soon."

Setting down her urine pot, the woman followed the spirit-men along a creek and up the mountainside until they reached and entered a large men's house filled with people. The head-man from his bench summoned her before him, and said: "Your husband, who is a medicine-man, often called you to come to his men's house to show a supernatural power. You remained at home because you were not a medicine-woman. We felt sorry for you. Now watch us closely."

A medicine-man, clad in a waterproof parka and with a drum, jumped from his seat and began to drum while the people sang. Putting aside the drum, he rolled back the floor-boards and began to pick in the ground beneath, bringing up roots eaten by the walrus, with which he filled the waterproof parka. Then he kicked the floor-boards into place and distributed the roots to all present. He said to the woman, "When you become a medicine-woman you must do just as I have done."

Next he picked up a mallet and a wedge, strode to a wall, and drove in the wedge. When he placed a bowl beneath it and pulled out the wedge, seal-oil flowed into the bowl. With this he filled all the lamps, then passed a hand over the hole and the oil stopped flowing.

A second and older medicine-man came to the centre of the room. He pulled a tiny drum and beater from the innermost of four bags which he wore about his neck. From beneath the floor he took a piece of very blue ice and rubbed both drum and beater with it. Soon the instruments became huge. He drummed and called for his dogs. Then two polar bears, so large that they had to widen the entranceway by gnawing the posts, came in. The medicine-man instructed the woman: "These bears are now yours. Put your arms about their necks and walk once about the room." Then he dismissed them, and repaired the entranceway by passing his hand over it. After drumming once more, the medicine-man walked to a side wall, kicked a beam, and the wall rose, letting in sea-water until the floor was covered. All manner of sea animals could be seen outside. The man reached out, cut blubber from a whale, and closed the wall. The meat which he held out to the people was frozen. He then rubbed the drum and beater the opposite way, until they became small enough to enter the bag. He hung these four bags, one inside the other, about the woman's neck, telling her to use them when called upon by her husband.

The woman was escorted home by two spirit-men. She found her urine pot outside, unfrozen, her children sleeping quietly, and the lamps burning brightly.

The following night, when her husband was holding the last of the ceremonial dances in which medicine-men show their powers, a messenger entered and bade the woman to come to the men's house. She put her children to bed, trimmed the lamps, dressed, and for the first time went to the men's house where all the people were gathered. She sat in a corner with a relative.

The husband, surprised at her appearance, thought, "She must have become a medicine-woman, because she has come here."

The other wife, who had long been a medicine-woman, sat on the floor, beating a drum and calling for her supernatural powers. Two noisy birds flew in and sailed about the room, disappearing at a wave of the hand. Then she laid aside the drum and sat down with the other people.

Now the wife, taught by the spirits, was summoned. She refused the drum, and pulled out her tiny drum, which she used as instructed. As she drummed, the singing of many people was heard outside the walls. First, she raised up the wall, showed all the sea animals, even cutting from a whale a piece of blubber, which froze instantly, and closed the wall. Next she rolled aside the floor, plucked walrus roots from the ground beneath, gave them to all present, and put the floor back in place. Then, driving a wedge into the wall, she drew forth seal-oil, filling all the lamps. Last, she called for her dogs, the polar bears, and with her arms encircling their necks, walked about the room, the people crowding back in great fear. Her husband cried: "That is enough! We know now that you are a great medicine-woman."

When she went home to bed, all her children were asleep and the lamps were burning brightly. Soon her husband entered and lay beside her. He queried: "Are you asleep? Why are the lamps all burning?" The wife made no answer, but remained quiet until he was asleep. Then, clothing herself, she went outside, where she drew a line in the snow with a finger. Immediately the house rose in air and moved to the other end of the village.

The husband awoke to find himself alone, cold, shivering, and naked on the snow. He hurriedly dressed, and ran to his men's house. At daylight he saw his home on the opposite side of the village, and went there. His wife, now herself a great medicine-woman, let him stay, so he gave up his other wife and these two lived there peacefully.

THE MAN WHO MARRIED A POLAR BEAR

A man, a good hunter, lived with his mother in a home beside the men's house. The mother frequently scolded, urging that he take a wife, "Because," said she, "I am getting old; I am worn out from cutting up meat. I need a daughter-in-law whom I can teach to help me."

"O, mother, there is no girl in the village whom I should care to marry."

"O, my son, there are many girls in other villages."

"O, my mother, I have never seen a girl anywhere whom I could marry."

So day after day the mother pleaded, but the son remained obdurate. One time, while hunting, he left shore ice, jumped on a floe, and went far out. From a hummock he spied a woman, dressed in a white parka trimmed with bear-fur, playing with a ball of tanned sealskin. His curiosity aroused because a woman should be playing ball all alone so far away from a village, the man approached, and asked, "Why do you play ball on this floe ice?"

She affected not to hear, but continued to toss the ball. Again he asked: "Why do you play ball on floe ice? Why do you not play on land? Whence did you come?"

Then she turned to answer: "I belong out here. I play here because I like to."

"Are you married?"

"No, I have never been with men," she answered.

"I have never married nor been with women. Will you marry me?"

"Even if you persuaded me to marry you and treated me well, the time would come when trouble would separate us, because your mother would say unkind words to me."

The whole village saw the man leading his wife, a girl strange to them, to his home. He said to his mother: "Because you always urged me to marry, I married this girl. You must always be very careful what you say to her and never utter an unkind word."

The mother assured him: "You have followed my wishes in choosing a daughter-in-law for me. I shall never use harsh words toward her."

For a long time the hunter brought in much meat, which his industrious wife cut up and stored. The mother-in-law attentively watching, and now relieved from the hard tasks, saw the daughter-in-law often eat pieces of blubber or lick up oil as she worked. This greatly irritated her more and more as time went on.

A boy was born to the couple, and was reared by the old mother. Once, while still a mere youth, and the father was out hunting, he was in the room with his grandmother, while his mother was in the entranceway pounding blubber. The youth's mother put frozen blubber on a large stove and pounded it with a wooden club to obtain lamp oil. She used frozen blubber

in order that the oil might not spatter. She heard the old woman say to the boy: "Why does your mother always eat pieces of blubber and lick up oil when she cuts up meat? I think she must be a polar bear."

Hearing these words, the wife wept, but soon dried her tears and filled the lamps. She knew now that she would soon be separated from her husband. When the hunter returned and she ran out to help him with the game, he noticed that she acted peculiarly toward him. He asked if anything was the matter, but she replied: "Nothing has happened. Everything is all right."

She cut up the meat, trying hard not to eat any, nor to drink oil, but her appetite prevailed. When she carried her husband's food to the men's house, he noticed her averted eyes, and once more questioned: "What has happened? Has my mother said unkind words to you?"

"No; everything is all right," she responded.

In the morning when her husband arose, she remained in bed. He asked her to get up, but she turned her back to him. Still in bed when he was dressed and ready to go hunting, he chided: "Why do you act that way? Tell me what is wrong." At her refusal to answer, he stamped out of the house.

The old mother-in-law, sleeping on a bench, awoke and heard mother and son dress and eat. Then all was still for a time. She peered down, but the room was empty. Mother and son had gone, but not through the entranceway; they had disappeared through the rear wall. Mother and son ran to the shore and fled northward along the beach until they reached a rocky point. There they stepped on shore ice. Once on the ice, their hands became bear-paws. Travelling to seaward, they reached floe ice after a long walk. When they jumped on the floe ice, mother and son were transformed into polar bears.

When the husband returned, and no wife ran to meet him, he hurried into the house, shouting to his mother, "Where is my wife?"

"She and her son left, passing through the rear wall before I knew they had gone."

"Did you say anything to offend her?"

"No."

Snatching up weapons, he rushed out, picked up the trail, and hotly pursued. He found where the tracks led over shore ice and knew that they had become polar bears. Their path over floe ice showed that they travelled northward. The hunter was now fully assured that mother and son were polar bears, because no human villages lay to the north. The tracks showed that they were travelling slowly, the mother going ahead and waiting for her son to catch up. The trail became fresher. Then he saw a dark vapor ahead, and knew it arose from open water. Next he saw the two polar bears, and ran fast, but before he could catch up to them, they slipped into open water, the mother swimming fast, the son holding to her ear. They paid no heed to his shouting. The hunter could not swim the stretch, so he ran to shore ice and around the open water in the hope of intercepting them as they emerged. Arriving on the opposite side, he was too late, so he picked up the trail again. He followed for a long distance, until he saw two large villages.

The man entered the men's house of the first village. In the entrance was a rack hung with bear-skins. Two were newly hung up, for the noses were still quivering; then he knew his wife and son were inside. He waited. Soon his son came out, and said, "You have followed us here."

"Is your mother inside?"

"Yes."

"Tell her to come out; that I am here."

The boy told the mother that his father had come and was outside. She exclaimed: "No! Your father is far away. No human can come here. I shall not go out."

An old man, her father, spoke: "What the boy says may be true, because humans sometimes travel far. Daughter, go out and see."

Seeing her husband, she asked: "Why did you come here? Your mother does not like me."

"Why did you leave me?"

His wife told him the whole story, adding, "But you must return to your village, because no humans can live here."

"I pursued you here and I shall stay, even though I lose my life."

Going inside at her bidding, he saw her parents and his son. The old man greeted him,



From Copyright Photograph 1928 by E. J. Curtis

ÓKSIWIK, CAPE PRINCE OF WALES

saying: "I knew some humans could travel far, even outrunning a fast animal. You have arrived safely, but you have not met my sons, who are out hunting. If my eldest son is angry, you will lose your life. He will enter first. As he comes up through the entrance, throw a bead in his teeth and he will be pleased. Then he will not kill you."

Outside bears were heard approaching, then a growling and gnashing of teeth as some one muttered that he smelled a human. One cried, "Why did our father let a human enter our home?"

The father warned the hunter: "My eldest son is angry. He will surely kill you. If you throw the bead, maybe all will be well."

The man took off his forehead-band containing the bead. As the first son stuck his head through the entrance hole, the man flung the bead between his teeth. The head disappeared and in a moment reappeared wearing the beaded forehead-band and smiling. Then all the sons entered, having left their skins in the entrance, and were so numerous that they filled all the benches. They were glad to see their sister, greeted the husband, and joyfully made much of the boy. They had brought home many seal, and all feasted on raw meat and blubber. The man could stomach only frozen liver. When all slept, he was kept awake, because the bears snored loudly, snarling and growling in their sleep.

The following day the old man told his sons to treat their brother-in-law well, because he would always remain and work with them. He added: "When I was young, I never went near human villages, because I did not want to be killed. It is hard for those who are killed to return here and hunt. Humans hunt with spears, arrows, and dogs. I always feared dogs."

One son boasted: "I am not afraid of dogs. If one followed me, I should turn and rip open his belly."

"No. You would be killed, because dogs can outrun bears. You could never get away from them."

The man remained with them, although he ate and slept little. After a hunting trip, one brother failed to return. The old father mourned: "That is my son who scoffed at dogs. He must have tried to fight them and they brought him down."

The missing son returned the next day, carrying a bow and arrows. He explained: "I was hunting near Kingegān [Cape Prince of Wales], when a hunter and dogs gave chase. But for the dogs I could have escaped easily. The hunter shot and killed me, because I could not see his arrows."

Another brother jeered, "If I ever meet a human, I shall dodge his arrows and escape."

Every now and then a brother returned late, bearing spears or arrows and naming the man who had killed him. Some of these men the hunter knew. He explained to the old father and brothers that a hunter always took home a bear's head, bladder, and pelvis, along with the meat. Then at night he would hold a dance at which meat was distributed to the people and afterward would sing and dance with his wife, jumping over the pelvis. Some one present would then make a new song and put the successful hunter's name in it.

One morning a messenger from the other village appeared, saying, "Our headman wishes to play kickball with this man."

The old man answered, "Humans can not play our game, but he will meet your headman."

To the man, his son-in-law, the old Bear-man instructed: "If the headman beats you in the game, he will kill you. You can not go out unless you wear a skin. Wear mine, because I am old and can not hunt. When I was young, I won all the games. When you go out, keep your nose to the ice and your tail down. After meeting the other village, choose any of the four ice balls which suits you. Have your new brothers line up and crouch down with them, ball beside you. When your turn comes, stretch arms and legs, blow hard on the ball, and kick. It will roll far."

Outside he found his opponents lined up. Their skins had black spots on the side, while those of his side were all white. Their leader stood up, stretched, ground his jaws, and kicked a ball. It rose in an arc, but dropped between the two lines.

The man picked up the ball and carried it to his side. He also stretched, but blew hard on the ball as he kicked. It soared high and over the heads of his opponents. Then he and his new brothers walked home on the tips of their claws, tails straight out, and loudly growling their joy. The beaten side slunk away, heads low and tails down.

The old father boasted: "When I was young I always won games. Now you can use my skin. That headman will keep on trying to beat you, but they have only a few games."

They remained in the men's house all day and night, because there is no hunting during games. Then a Bear-man arrived with the message, "Our headman wants that human to dive in the sea with him and see who can stay under longer."

The old father answered, "Humans do not dive in water, but he will try his skill."

Again the old Bear-man instructed the human: "Wear my skin once more. Each village will cut a hole in the ice. Both of you will lie by the holes and then dive. On the bottom you will see your opponent pick up a stone he thinks he can carry above. Then he will sit on it, facing you. You do the same as he does. When you feel that you have to breathe, stoop and pretend to shift the stone, so that he will not suspect what you are doing, and breathe out under your arm. Then you will feel as if you had just dived. When he can stay below no longer, he will rise up with his stone, throw it on the ice, and kick it toward your side. Then you come up as he did. Now go out, tails down and heads low, to the snow."

The headman stood by his hole, stretched, gnashed his teeth, and lay down. The human did likewise. They dived and sat on stones on the sea-bottom. Soon the man choked from lack of air, but when breathing out under his arm, he was relieved. The bear began to blow out bubbles; he shifted about restlessly. Then he rose, and, once on the ice again, kicked his stone, which fell short between the two sides.

The human still sat below. He could see and hear all that went on above. His eldest brother-in-law, anxious, called to the headman: "Why does not that human come up? Did you kill him?"

"No; he is still waiting below."

"He is human and can not stay long below. You must have killed him."

When the eldest brother was about to fight the headman, the human rose up with his stone, sprang on the ice, and kicked the stone. It sailed over the heads of his opponents.

Then his brothers gave a mighty yell. They walked home on the tips of their claws, heads up and tails out straight.

The old father boasted: "When I was young, I always won over that village. Now there is only one more game left in which you will see who can first bring in meat. Wear my skin, because humans are slower than polar bears in hunting."

In the morning a messenger announced, "Our headman wants the human to hunt seal with him."

"Humans are slow, but he may go," was the reply.

The old Bear-man instructed: "In this game I always used to bring in the first seal. You and your brothers-in-law must try to bring in the first seal. Look for seal-holes and make them larger that you may see your game more easily. When you see any living thing moving in a hole, scoop with your paws and throw it on the ice; it will be a large hair-seal."

Both villages spread out on the ice looking for seal-holes. The human found an old one and cleared it off. Below some very small animal was swimming. Quickly he flipped it out, and it turned into a big hair-seal. Then all the brothers threw their heads back and yelled in triumph. They curved up their tails to their backs and walked home on the tips of their claws.

The old father exulted: "I always won while hunting, and brought home the first seal. Now all the games are over, and that village will never bother you again."

Since that time the human, the hunter, has lived with the polar bears.

THE KOTZEBUE ESKIMO

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

IN the northeastern part of Kotzebue sound, on a small peninsula jutting into the mouth of Hotham inlet, is the Kotzebue village. The little town may be approached by small trading vessels, but the navigation of the sound, because of its shallowness, is extremely treacherous. Boats attached to the trading companies, of a draft not exceeding six feet, may drop anchor before the village; but larger craft, such as some of those belonging to the Government, are obliged to moor to the southward, in the vicinity of Cape Blossom. At present the Kotzebue village consists of a long row of frame or log houses built on the sandy beach a few rods from the water's edge. The surrounding terrain lies only a few feet above sea-level; the land behind the village is marshy. Because Kotzebue is the centre of activity of the surrounding country, the Signal Corps of the United States Army maintains a wireless station there, and the Government, as it does at all the large villages, supports a school. Traders, recognizing the strategic position of Kotzebue in relation to nearby villages, have set up headquarters in the town and make it a shipping point for their branch stores on Kobuk, Noatak, and Selawik rivers.

While the trade with outlying peoples, such as those along the coast to the north, the Diomedé islanders, and the Cape Prince of Wales group, has become reduced in recent times, possibly owing to the establishment of trading posts and the activity of trading vessels, nevertheless it is still very brisk with the up-river people from Kobuk, Noatak, and Selawik. In the latter part of the season when the summer fishing was ended, the visitors' boats began to arrive, and their occupants camped along the beach below the Kotzebue village, each group a separate body, as they still do. Then the trading commenced, interspersed with feasting, games, and dancing, day and night. The Siberians brought furs, tobacco, and the skins of reindeer (for a few years ago there were no great herds of reindeer such as are

now found in Alaska), and wolverene, which latter especially was greatly prized by the mainland Eskimo. Wolverine-fur was usually cut into strips for ornamenting parkas. The Eskimo of Cape Prince of Wales and the Diomedé islanders loaded their boats with walrus-skins which the mainland groups used for boat-covers, whale-blubber and -oil, rawhide lines of seal and walrus, seal-oil, and ivory. The up-river people brought caribou meat and skins, and the furs of beaver, fox, muskrat, and squirrel. The Eskimo of Kotzebue traded with all, acting as middlemen to all the groups, whether from the islands, the coast, or inland. At the close of the season, when fall arrived, the visitors struck tents, loaded boats, and departed for their homes, the refuse of the camps being the sole evidence of their summer's presence.

In former times the permanent homes of the Kotzebue were the conventional dugouts with wooden framework overlaid with split timbers, the whole covered with sod. Inside were the head-logs and sleeping-places, and benches above surrounding the walls. Floors were of split logs or gravel, with the firepit in the centre. Directly above was the smoke-hole, which in severe weather was covered with intestinal parchment. Cooking was done over stone lamps in the firepit, which, in most cases, ceased to be a pit but rather was a small mound of ash and débris. Often two or more families dwelled together, in turn using the lamps and cooking utensils. Dishes and bowls were of wood, of bark obtained from up-river Eskimo (these for berries and vegetables), or of clay obtained by trade with the Kobuk. Caches were of three kinds. One variety was built as a house, but much smaller and on high ground, for the storage of meat and fish. Such caches were erected in any convenient place, often far from the village, whenever it was impracticable to pack home quantities of fresh game. Food for more immediate use was stored near the village in caches erected on platforms supported by poles; these were protected with old skin boat-covers. The third form was a rectangular pit about eight feet long, six feet wide, and six feet deep; these were lined with split logs and were covered with wood overlaid with moss. In such pits were stored the oil-pokes, secure from spoiling by reason of the coolness. The tipi-shape summer house, of ample size for one large family or two small families, consisted of a framework of poles lashed together at the top and covered with caribou-skins.

As with all the coast Eskimo, the sea furnishes the greater part of the food supply. Seals are caught along the edge of the shore



Stom. & Intestine. Photographed 1893 by E. S. Davis

BERRY-PICKERS, KOTZEBUE

ice from kaiaks in early winter and spring, and the meat is hauled to the village on sleds. The Kotzebue kaiaks are slender, narrow-beamed, shallow-draft craft, similar to those of the up-river peoples. They are unsuited to open-water hunting when the sea is rough. In winter, seals are speared through enlarged blow-holes in the ice. Fish are netted from the ice in winter, or are caught with hand-lines; in spring and summer the fishing is done with both gill-nets and seine nets. The protected shore-line of the sound, with its freedom from heavy breakers, greatly facilitates the handling of the nets. The fish caught in greatest quantities are tomcod. Some of the Kotzebue Eskimo cross the mouth of Hotham inlet to fish at their summer camps.

The Kotzebue people endeavor to obtain a surplus of seal and beluga for trading purposes. While the hunting of the former takes place in fall, winter, and early spring, beluga are hunted in summer. A ritual, directed by a medicine-man and strictly followed, accompanies the hunting of beluga. It is essentially the same as that performed by the Noatak and the Kobuk.¹

When all is propitious for the beluga-hunt, the people gather for a week of feasting and games, at the end of which they dance continuously in shifts for a day and a night. The dancing must not cease, not even at mealtimes. It is believed that the dance will bring a fair on-shore wind and that belugas will come in close. Then the boats and kaiaks put out, each hunter armed with two spears and two flint knives. They form a long line to seaward of the belugas and drive them in-shore. The older hunters, in kaiaks, cast the first spears and drive the animals into shallow water, where they become stranded and helpless. The men then stab them in the blow-holes until they are dead. Kaiaks are used in the surrounding and killing, because they are much more mobile than the larger skin boats. The crews of these, too, hunt and kill, but their chief usefulness is in towing the catch to the village.

In the meantime, those in the village may not sleep or perform any work until the hunters return. No woman may touch a beluga until her husband gives permission. First the heads are cut off and left in the water in order that the spirits of the animals may return to the sea and enter the bodies of other belugas. When the procedure is properly conducted, the belugas will return again to be killed, it is believed. The bodies are next cleaned and cut up, but before the meat is hung to dry, all the people sleep. A dance, lasting

¹ See pages 195, 212-213.

four days and nights, then takes place. At this function all those who had been capsized during the hunt are required to dance, that they may shake off the salt water, where the beluga had been, from their bodies. The meat, after drying, is stored away in sealskin pokes. The kaiak hunters retain for themselves half of their catch and give the remainder to the hunters in the skin boats and to those who had been unfortunate in not killing a beluga. A boat crew consists of eight paddlers, a spearman, and the steersman, the last being the owner of the boat. Of the animals killed from the boat, the owner receives those portions from neck to lower ribs; the spearman gets a strip about six inches wide from the girths, while the remainder is divided amongst the rest of the crew. In the cutting-up process, the men do the heavy work, including the severing of the bones, while the women take care of the flesh. At the present time, the ritual is not carried out at Kotzebue in its entirety, and the killing is done with rifles.

During the summer months, berries, which grow in profusion, are gathered in bark baskets by the women. Of these the blueberry and cranberry are most plentiful; the blackberry and Alaskan potato also grow readily in that arctic climate. Berries are eaten fresh or are stored away for use in winter, when they serve to relieve the monotonous diet of dried fish, blubber, and meat. Berries, meat, fish, and oil, mixed and beaten up with snow, form a favorite dish.

The many varieties of birds, such as ducks, geese, and snipe, in spring, summer, and early fall are caught with bird spears and snares. In the moulting season they may be knocked over with clubs. In winter ptarmigan are snared.

The Kotzebue people, subsisting, as they do, chiefly on sea products, kill but few caribou; but in the winter months they snare rabbits and foxes both for meat and fur. They are dependent on trade with the river people for the furs of most land animals.

The social life at Kotzebue, other than festivities occurring in the trading season, is most active in winter, when the days are shortest. The event of greatest importance is the Messenger feast, a ceremony common to most of the Alaskan Eskimo.¹ Other ceremonies, such as that above described for the beluga, or for youths on killing their first game, are not confined necessarily to the winter season; indeed that for the beluga may be held only in the summer. Ceremonies, feasts, and dances are held under the direction of medicine-men, who play a prominent part in all Kotzebue activities. The sweat-bath

¹ For the story of the origin of the Messenger feast, see page 168.

in the men's house is held frequently during winter. These baths, in which the participants wear duck-skin caps and use respirators of wood shavings, last an entire night, until the fire has died and the men have become cool. During the night, songs of departed relatives are sung and stories are told. In the morning, women bring in food for feasting, after which the participants return to their homes to sleep. When seal and fox are caught, messengers are sent out to the people, that they may gather and feast the hunters. The hunters, before going out, are directed by the medicine-men to clean their houses thoroughly, and to bathe. At other times when it is decided to feast, two messengers are sent to notify the people. Five men then dance before the assemblage, after which a feast is held. Women as well as men may dance at this time. Sometimes a contest is held to determine the best carver in wood or ivory. Again, some of the old men gather, make songs, and call in drummers to inform them how the songs were made up and to practise them until learned. Then the people would be asked in for a night of singing, dancing, and feasting. Such purely social functions might be initiated by any person and held at any time.

The medicine-men, who rule the village, supervise ceremonies, advise hunters, and treat the sick, are said to derive their powers from spirits whose instructions they must follow with great care. At death their supernatural power is usually lost; and they can pass it on to no one but a nephew, to whom the power must be given at birth. Medicine-men sometimes give talismans to those who ask for them. Such talismans, whether derived from medicine-men, bought from others, or obtained from old people or relatives, consist usually of the bones, teeth, or skins of birds or animals, which confer their supernatural powers on the owners. An informant possessed hollow ear-rings of seal-bone which contained an old man's tears, and so efficacious were they that the owner relied on them to give him any advice sought. The informant also had two small sealskin pouches, one of which contained a piece of sod from Little Diomedé, and the other a similar piece from Cape Prince of Wales. These, given to him when a boy by a medicine-man, aided the owner while travelling. He said: "One time, while I was seal-hunting, a great storm arose. I drifted to sea on an ice-floe and was out several days. I talked to my powers. The wind changed, and the floe brought me ashore at my own village. No water touched me, because of my powers."

When a child is about to be born, a hut, containing bedding of caribou-skin, is erected for the prospective mother. Here, after the

delivery, she must remain four days if the newborn should be a boy, five days if a girl. The mother is fed heartily if the child is a boy, and scantily if a girl. The food is carried by relatives. When returning to her home the mother wears new clothing. The clothing and dishes which she has used while in the hut are rolled in a bundle and left behind. The child is named as soon as born, by the advice and sanction of a medicine-man. The name may be that of either of the parents, or of some relative or friend.

When a girl is able to perform her first task, or to pick her first berries, the event is celebrated by story-telling. On reaching the age of puberty, she must remain in one corner of the house, eat separately, and be tended by her mother. Then she bathes in urine, dresses in new garments, and may associate freely with the villagers.

As soon as a boy kills his first game of any kind, a feast is given in his honor and a dance is held. The proud father often gives away many valuable articles. The father cuts the meat into strips and distributes it to the assemblage. The parents keep the youth's later game until he marries, the marriageable age being attained when his lips are pierced for labrets.

No dance, feast, or ceremony is held when marriage takes place. A young couple mutually attracted simply go to live with the young woman's parents. Again, if a young man desires a woman, he asks the consent of her parents to marry her, and, if favorably inclined, they ask the sanction of the young man's parents. If all agree to the marriage, it takes place, regardless of the young woman's wishes. It was not unusual to have more than one wife. If either one of a couple is dissatisfied, they may separate, and the young man returns to his home. Separation also resulted in case of adultery. A faithless husband might go unpunished, but a husband might kill his wife and her paramour. Brothers sometimes exchanged wives in order that the parentage of their children might not be surely known and that the offspring would be considered as blood brothers and sisters.

When a person is about to die, the relatives remove from the house all utensils and personal possessions. As soon as death occurs, the body is removed outside, dressed in new clothing, wrapped in caribou-skin or an old boat-cover, and lashed. The corpse is then carried to a suitable spot and laid, head to the west, along the crotches of poles whose other ends are stuck in the ground and which are lashed together near the tops to form the series of crotches. If the deceased were a man who had been endowed with strong supernatural power, the body was lashed tightly to the poles. A wealthy man, or a man with

great powers, would be placed in a box lined with caribou-skin, with a pillow of wolverene-skin and a cover of wolf-skin. Nothing is left with the body, for all possessions are inherited by children and other relatives. The spirit is believed to go "toward the light." The village remains quiet for four days. Relatives must refrain from work for four days if the deceased was a male, and for five days if a female, that the spirit may be free to depart. The relatives renew the furnishings of the house and continue to dwell therein.

A glimpse into Kotzebue life is given by the following narrative related by an aged informant:

My name is Tutiksuk, which was the name of my mother before me. My father gave it to me. I am the only one of the Kotzebue people who can remember all the events of life from the very moment of birth; aye, and even before birth. I was born in a little hut away from the village. My mother and I stayed there four days, the custom in those times. As soon as I saw the light of day, my mother asked an old woman for a bead. This she placed in her mouth. The bead gave her a sickness, so that she vomited. Then my mother was well and healthy once more. The old women gave a great shout on seeing us both doing so well.

While we were in the hut, many people visited us, and none failed to wish us well. My mother had several children before I was born, but they had all died in infancy; so some of the people said to me, "You had better not die like the others."

After four days I was dressed in cut-down old clothes. These old garments would bring me long life, the old women said. My mother carried me under her parka, on her breast, and we went to Sheshalik to fish and to catch beluga. Everybody looked at me and wished me well.

Late in the summer we came back to Kotzebue for the trading. People from the coast and the islands, boats from all the rivers, and even some Indians from inland, came to trade with us. Our beach was crowded with boats. I remember that the Noatak were then the wealthiest of the visitors, and we traded with them first. The river men brought us many furs of land animals — beaver, caribou, fox, rabbit, and wolf. The men from the Diomedes and Cape Prince of Wales had a great store of Siberian tobacco, ivory, and walrus-skins. As soon as the trading and feasting were over, we traded amongst ourselves, for we had many things from other places to exchange. Then I was old enough to be carried on my mother's back beneath her parka.¹

In the fall, before the snow comes, the men kill many ptarmigan with bows and arrows, and gather driftwood, while the women pick

¹ At this point, the narrator, a very old man, departed from the chronological order of his life. He portrayed incidents of Kotzebue life interspersed with a few events of his own career.

berries. If the freeze-up comes early, we can not gather enough berries and wood to last through the winter. Some winters we were very short.

With the coming of the first ice, we used to cruise along the edge in our kaiaks, spearing seal, which our wives cut up. We often ate the frozen meat raw. Later we speared seal through blow-holes. We went over the ice, kneeling on our sleds and pushing ourselves along with one foot. In early winter, when we snared fox, we put a loop over the fox-hole with bait in the middle of the runway. When the fox touched the bait, it released a trigger, which sprung a bent willow. This made the snare tighten on the fox's neck and hung him in air. Sometimes we put bait in a snowbank, so that when the fox tried to paw it out, he sprung the snare. At other times, at night, we merely put fish-bait on the ground and some men nearly surrounded it with a net. When the fox came to eat, a man would so scare him that he would run into the net and catch his head in the meshes. But we always had to club him quickly, because he would try to gnaw his way through the sinew. We also caught rabbits with snares and nets.

Whenever more than five foxes were caught, the people gathered in our large men's house. The women brought in much food, and everybody feasted. Then the young people put on their dance clothes, with short parkas to the waist, and trousers reaching only to the knees. Each man who danced had to bring a gift for the old people. The dance then lasted all night. We always gave feasts and dances for strangers who visited us, and we loaded them with gifts. Dances were held as soon as boys made their first kill of each kind of game. Our fathers cut the meat in strips and gave it to all the old people. Girls? No, there is no feast or dance for them, but we tell stories. My father gave a great feast and gave away many caribou-skins when I killed my first game, a ptarmigan, which I shot with an arrow. All my first catches he gave away, but after I married I kept all my game. I was ready to marry, as all young men were, when I had my lips pierced for labrets.

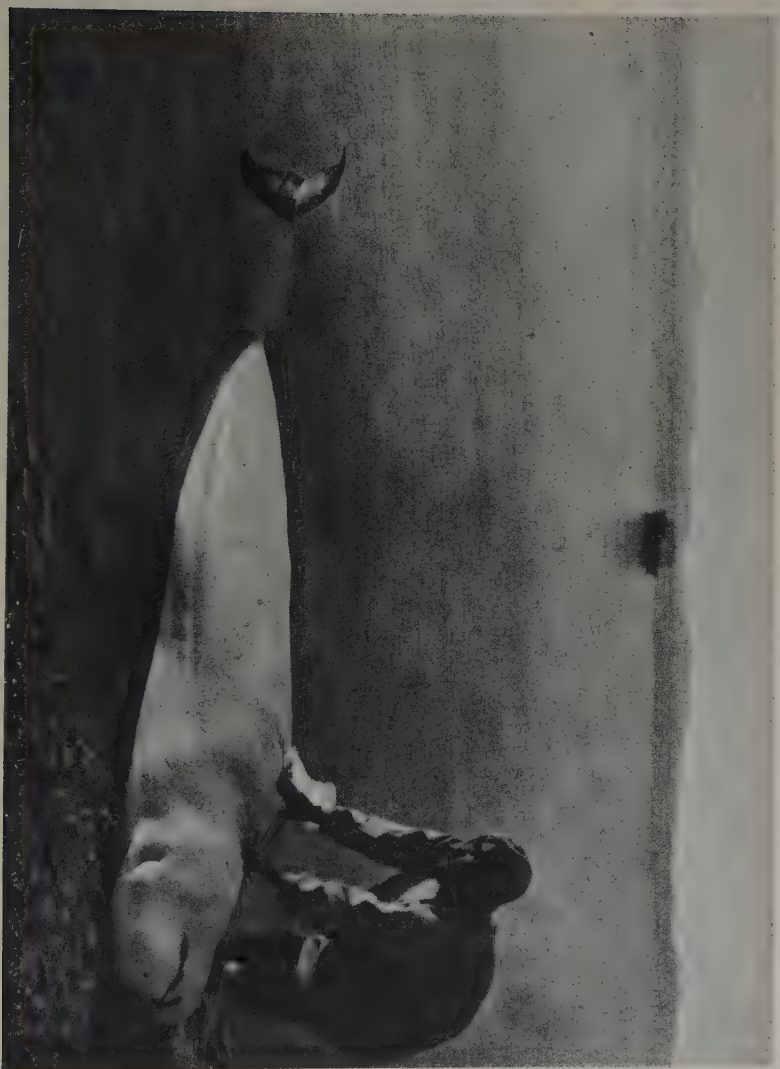
In midwinter, in the very short days, we did little hunting or fishing; but when two certain stars appeared, we made sinew fish-nets and set them on that sandspit. Some of us always watched our nets out there. We built ourselves small ice-houses to keep warm.

In those days we had a large men's house. We had many dugout houses, and my father's was the biggest of all. Those are all gone now. The old days are done.

LEGEND OF THE MESSENGER FEAST¹

The people of one of the large Kotzebue villages always spent the summer fishing, and in hunting whale, seal, and caribou along the coast near Shismareff, extending their operations nearly to Cape

¹ Compare with the Noatak version, page 197.



Shore photograph, Chukotka, 1920 by S. S. Vasilov

THE BRUGA, KOTZEBUE

Prince of Wales. After the spring seal were caught, the summer fish dried, and the caribou meat stored away, the people indulged daily and nightly in all manner of games. They did not know how to dance and sing.

Among these people was a young man, a famous and indefatigable hunter, who remained away the greater part of the time. He would kill game, even though he did not need the meat, while others were playing games. One time, about sunset, when out alone, the young man saw something shining far up in the sky. The object came closer to earth, and he made out the form of an eagle which was carrying a flint knife and a bow and arrows in its beak. With its claws the huge bird held a large whale. The young man was frightened. He thought that now he would be killed, but his spirit prompted him to shoot at the monstrous eagle. He removed the jade heads from his arrows, because if he failed to kill the bird, he did not wish to lose the points. As the eagle flew slowly above him, the young man shot an arrow at its breast. The bird glared at him with eyes as large as moons. It rose high in the air. The young man then shot at its belly. The eagle staggered in its flight and flapped slowly to earth, its wings making a thunderous beating and causing great air currents.

The young man was elated over killing such a huge quarry with only two arrows, and those headless. When he stood at his full height he was unable to look over the eagle's neck. The whale which the eagle was carrying in its talons had a mouth as large as a house. The young man led the whole village to the kill, though it was night, and they all took shelter beneath the eagle's wings. The people cut up the flesh and dragged it back to the village on sleds, although it was summer. There was so much meat, fat, and oil that no attempt was made at division, but each took as much as he could carry. The young man instructed them how to dig deep caches and to fill them with water so that the food and oil-pokes would remain cool even in summer. Next, the bones were brought in and divided. The young man kept the greatest share for his sled-runners and arrow-heads, and he kept the eagle-feathers for his arrows.

Some days later while hunting over the same region, a stranger approached the young man. The man had the head and feet of a fox, and carried a staff with meat on the top of it. He spoke abruptly:

"I have come to meet you.
I have come to meet you.
The two old ones want to see you.
With me you must come."

The stranger, with a dance mark under one eye, handed his staff to the young man. That one replied: "How can I follow you? I can not travel through the air."

The Fox-man, without replying, set off for the mountain, fol-

lowed by the young man. The way over the valley was long and hard, and the trail up the mountainside was slippery with oil. As they progressed, a thunderous noise, as regular as a heart-beat, shook the air. The two reached a huge cache from which oil dripped and ran down the trail. Great whale-bones surrounded it. Fox-man said: "The old ones who wish to see you live in a house on the highest pinnacle. You remain outside while I go in."

A young woman soon came out. Her face was painted red with blood, and she wore a hairless parka. She pointed to many human bones scattered about the house. She offered the young man food and water, enjoining him first to make an offering to the spirits. Before eating, he threw some small pieces of meat in air and sprinkled water on the ground. While satisfying his hunger, he noted two great caches filled to bursting with food, furs, and clothing. Then the young woman bade him enter. In the entranceway were two huge eagle-skins hanging on the walls. Inside he saw an old couple, both of enormous stature, dressed in old clothes. The heart-beats of the woman made the air tremble. Food was again offered, and all ate in silence.

The old man finally spoke in a low, sad tone: "Young man, you have killed my only son, our hunter who brought us food. Now you must do something for us. I shall tell you how my Eagle son is to be brought home."

The young man answered: "I should not have killed the Eagle if I had known that he had a home up here. I slew him because I thought I was to lose my own life. I was afraid."

"Go home! You may use the feathers on your arrows. Choose five of your friends and give them feathers for their arrows. Let each pick out some one to help him. You yourself get a young boy for your helper. I shall give them clothes to wear. Let them wear knee-high boots of caribou-skin, and trousers decorated with caribou-toes and wolverene-fur. I shall give each a parka and thirty weasel-skins to wear over their shoulders. I shall place a dance mark under your eye, so that you will be recognized. Now you must dance."

The young man did not know how to dance, and was taught by Fox-man.

The old man continued: "When you go home, do not kill so much game, only what is needed. Now you know how to dance. Teach the young women, dressed in black decorated fawn-skins, to dance the women's dances. Let the men paint their foreheads with charcoal, and the women paint around their eyes with blood. Let those who wish to make gifts to the old people bring them to the dance-place. Two men must be chosen as messengers to invite other villages, and they shall go dressed and painted as I have instructed you. Make a box with a hole in each corner, carve eagle's feet on the bottom, and cover it with fox-skins. This will be your drum."

The old woman added: "My heart is beating fast. Whenever I think of my son, my heart nearly bursts, so I try not to think of him.

When the dance begins, I shall send my heart-beats to the box. It must have handles of whale whiskers. When you are ready for the beating, go outside and fill a bucket with water. This you must pour in the box, that it may not become thirsty, but will beat faster and give the time for the people to dance by. If any one does not like our dance, send him outside, and we shall eat him. We must have some human to eat. By following these instructions carefully, the spirit of our son will return to us."

The young man then was allowed to return to his home. There he chose five men and a youth for his helpers. These in turn selected their wives as their partners. The young man made the box as instructed by the Eagles; gave staffs, each decorated with eagle-feathers, to his helpers — the staffs from which would come songs from the Eagle-man because the people at that time did not know how to sing — and took aside his helpers to teach them men's and women's dances.

The leader called together all the people in the men's house, where they sat expectantly, dressed in their best clothing, for they did not know what was going to happen. The twelve dancers and singers took places near the entranceway, the leader with his box in front of them. He addressed the assemblage, telling of the slaying of the Eagle and its consequence. He added: "Had I known that it was the son of the Eagles on the mountain, I should not have killed it. This ceremony is for them. By it, if we follow instructions carefully, the Eagle's spirit will return home. Let all do their best. I have been taught by them and instructed to teach the people. This is not my ceremony, but that of the Eagles."

As soon as he had finished talking, he passed an eagle-feather among the people, that all might see that he was telling the truth. Suddenly one man cried: "Look! There are six bundles of feathers hanging from the smoke-hole. Some one has come here while we have been talking!"

All rushed out, but there was no sign of anybody about the village. No one knew how the feathers had come there. The people believed now that the young man had been taught by the Eagles. All went back into the men's house, except the dancers. Women were sent to bring food in dishes made of the huge quills of the eagle. After the feast, the leader entered with his dancers. They occupied the middle of the room. They danced well; the feathered staffs sang in both men's and women's voices; the box beat like a huge heart, now fast, now slow. All watched eagerly, because it was the first time that any of the villagers had seen dancing or heard singing. Then the leader commanded, "Let food and furs be brought in for the old people!"

He separated into groups the old men and women, men and wives, and children. Then the food and skins were distributed amongst the aged. As soon as the food was consumed, the leader exhorted: "Let all be very quiet! Some one is coming here soon!"

While all were still, the dancers performed in the centre. Feathers were hung from the smoke-hole, and the leader sang. Then a strange man entered. He seized the leader, swung him about, and passed to all the dancers in turn. He spoke: "Now people may come and learn the dance. If any one wants anything, let him speak, and I shall have what he desires brought here. I shall have my villagers come here."

A man, clad only in boots, leaped from a bench and waved a knife. He strove to imitate the singing of the feathered staffs, but failed. Another man armed with a jade knife attempted to sever the feathers on the smoke-hole. These men pretended to fight. Then one of them succeeded in cutting down the feathers. All the people shouted. They put the feathers in the centre of the room.

A great number of strange people then came in, bearing skins and feathers, until they built a pile reaching to the smoke-hole. The stranger leader pointed out: "These are what must be brought in when other villages are invited. Let the dancers attempt to jump over the pile."

All the dancers, in turn, knocked down the heap, but the leader cleared it easily. The strange people silently departed. The leader addressed the watching villagers: "This is what we must do when strangers come. Now the dancers must get ready their best clothes and leave early in the morning to invite another village."

The young man leader with his six male dancers departed for the other village by dog-team, alternately running and resting. They arrived at dusk and were welcomed with a feast. No one in the village knew the object of the visit. One of the six quietly and unobserved hung some eagle-feathers from the smoke-hole. A villager spied them and pointed to them. All wondered whence the feathers had come. The leader of the six instructed the people of the village to dress in their best and return to the men's house. In the meantime he and his dancers put on their best clothes and wore thirty weasel-skins. Each wore an eagle-feather on his breast. As soon as the people were inside, the leader, followed by the six, swung himself through the entranceway and stood facing the assemblage. He pointed to the feathers, and told the story of the Eagle people and their instructions for the dance. After a feast, he had the villagers ask for whatsoever they desired from the people of his own village. Two of the dancers, stripped to their boots, pretended to struggle while cutting down the feathers, which were then piled in the centre of the room. The two dressed and returned to their places. The leader ordered, "Let all those who have gifts for the eagle-feathers bring them in!"

The people built a high pile of clothes and furs in the centre of the room. The leader leaped over it and ran outside the house, followed by his dancers. The last scattered the heap. The people rebuilt the pile, hung up the feathers, sang, danced, and sent for the dancers. After the dance, the aged were given nets and weapons.



From Copyright Photograph 1929 by G. P. Davis

CUTTING UP A BELUGA, KOTZHEBUE

Until late that night all the people presented their requests to the leader and his dancers. The following day they told them where and with whom they wished to stay while visiting. On the third day the leader returned to his own village.

Arrived there, they proceeded at once to the men's house. They kept the house dark, did not dance, refused to answer questions, and looked very sad. The people wondered what had happened. As soon as all had assembled and food was brought in, the young man stood up and told all that had been requested by the other village. The old people were glad that their young men had been welcomed so well. The wives of the six dancers then brought in much whale and seal meat and fish for all to eat. That night was spent in dancing.

Now began the preparations for the coming feasting and dancing, preparations which lasted all summer and until after the fall freeze-up. Furs of all kinds taken in their prime and skins were laid away. Meat, marrow, and fat were stored. Toward the end of summer, fish were caught and dried, then new clothes were made. The people were glad to know that they had plenty of food for their visitors and themselves; that all would be well dressed.

Two messengers were sent in the fall to the neighboring village, each carrying two marked staffs and having his face painted with the dance mark. They carried packs with extra clothing. At dark they arrived and entered the men's house unobserved. When they were discovered, a great shout went up and all the people came in to welcome and feast the two messengers. The two dressed in their best clothes and brought their staffs to the centre of the room. They sat on a bear-skin and were served food by two women. They read from the marked staff what had been prepared for the people and what they in turn were requested to bring to their hosts. The staffs, after the reading, were tied to the rafters with whale whiskers. The villagers welcomed the messengers with the dance which is given to all visitors. A day was set aside for the departure.

In the meanwhile, the leader of the new ceremony was directing further preparations and decorating the men's house as he had been instructed. Bird and animal heads stuffed with shavings, and with walrus-teeth inserted, were hung on the walls. Drums of caribou-skin with beaded beaters were made to furnish the accompaniment for the dance. Strings of beads crisscrossed the room. Small decorated drums and carved objects hung from the ceiling. Even the entranceway was coated with whitened sealskins and feathers. Near the entranceway were two planks, each with five holes all big enough to permit the passage of a man's body. These were for the use of the dancers, and later for the people. The planks were rubbed until they gleamed with a paint of jade dust and eagle's fat. The people made necklaces of squirrel-skins, each with two feathers, to be worn while dancing.

The leader instructed the young men to wear parkas of spotted caribou with short sleeves; to decorate the shoulders with caribou

toe-nails and the waists with porcupine-quills. The young women were to make short parkas with decorated belts passing over the shoulders and around the breasts. Their boots were to be of full length. In practising dances the leader indicated the movements with his staff.

The leader made a large box, as directed by the Eagles. On the top he placed a fox-head and left a hole for water, so that the box would not become thirsty while beating. Two men brought water for the box-drum, which, when filled, would beat of its own accord.

Each fourth night the leader assembled all the people for instruction in the ceremonial dancing; other nights common dancing took place. The instruction, once started, had to keep up all night. Caribou-fur was laid on the floor, and after each separate dance fine skins were offered to the box in payment for the drumming. The six dancers and their wives had two outfits of clothing; they changed to the second after the first dance. They, led by their leader, practised most, keeping up the dance long after the others had finished. All knew that, if instructions for the ceremony were followed carefully, the spirit of the Eagle would return home. The men's house was lighted with two poles wrapped in shavings bound on with seaweed and dipped in oil.

After several dances, the two planks with the fur-padded holes were brought in. The chosen dancers put on wolf-head masks and long, white sealskin mittens. During a song the dancers poked their heads through the holes, swaying the masks from side to side. Then they crawled through the holes and danced. When the feathered staffs, with the voices of the Eagle people, ceased singing, the dancers bowed heads on mittens and rocked their bodies back and forth until bade to stop by the leader. Then the masks were pulled down on the dancers' breasts and eagle-feathers bound in their hair, so that when dancing again the masks would sway and the feathers nod. They carefully followed the movements of the leader's staff. When exhausted, two women stripped them of feathers and masks, that they might retire outside to cool off. After a rest and a change of clothing, they returned to the men's house, where all now danced, each using his own drum. Watchers paid furs and food to the drum-box of the leader. At daybreak food was brought in and distributed.

One night, when the messengers returned, all ran to the men's house. The two changed into good clothes with their weasel-skin decorations and carried marked staffs. They placed the staffs in the middle of the floor, and each in turn read the requests of gifts which the invited villagers demanded. One after the other sang the songs taught them by the other village, in which the requests were repeated. They were plied with food, which they shared with their families; that which was left over the messengers kept for their own use. A great hubbub and talk of the coming visit arose. Some old women brought in food, and those who partook of it thus indicated their desire to meet and welcome the visitors, who were even then on their

way. For this privilege they were required to make a payment of furs. Before daybreak these selected men lighted the men's house, loaded their sleds, and went out to meet the visitors.

The visitors were approaching in a long line, one team abreast another. The welcomers, bearing torches, mingled amongst the visitors, running back and forth with their lights that their guests might be both warmed and accustomed to the new surroundings. Some of the welcoming group raced back to the men's house to tell the assembled people what was happening. Three of the best runners put on boots, short trousers, and short parkas, and raced to meet the guests. These runners had painted their heads, arms, and hair with charcoal. Another man, naked except for boots, and armed with a bow, rushed up and threatened the visitors as if they were unwelcome. They in their turn shot arrows into the air. If any became frightened they would be ridiculed and not allowed to take part in dances, feasts, or gift-making. When the throng finally arrived at the village, torches were brought out, while the hosts shouted and cheered. The guests were then welcomed, led to various homes, and feasted.

The leader sent dancers to bring the visitors to the men's house. He ordered the two messengers to dress and lead the guests inside. All entered in a body. The leader had all the guests stand about the room to watch two women and the bowman (who had greeted the visitors, but who was now washed clean of his paint) dance and sing in welcome. The visitors were then sent out to dress in their best clothes and return for a feast. The food they received was that which they had requested of the six dancers in their own village. During the feast, the six dancers, one by one, began a dance dedicated to the food eaten. As soon as each had finished his dance, he tried to break through the crowd and go outside. The assemblage attempted to force the dancers back on the floor, but each succeeded finally in going out. They then gave a great shout. The leader announced that now the festivities of the first night were ended; that all must return to their homes.

The following day, while all rested, the leader was busy decorating the men's house, hanging up all the strings of beads and the stuffed animal-heads, and preparing for the evening. When all was ready, he sent his dancers to lead in villagers and guests. Everybody kept very quiet while the eagle-feathers sang. The drum-box beat now softly, now loudly, and the six danced, following the movements of the leader's staff. The young men and women of the village, in decorated costumes, brought furs and food for all the aged amongst the visitors. They presented them with the caribou-furs which had covered the floor, and laid down new furs. These young people now danced, following the motions of the leader's staff. Afterward the dance furs were given to the drum-box and the guests. For many nights the feasting and dancing lasted.

One night the leader acted as if he were very sad; he had every-

body remain very still. Then when the eagle-feathers commenced to sing and the drum-box to beat, his six dancers entered. They stuck their heads, masked with wolf-skulls, through the holes bored in the entrance planks, and waved them back and forth. With their arm-length mittens they motioned as if to enlarge the holes. Next they came through the boards and danced, following their leader's staff. After they had finished, whale whiskers and furs were given to the drum-box and distributed amongst all the people. The drum-box received the most and best of the gifts. These the leader stored away.

After a day and a night of rest, the visitors were asked to dance. They entered the men's house dressed in their finest and carrying bundles of food and furs. Before each dance, an announcer told what was about to happen. The visitors had their own dance-leader and songs. After they had finished, they distributed sealskins, caribou-furs, nets, weapons, and food to all their hosts, to those with whom they were stopping, and most of all to the drum-box.

As soon as the visitors had finished, the leader ordered the planks with fur-lined holes to be set up once more. All his own villagers crawled through, and then the visitors. Those who picked the right openings would live long; those who chose the others would soon die. The leader knew in his own mind how long each person would live. He next allowed light rays from lamps to shine through the holes. Those casting long rays meant that the people who had chosen those modes of entrance would live long, and *vice versa*. The leader gave these planks to the visitors. He offered all decorations to the visitors, that they might use them some time in a Messenger feast, but everything had to be carried out through the smoke-hole. He had food brought in the huge eagle-quills, and after the feast he told the story of the Eagle, adding: "This is not my feast and dance. I have followed carefully the instructions given by the Eagles. If we have done everything correctly, the spirit of the young Eagle will return home."

At the conclusion, the old people exclaimed: "O, you six dancers, you have done well! Ask for anything you wish, and we shall give it." The dancers refused all gifts, saying that they would end the feast by jumping and pulling down the eagle-feathers from the smoke-hole. These were then stored away by the old people.

The following year it was the turn of the visitors to invite their hosts to a Messenger feast. They were led and taught by one of the leader's dancers. For equipment they used all the decorations given them by their hosts of the previous feast, but their own eagle-feathers were small, not like any of those from the huge bird. For many days these people practised songs and dances, but they were short of food, animals, and furs, so they had to be taught caribou-hunting by their former hosts and were obliged to buy furs.

While teaching these people to hunt, the leader accidentally shot his own brother. He said nothing, but placed the body inside of that of a caribou and stored it away, after hiding the bones. All the

people wondered why this man did not return to the village, and at last gave him up for dead.

As they had been taught, this village sent over first dancers, then messengers, and later welcomed their guests. During the course of the Messenger feast the leader watched carefully and found that all was done properly. The drum here could not beat of itself, nor could the eagle-feathers sing; but all else proceeded smoothly. The leader received many gifts of jade and arrow-heads. Toward the end of the feast, when all food was gone, the leader ordered in the caribou which contained the body of his brother. All ate and found it good. He then told the story of the Eagles and finished by telling the people what they had eaten. Some were sad and others angry. All spat to remove the human taint from their mouths. The leader then remembered that he had failed to provide human flesh for the Eagles. He was very sad, and thought about it so much that he became very weak. His people returned to their village.

When home in his own village, the leader immediately began preparations for another Messenger feast. He ordered his people to gather chips, shavings, moss, and all the inflammable materials they could find. As soon as the guests had arrived and had been taken into the men's house, the leader ordered the entrance and smoke-hole covered tightly. He commanded that all the inflammables be brought and set against the men's house. Then he thrust a torch into the pile and burned all his guests alive, because he had promised human flesh to the Eagles. Now the Eagle-spirit could return home.

For the rest of his life this man ruled his village, being known as a great medicine-man. Since that time all the neighboring people have learned how to conduct the Messenger feast according to the instructions of the Eagle people. Now their drums do not beat, nor do their eagle-feathers sing of their own accord; nor, after the one sacrifice, was human flesh required. It is believed that if all is carried out properly the spirits of lost or killed children will go to the Land of Spirits, even as the Eagle-spirit returned home.

MYTHOLOGY

THE TRAP

A village by the sea gained its support chiefly from the hunting of foxes, consuming the meat and wearing the skins. Each hunter pursued his own method, some using snares, others deadfalls, while a few stalked their game with bows and arrows; but these latter were rarely successful. One hunter, a stranger who had come to live with the villagers, was the most successful, bringing in six foxes to one of any other hunter. Although many trailed him, none was successful in learning his method. At last the headman instructed his people to let the stranger alone and not to try to discover his secret.

One night, while the successful hunter was sitting by himself outside the village, he heard the voice of a fox saying, "Here are a fine trap and bait, but if I try to steal the bait I shall get caught. I am not very hungry; I shall find other food."

The hunter quietly followed the fox. Soon the animal stopped and mused aloud: "There is a snare. If I get entangled in that, I shall hang by my neck."

The fox journeyed on. He halted by a hole, and pondered: "I smell bait in that hole, but if I put my head in and touch the meat, a log will crush my skull. I shall try elsewhere for food."

The pursuing and watching hunter saw the fox sniff the breeze. There was a taint in the wind. Then the animal espied a man sitting very quietly, holding a line in his hands. The fox exclaimed: "There is another trap for me! If I bite that seal liver, the man will jerk on that line and choke me."

Coming to a willow thicket, the fox cried: "Oh, there is a net set in those willows! And that man who is watching it will try to scare me into it. Lazy man, do you think I shall run into your net?"

The following hunter watched the animal approach a dead squirrel in a hollow stump. The fox cautiously ambled around it, muttering: "That is a fine, big squirrel, but if I reach within that hole, I shall get my paw caught. I know all these traps and snares. I wonder why any fox gets caught. Any animal should know these. I think I shall return home empty-handed."

A little farther on the fox was attracted by a new odor. While he was circling about to sniff the wind, the ground gave way and he fell into a deep pit. The man rejoiced, for it was his trap, his secret method of obtaining foxes. He went home, thinking to return for the carcass in the morning.¹

The fox had never seen such a trap. All efforts to jump up or claw his way out were unavailing. He thought that when people came to lift him out, he would pretend to be dead.

In the morning the hunter came to his trap. He spoke: "Now I have you, fox, you who are so smart. I followed you last night and heard what you said. You think you are sly. Any one could catch you in a poor trap like this, but no one has used one like this before."

The hunter lifted aside the whalebones and descended into the pit by means of a notched pole. He saw the fox with muscles stiffened as if dead. The man thought: "Now that is peculiar. I have never before seen a dead fox in my trap. I can not feel his heart beat."

He threw the body outside. The fox watched carefully. He saw the man come up, hide his notched pole, straighten the whalebones, cover them with moss, and scrape snow over the whole so that there was no appearance of a trap.

The fox thought, "If only that man would lay his knife down." Scarcely had the animal made the wish than the hunter put down his knife. The fox seized it and ran, hotly pursued by the man. The fox dived down a hole and escaped. While the hunter stood outside bewailing the loss of his knife, a small fox poked his head out, and said, "My father wants you to come in."

The man answered, "I should like to, but the entrance is too small for me."

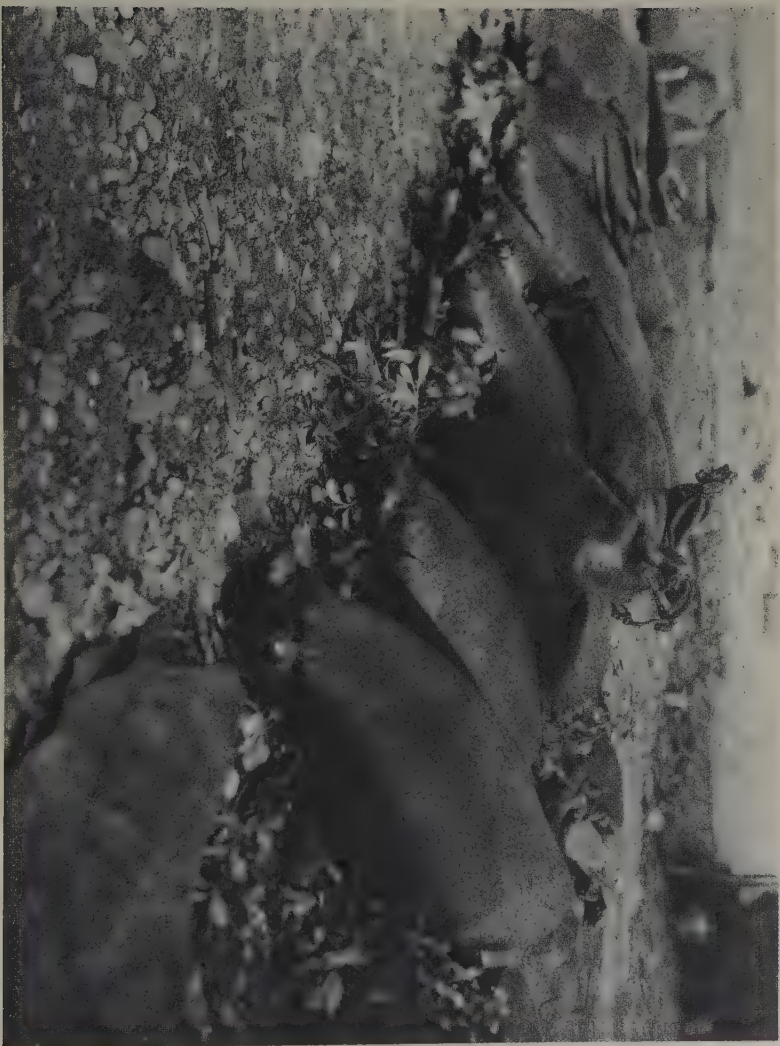
The fox withdrew, but soon another, a white one, addressed the hunter, "My father wants you to come in."

"How can I? I can not even put my head through the hole."

"Close your eyes and dive in."

When the hunter obeyed, and opened his eyes, he found himself in a large entranceway whose walls were covered with a great number of furs, hanging in bunches of fives. On entering the house, he saw many youths and maidens laughing and joking as they sat about the walls. At the far end were an old couple. The knife was hanging near them. When the hunter reached for his property, the old man said: "You can not have that. Once one of our hunters brought home a small knife, but we have always wanted one like this. You almost caught my best hunter. It is well for you that he escaped. What kind of a hunter are you to have a trap that we have never seen before? Now you must go home. Those furs in the entranceway will be

¹ Deep pits with strong bottoms and smooth walls are covered with a light brush framework and overlaid with sod and dirt. In winter they are covered with snow. The bait is then laid on the falsework, so that any inquisitive animal will break through of his own weight. The trap referred to in this story differs in that the falsework consists of whalebone. The butts are stuck in the pit edges and laid horizontally. The slender, very pliable tips are then covered with moss and grass. No bait is necessary, as the whalebone emits an odor attractive to the animal, which, while attempting to locate it, breaks through the grass and falls to the bottom. It is claimed that this method of trapping foxes was taught by visiting Siberians.



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FOOD CONTAINERS, POKES, KOTZEBUE

payment for the knife, but do not touch them now. When you reach home, sprinkle seal-oil on the snow, so that my hunter can get it."

The man went home. Each morning thereafter for a long time he found a bunch of fine furs at his trap — black and white fox, weasel, wolf, and wolverene. After he had received full payment in furs, he always found some animal in his trap.

THE LOST BOYS

A couple with two young sons occupied a summer house built on the coast at Shismareff. It was their custom in the warm weather to fish and hunt caribou, returning late in the season to the winter village. One season the head of the family was successful in accumulating and caching a great amount of caribou meat and fur. This was hauled by sled from the caches inland to the skin boat and preparations made for departure to the winter home. The heavily laden boat was towed along shore by a string of dogs, the boys remaining aboard to steer and manage the craft. Man and wife drove the dogs from the shore and gathered up driftwood as they went along. After the boat had a complete load, the two continued to pile up wood beyond reach of heavy winter tides, where it could be easily gathered at another season.

While they were thus engaged, the tow-line parted. The two boys seized paddles and endeavored frantically to reach the beach, but an offshore wind drove them slowly seaward. The agonized parents were helpless. The boys, to lighten the craft and to make paddling easier, jettisoned the load, except some of the meat. This manoeuvre served only to raise the boat higher out of the water and thus to offer more freeboard to the wind. They drifted faster to sea and soon were out of sight. For days they were blown about; days stretched into seasons. Often storms arose, threatening to swamp the craft, and only desperate bailing saved them from sinking. The elder was much concerned over his younger brother, who became quite weak and cried much of the time. During a period of foggy weather, they abandoned all hope. One night, while sleeping exhaustedly, they were aroused by the boat pounding on the bottom. A paddle hastily thrust overboard proved that they were aground. In the morning the fog cleared away and the sun shone warmly. The brothers, now elated, saw that they were ashore in a low, flat country.

The brothers saw many people coming to fish-racks and caches along the beach. The younger wished to go to them at once, thinking that the people might be friends or acquaintances, but the elder brother warned him: "No, we must be careful. These people are strangers and have different customs from our people."

They made the boat fast, and clambered ashore. Near the footpath along shore they lay watching the people from a slight depression: men and women passing carrying nets and fish, and men dragging seal carcasses. At last they fell asleep. A man saw them, but kept on his way, because he thought the brothers were only children of the village. Toward night the boys awoke and followed the path to the end of the village. They saw many houses, fish-racks, caches, people, and dogs. They were cold and hungry as they watched the cooking fires being lighted and smelled the broiling meat; but instead of going to the people, the boys watched from behind a grave. The younger turned his face away, for he could not bear to see the feast. He was so cold that the elder placed him inside his own parka and trousers that the heat of his body might warm him. After the villagers retired into their homes, the elder brother descended to the fires, now burnt low, and gathered scraps of food. He also filled a boot with drinking-water.

The elder brother, the following day, found a deserted, partially caved-in house. He made beds of willow twigs and leaves. Here the two dwelled all summer, going forth at night for water and to steal food from caches and racks. Once, when the people gathered for a feast, the brothers heard complaints about the food which was missing and the decision to send for a medicine-man. One man, bearing a torch to light his way, brought back a shaman to the awaiting people. That one beat his drum and sang loudly. At length he announced: "I can learn nothing. There are no strange animals about here to steal your food. There are only humans in and near the village, so humans must have stolen it. Perhaps there are strangers near by."

The boys were very much frightened, but they continued to live by the theft of food. At a gathering of the people another medicine-man was sent for. The brothers, now bolder, were

watching on the edge of the crowd. This shaman declared: "Your food is being stolen by two persons. They are over there!"

He pointed in the direction of the two brothers, but no one gave them any attention, thinking that they were merely children of the village. The villagers, enraged by the continual losses, sent for a medicine-woman. After a long incantation, she sent away all the spectators. Then she sent word to the people that they would be no longer troubled with thefts. The medicine-woman, led by her spirit-power, next proceeded to the hiding-place of the brothers. She said to them: "My spirits tell me that you are my grandchildren. Your father left this village a long while ago. You have been here a long time, and you have suffered. Now you must come home with me."

The entranceway to her home was well lighted, and crowded with dried foods and hunting equipment of all kinds. There she bathed the brothers in urine and dressed them in squirrel-skin clothing decorated with wolverene, as was her own. She led them into the house proper, which was decorated with many strings of beads and had fine beds of caribou-skins. They were each instructed to choose a bead. The objects of their choice were then strung with smaller beads and worn as headbands. Their lips were pierced for bead labrets. The brothers were kept inside until they were strong youths. They learned athletic games, but were not allowed to leave the house except late at night or when the villagers had gone away on seal- or whale-hunting trips. No one knew that the old medicine-woman was rearing grandchildren. One time they disobeyed her instructions and went outside. A medicine-man saw them. Soon a messenger appeared at the smoke-hole. The grandmother asked, "What do you want here?"

"The medicine-man wants you and the two youths to come to the men's house. You must all dress in your best, because you are about to die."

All dressed in their best decorated clothing. The old woman gave each of the youths a walking-stick, and they set out for the village. While still on their way, spearmen and bowmen, yelling and posturing, surrounded the small group. The old men and women watched from housetops. The medicine-woman stopped and raised her right leg. Immediately all the threatening men, the watchers, and even the dogs, became powerless, and stood with one leg upraised. For a whole day, until the entire village was tired to exhaustion, they remained in that posture. The medicine-woman and the two brothers felt no distress, because their staffs with the supernatural powers aided them. The people at last begged and pleaded to be released, promising pots, beads, skins, meat, and furs. The old woman dropped her upraised leg, and with her grandchildren went home. Soon the people came with their gifts, until the entrance-way was filled. The main room had many additional strings of beads. The proffered food lasted them eight seasons.

Again a messenger appeared at the smoke-hole and bade them come to the men's house, wearing their best clothing, because they would soon be killed. The old woman and the young men donned parkas with huge hoods of wolverene, took up their staffs, and departed for the village. On their way they were met and surrounded by armed and threatening villagers. The medicine-woman held out her staff, causing all to remain fixed in one spot. When very cold and tired, the people pleaded, and offered many gifts if only they might be released. They even offered their houses. The medicine-woman accepted only the gifts and let the people go free. Her house was then filled with enough food to last more than twelve seasons. It also had a profusion of pots, dishes, furs, skins, and weapons.

In the winter, after the freeze-up, they were summoned once more. This time the old woman was uneasy, and talked of the possibility of death. However, they dressed and went out. When the people surrounded and threatened them, the medicine-woman closed her eyes, and, perforce, all the villagers did likewise. They ran helplessly about, blundering into objects and becoming colder all the while. The medicine-woman and the young man remained in one place and were warm. To be freed from the spell, the people were obliged to strip their homes of all belongings and to bring them to the old woman's home.

In the fall of that year the medicine-woman called a messenger to her, and ordered: "These boys are now grown men and it is time for them to visit their parents. They are the ones who stole food from the caches long ago. They must be allowed to go about the village unmolested. You and the medicine-men who have tried to do us harm must build a large boat-frame this winter. In the spring it must be provided with a skin cover and loaded with provisions and wealth of all kinds."

In the spring the old medicine-woman, the two young men, and the messenger as pilot, embarked. Although there were no sails or oars, the boat moved swiftly until it reached the home village of the young men. There a joyful reunion took place between parents and sons. The old medicine-woman was recognized as the mother of the young men's father. She remained with the happy family four seasons, and then returned to her home, the boat laden with many furs and a great amount of food, given to her and to the pilot by her son as an expression of gratitude.

THE SPIRIT WIFE

In a large village there lived a young man who was so successful in all kinds of hunting that he was made headman in place of his father, who was too old to hunt. When after caribou, this young man shot the animals, while the other hunters stampeded them. He could stalk caribou and bring down twelve or more in a day. He hunted caribou all summer and late in the fall, even when the ground was hard and easy for the animals to run on. His mother dressed all the game. She made use of and saved every part, even the blood. The young man erected caches for his meat, because, although they used dogs and sleds to haul back the catch, it took three days to reach the village. In the springtime the young man assembled the hunters for sealing. He had given away much meat during the winter, so his food supplies were running low; yet the others were less able to provide than he. The party soon killed enough seal to last for several seasons, and he told the hunters, "If you killed caribou as you do seal, there would be no shortage of meat in the village."

The young man had never consented to marry, although his family often had urged him to do so. In the evenings it was now his custom to stand beside a cache and watch the young women of the village play ball, returning home after nightfall. One night his mother entered, leading a girl. The young man asked, "Why did she come here?"

"I brought her in to marry you if she is suitable," replied his mother.

The young man judged women by their ability to sew. He gave this girl some intestines to sew into a waterproof parka. Her needle squeaked so much that he rejected her. However, the thought of marriage was now in his mind, so he sallied forth each night to watch the young women at their games. He desired for his wife only the most adept at sewing. His mother brought several for his approval, but after being tried at sewing, they were sent away, because their needles squeaked. One night he saw a girl, dressed in an ill-fitting parka, playing with the other young women. They rudely jostled her and audibly exclaimed: "Why does she want to play with us? That good hunter would never choose her for a wife. We can sew better than she, and he always sends us away. Look at that parka!"

When the young women walked past as he stood by the cache, he smiled at the girl in the long, ill-fitting parka, an act which aroused the others to jealousy, and they ridiculed her more than ever. The young man then seized her by the arm and commenced drawing her toward his home. She hung back and cried, whimpering that she was not clean; that her clothes were ugly, but the young man took her home. His father immediately rebuked her, saying: "Do not come in here, you ugly looking one! You will soil our entranceway!"

His son retorted: "You have always wanted me to marry, but I have never liked the women you have chosen for me. Now I have picked one myself, and you must not scold her."

The parents kept silence. The mother bathed the girl in urine and dressed her in wolf-skin trousers and a parka trimmed with wolverene. The young woman had sewed only a few times, but her needle did not squeak. The young man was greatly pleased, and said: "You can sew well. You will always be my wife."

The young man ordered his mother to bring in caribou and whale meat, seal-oil, bracelets, and a woman's knife. He instructed his new wife to wear the bracelets, to keep the knife, but to take the meat and oil to her grandmother. This she did, and, as she entered, her grandmother asked, "Who comes here smelling so clean?"

"It is I, Grandmother. That good hunter has taken me to wife."

"You must never be lazy. If you want happiness, cook for your husband when he is hungry, and make his clothes."

"What shall I do, O Grandmother? I have never learned to cook or to sew."

"Do what your husband says, and you will be happy," answered the grandmother.

The young wife went to her new home, bringing back the empty dish. In the evening,

when all prepared for bed, the hunter went outside for a last look over the village. Suddenly he became bereft of all reason and began to run toward the sea. He did not stop nor come to his senses until nearly at the water's edge. He returned home, but said nothing of his strange experience. The couple slept apart in beds on opposite sides of the room. Several nights the same urge came to him to run toward the water, an action which he was at a loss to explain. Each night, also, the beds of the couple were placed closer together. Finally he spoke to his father, who was unable to explain the strange actions. The young man pondered long, then instructed his parents: "Tomorrow bring here my whale, seal, and caribou meat. I wish to speak to all of the people."

The young hunter gave a great feast. He sent away the young people when they had eaten their fill; but to the old men he told the story of his running toward the sea. None could explain it, but one man ventured that some one from the sea must be calling him. He ordered his boat to be made ready, that he might put out to sea and find out what was influencing him. That night he slept with his wife for the first time.

In the morning he set sail with provisions sufficient only for a mouthful of food each night for four days. He encountered ice and rough stormy seas which threatened to swamp his frail craft. Toward nightfall of the fourth day, after he had consumed the last of his food, the young man discerned two huge stones with smooth water between them. He ran the channel and found a river emptying into the sea. There were many lights of a village on shore, so he pulled up before the nearest one, which was dazzling in its brightness. As he approached, no one came out to welcome him, so he went toward the entranceway. This was guarded by a huge stone which swung back and forth. When he stood, undecided, the stone door stopped its movement, but when he made as if to enter, it swung rapidly. Finally he decided to risk being crushed, and darted through. The entranceway within was as large as a house of ordinary size, and brilliantly lighted. At the farther end, another stone door swung to and fro, even more rapidly than the first. He thought that if he had to die, it might as well be now as later, and with that in mind, he jumped through.

Once in the main room, he saw a woman who greatly resembled the wife he had left behind. She answered his thought: "No, I am not your wife. When you married that poor girl, I tried to draw you to me, but you always remembered your home and went back."

The young man wondered, "So this is the one who was calling me?"

At once she answered the unspoken question, "Yes, I called you each time."

Then the woman ordered him to hide his boat and return to her. After a bath they slept together. He remained with her a long time. But one day the thought came to him to return to his own village. She answered his thought, "Yes, some day you may go home, but your boat must be filled with dishes, furs, and knives."

He debated with himself, "It is too rough to sail now."

She replied: "Wherever you go, you will have smooth water, even though all is rough around you. You may load your boat in the morning."

The young man stopped thinking, because she always read his thoughts. That night the woman instructed him: "When you get home, I want you to build a tiny room by your entranceway and to put a small outfit of caribou clothes in it. In four days they will be large enough for you. Have your wife make a small outfit of women's clothes and put them in a tiny room beside the other. In four days these will also be large enough to use. I am a spirit. Next, have the people gather, sing, and dance. I shall appear, and you, your wife, and I shall dance together."

In the morning he set sail. He wondered if the spirit-woman was with him. A voice answered in his ear: "Yes, I am with you. I have promised you fair wind and smooth water. Do not be afraid."

When storms arose, though his boat rode quietly, fear arose within him, and his heart grew heavy. The voice reassured him: "Have no fear. I shall aid you safely home."

When the young man reached the village, all were greatly surprised to see him and the wealth he brought. He distributed dishes, beads, and knives to the women, and long knives and iron to the men.

The young man closely followed the spirit-woman's instructions. At the end of the four days she appeared to him, saying: "A boat with much wealth, driven by no human hands or sails, is coming here. Tell the people it is sent by a spirit, and divide the contents amongst all."



From Esquimaux Photographs, 1923 by G. P. Hume

UMIAK FRAME, KOTZEBUE

This he did, and kept four pots filled with beads and knives for himself. As soon as he had hung them up, they overflowed until the entranceway was filled. His father was very glad, and patted his son's shoulder approvingly. The young man immediately vanished, then reappeared, and said: "Soon I am going to have strong supernatural powers. Do not touch me until what I have to do is done."

No one was allowed to come near him but the spirit-woman, with whom he slept. He called the people together and trained them in songs and dancing. The drummers and singers were to wear headgear of dog- and fox-heads. He told the people to have no fear when the spirit-woman came before them.

On the night of the dance, the drums were at first soft and low. The tempo changed and the beat became loud. The singers sent forth the songs with strong voices. Then the people saw a wolf's head rear itself through the floor. It weaved from side to side. The fore-paws clutched at the flooring, and the body rose from below. The spirit-woman stood before them wearing a parka and mittens of wolf-heads trimmed with wolverene. The young man's first wife came in, dressed like the spirit-woman. The young man danced very slowly before the drummers, then as the time increased he stepped faster. The two women danced before him. The young man and his first wife next encircled the spirit-woman, and finally stopped the dance and went home. The two women were so alike that no one could tell them apart.

From that time the man, the two women, the parents, and the old grandmother wore new clothes every day. They gave many feasts to the people. Each night they slept together, the man in the centre of the room and his two wives on each side. Each night the beds were closer, until on the eighth night the three were in one bed. They lived long and happily together.

One night the spirit-woman said to the other wife, "I want to find out which of us can make clothes the faster."

The first wife finished the quicker, and her work was well done, while that of the spirit-woman was only rough work.

The pots of the young man continued to overflow with wealth, so that all the surrounding villages came to trade. He gave up hunting, because he could always provide plenty of food through trade. He and his family became known as great medicine-people, and many came to them to be cured of sickness.

THE TREE-MAN

A village was once dominated and terrorized by a vindictive and cruel man. In his desire to excel in feats of strength and prowess in hunting, this man removed all opposition by killing his rivals. It was his custom to invite his victims to his house, where he wrestled with them and dashed out their brains against a huge stone which he kept for that purpose. All male visitors to the village met a similar fate. This cruel man took married women away from their husbands and snatched maidens from their parents. Some men he enslaved to perform menial tasks. Such was the fear of him that bereft relatives did not dare to mourn aloud.

In the house dwelt an old man whom the cruel one treated very severely, giving him the filthiest tasks, heaping ridicule and abuse upon him. He compelled the old man to wear a costume made of the grass used for cleaning pots and dishes. In despair, one evening, the old man tottered to the door, and cried, "If any supernatural power wishes to help me, let that tree which is now being washed ashore become a man to avenge me."

A short distance offshore a tree was being washed by the waves. The current bore it past the village and along the beach. Wind and tide caused the tree to ground gently on the sand. The tree gained consciousness; it remembered that it had once lived and stood on a large stream. It recalled memories of drifting hither and thither on the water. Driven by a sudden impulse, the tree decided to become a man. It endeavored to stand erect, but the heavy branches caused it to topple over at each attempt. After many trials over a long period of time, the tree balanced upright and stood erect until a puff of wind caused it to sway and fall heavily. The mighty crash broke off the weighty top. At once a young man, wholly nude, stepped out of the tree-trunk.

The Tree-man knew nothing of the land; he had never seen people; he knew only how to stand upright as trees stand. A gnawing sensation developed in his stomach. He soon found that seaweed and shellfish drove away hunger. A seabird flew down to him. The bird removed

his skin and was as a human. It spoke to Tree-man: "When you were a tree, I rested on you many times. Now I shall aid you. I know that you are no longer a tree, but a man. There are grasses here to weave into garments, and near by is a lake filled with good fish."

The bird taught Tree-man to make a nest of grasses, and instructed him: "In the morning you must catch some fish. Then build a fire, and roast and eat the fish."

Tree-man did not know what fish were, nor how to catch them, nor how to build a fire and roast them; but he went to the lake in the morning, where he made a good catch with his bare hands. On his return, he found Bird-man waiting with a knife and a bow-drill. He taught Tree-man how to clean and dress fish; to build a fire by putting the spark from the bow-drill on grass and tinder, and heaping shavings on the tiny flame. Tree-man learned to cook game and to eat by watching Bird-man carefully. He was taught to store away meat in a cache dug in the earth, lined and covered with sod. He amused himself by building huge fires.

When Bird-man flew to the village to get weapons, Tree-man, who had never seen humans, walked along the bank of a stream talking to any animals he met. He learned that they were not people, because none answered his voice. Bird-man, on his return, instructed his pupil in the use of the bow and arrow. He pointed out caribou swimming in the river. Tree-man was greatly frightened at beholding these animals, because he thought they were monsters with willow branches growing on their heads. He was shown how to kill, dress, pack, carry, dry, and cache the meat and to dress the skins. The eyes and waste meat were stored in a poke and allowed to rot. This, in cold weather, was considered as a confection.

Bird-man brought needles. He instructed Tree-man in the tanning and softening of hides, in shredding sinew and sewing clothing. Tree-man learned to make trousers of caribou-leg skin, allowing the wet hide to dry on his own legs for shaping.

In the fall, Bird-man fetched spears from the village. He taught Tree-man to drive belugas into shallow water and spear them; to drag a carcass ashore by means of a line passed through a hole in the lip. The meat and flippers were dried on racks, the oil was kept in pokes, and waste flesh was used for bait on traps.

Bird-man brought two metal clubs, one short and one long, which had hollow shafts and heavy whale-bone handles. While hunting, food could be stuffed into the hollow. The shorter was used for clubbing caribou in deep snow, and the longer for polar bears. These had been obtained from Siberia.

Tree-man was taught to erect a timber framework and to cover it with sod. Each day a layer of sod was put on and allowed to freeze until the house was weatherproof. Tree-man was so pleased at his new-found skill that he built a second house near the first. He learned to boil meat in wooden pots by dropping hot stones in the water. He was taught to make and use stone lamps.

As soon as winter set in and the river froze solid, Bird-man said: "It is now too cold for me. I shall become a bird again and fly south. You must not wander far from your home. If people come to visit you, tie up their dog-teams under the cache and feed them. Welcome the strangers in your house."

During the winter, Tree-man caught many foxes, rabbits, and wolves. He killed a bear with his flint-headed spear when he surprised the beast robbing his cache. The skin he used to sleep upon. He brought in driftwood for shelves and floor planking. He dragged his tree, from which he had sprung, above the highwater mark. He was such a good hunter that he despised red fox and killed only black or white animals. Soon his caches were filled with food and furs; even the house was thickly floored and the walls covered with them.

One winter night two men and a young woman came to his house. Following Bird-man's instructions in courtesy, Tree-man tied up their dogs and fed them. Then he welcomed and feasted the strangers in his house. He was so glad to have company, to hear voices, and to talk, that he kept up an incessant conversation all night. Tree-man said: "Now I know that there are people near here. I have never seen humans before. I can travel and visit homes too."

"Yes," was the answer, "there is a great village not far distant, but a cruel man rules it and kills all visitors."

Tree-man asked many questions. He desired to be informed on customs and manners of living, on the ways of people who lived in villages, and on the villages. He asked why his guests had departed from their home. The men replied, "We fled because that cruel man was going to kill us and take our sister."

Tree-man felt great anger, and vowed some day to meet and conquer the cruel man.

His guests remained a long while, for the hunting was good. He married the young woman. Tree-man was still determined to overcome the cruel man; he felt impelled to go to the village. In preparation, his wife made heavy and light clothing with decorated boots. When all was ready, Tree-man loaded his sled with furs, and set out with his wife and the two men as guides.

The small party entered the cruel man's house as soon as they reached the village. He was rude, and without attending to any possible wants, or even offering food to his unexpected visitors, the cruel man blocked his doorway with the great stone and stood by it. He taunted Tree-man, saying: "You are a huge fellow. My doorway is almost too small for you. You seem to be so strong that I shall try your strength in wrestling."

Tree-man approached his foe and briefly replied, "We shall wrestle."

While divesting himself of clothing, Tree-man noticed an old man clad in a filthy costume of woven grass, and in his heart pitied the oldster. The old man shrilled: "I knew you, young man, before you were human. You must wrestle hard with this man, because he has killed many strangers, seduced women, and kept others as slaves. I am one, and you see how he has treated me."

The cruel man was greatly surprised to hear one of his broken creatures speak so daringly. With a cry he seized Tree-man to hurl him head-foremost against the stone, but instead found himself grasped roughly and flung to the floor. He sneered at Tree-man: "You are strong. You think you are mighty by beating me in this one fall. I shall try you again."

A second time the cruel man was jarred against the floor, but still undaunted arose for another trial. The third time Tree-man maintained his crushing hold and squeezed the cruel man until he howled in pain. The watchers, male slaves and captive women, shouted in joy. The old man screamed: "Kill him! Kill him!"

The cruel man offered wives, plunder, and great riches if he were released. Tree-man, not cruel, allowed his opponent to sit when he saw blood running down his sides. The old man shouted: "Do not let him go! I sent my bird-power to change you from a tree into a man and train you until I could call you my son. Now slay this man who has treated us so cruelly and killed so many good hunters!"

The cruel man pleaded: "If you will free me, I shall give you my food, my furs, and my wives. I shall be your slave and work hard."

Tree-man answered: "I care for no riches; I have plenty. I care for no wives; I have one. All of you people know this man and what he has done. Now you may shame him before he dies."

The watchers shouted. They recounted the shameful deeds of the cruel man, the killings, the starvation, the woman-stealing. They stripped him of clothes, which they gave to the old man. They jeered at the cruel man until he writhed in agony: "Where now are your furs, riches, and wives? Where now is all your mighty strength?"

Tree-man had a strong line passed through the smoke-hole, a line with a sharp caribou-horn on the end. With joyful cries the released slaves thrust this horn through the cruel man's neck, tied hands and feet together, and pulled him through the smoke-hole. They dragged him about the village until all life was gone, and flung the naked, quivering body beneath a cache.

The women cleaned the house and Tree-man had much food and many furs brought from his sled. Of these he gave the best to the old man. All the village trooped in for feasting, dancing, games, and stories. The old man told how he had sent his bird-power for aid, and how the tree had become an avenging man. Tree-man said that his tree was the biggest of all that had ever drifted ashore; that it was now well above highwater where all might see it.

The next morning Tree-man killed three polar bears and gave two of them to the village for fresh meat. He remained there until spring, hunting for the poor and the old. Then, accompanied by his wife, her brothers, the old man, and the poor people, Tree-man went to his own home. He presented the old man with many bear-skins and fox-furs, so that he could sleep on a new bed every night. The people of the village lived from that time in peace and plenty.

EAGLE-WOMAN

The son and daughter of the two wealthiest men in the village married. The parents outfitted them with equipment of all kinds and sent the young people inland to live by themselves, because near by dwelt an evil medicine-man who often killed young people.

The young man was a good hunter, and soon filled his caches. Then he sent a dog, carrying a carved stick in its mouth, to his parents. The father read from the stick that the son had much fur and food, and to come soon for some. Both parents set out to visit their children and came back with several sledloads of meat, which they distributed amongst the poor of the village.

The young woman had asked her father to send some of the village women to visit her, because she was lonely. When they arrived, she sewed with them and paid with furs for their aid. The parents sent them seal-oil, beluga meat, and seal meat, and the young man in return exchanged caribou meat and the furs of inland animals. There was so much traffic between the sea village and the young couple inland that the trail was always hard, summer and winter. Many of the young people visited the couple for games and feasts.

One night the young man failed to return home at dark. His wife made a bright light and waited for him. The moon came up, very red, but still her husband was away. While waiting, she sewed. After a long time the young woman heard a noise as of something coming down through the air, then two feet clad in white boots appeared through the smoke-hole. The woman was greatly frightened, and laid aside her sewing to watch. When the stranger had descended and stood before her, she noticed that his feet did not touch the floor, a proof that he was not human. The woman screamed in fright, and ran out the door and down the trail leading to her parents' village. After running a long time, she thought that she should see lights and houses. Closer observation showed that the trail was strange, but the woman still ran on.

Meanwhile, the young husband had killed many caribou during the day, which he began to skin before they froze, a task that lasted after dark. He decided to camp there for the night. After eating, he watched the moon rise, a moon which seemed larger and redder than usual. He was astonished and frightened to see it approach the earth and soon rise again. The man was so frightened that he ran swiftly homeward. Once at the lighted house, he leaned his weapons against the wall, beat the snow from his clothes, and cleaned his boots. He was astonished that his wife had not come out to meet him. When he went in, he found her gone, the room in disorder, and the sewing thrown to one side. He puzzled over the signs of hasty departure and concluded that for some reason his wife had gone to her parents.

He snatched his weapons from the outside wall and began to follow his wife's tracks. When near his village the young man was surprised to see that the tracks left the beaten trail. He began to run fast to overtake his wife and lead her right. The new trail led over a lake, through a valley, and to the seacoast. He followed it as it ran northward, more and more disturbed as he found he could not overtake his wife. He knew that he was fleetest of foot than she. He ran until completely exhausted; for days he walked, until his boots were worn out and he had to use his bow as a cane. At length he came to the home of two old women. They cried out in pity: "Oh, the poor young man! He is worn out. He is having a hard time to find his wife. While she was sewing, she pulled a moonbeam through her seams and the moon came down and snatched her away. Poor young man, you can never get her back. You had better return to your parents."

The young man ate of the food the old women provided, and rested. Then he took up the trail once more. He continually thought of his wife, and was downhearted, but grimly kept on. He thought: "I may perhaps never reach home. I have kept on the trail so far and shall follow if it leads to the moon. I shall not go back without my wife."

For many days he plodded on. When his strength was almost at an end, he spied a house with many caches. It looked deserted, for no smoke came from the top. The young man put forth the last of his strength and succeeded in getting to the doorway. There he fell, thoroughly exhausted. At the noise of the fall, a huge woman came out. She was an Eagle-woman. She cried: "Oh, the poor young man! He has tried so hard to find his wife. She has just gone toward the moon. You must come in and rest."

She carried him inside, and bathed, clothed, and fed him. He saw many weapons and a huge eagle-skin in the entranceway. After many days of rest and careful tending, the young man regained his full strength and married Eagle-woman. He still thought so long about his first wife that he remained silent most of the time, talking only when necessary. For a long time the two lived in quiet. Eagle-woman at last broke the silence by saying: "You are always thinking of your first wife. She is wild now, running with the winds near the moon. Even the greatest and swiftest of Eagles could not bring her back."



Steam Locomotive Photograph 10223 by G. P. Smith

UMIAK, KOTZEBUE

The young man wondered how this woman could read his thoughts. She continued: "You can not bring her back. You should take pity on your parents, who are worrying so that their hair is standing on end. You should think of her parents who are weeping continually."

Because the young man still remained quiet and wept to himself, Eagle-woman volunteered: "I have an eagle-skin. Perhaps I can catch her."

The young man was joyful. He responded, "If you will only go for her I shall do anything you ask."

"Perhaps you will not be able to carry out my instructions. I shall do my best to bring her back. You must stay here and take care of my house."

"I shall stay here, even for years, if you will only get her," promised the young man.

"I shall do my best, though your wife may be so wild that I can not come close to her."

Eagle-woman cried, for she loved this young man, but she brought in the eagle-skin, wet it in the urine pot, and thawed it until it was soft. Then she said: "Tomorrow I shall go. You must not leave the house after I am gone. Even when you hear me return, do not come to meet me. There is plenty of food and water in the house. If you disobey my orders, your wife and I both will be dead and you will never see your home again. I took pity on you. I saved your life. I have loved you. Now I shall do my best to bring back your wife."

In the morning she took her eagle-skin and went out. The young man restlessly roamed the house all day, forgetting even to eat or drink. After dark, he heard a great wind as if caused by the whirring of wings. Soon Eagle-woman entered, panting and tired. She said: "I saw your wife. Her parka is in shreds from the wind. Her boots are worn out from so much running, and she is very thin. I tried to get her down, but I could not; she was too heavy. She was in a very high place, but do not be disheartened. I have taken pity on her and on you. I shall try again tomorrow, but you must continue to follow my orders."

A second time Eagle-woman went out and returned empty-handed. She reported: "I have her out of the moon now, and below it. Your wife can move neither up nor down. Tomorrow I shall try again."

The young man was greatly elated at these words of hope, and regained heart. His manner was happy. When Eagle-woman came back after the next attempt, she was smiling, and said: "Young man, I have your wife near the earth now, not so very high. Perhaps the next time I can bring her down. You may go outside and see her."

The young man went out and saw a small speck, which was his wife far up in the sky.

In the morning, on awaking, he saw a great store of meat, oil, and clothes on the floor. He did not know how they came there, but thought they had been brought by the power of Eagle-woman. She spoke: "This shall be my last attempt to rescue your wife. Listen carefully to what you must do. You must get plenty of hot water ready to bathe your wife. I shall bring her near that high rock at dark; you must jump up and grab her, and then let go. If you hang on, you will squeeze the breath from her body. Then I shall bring her here. If you are a good jumper, you will get your wife back. I have made some new, light, soft clothes for you to jump in. Wait here until I return. Do not become frightened or weak, and do not weep."

Toward evening Eagle-woman returned, and said: "I have your wife near the earth and above that high rock. If she is too high, do not jump, but wait till she comes close. If you miss, you will lose her forever. After you have seized her and brought her to earth, come back here for the hot water. I shall bring her in."

When the young man went out, he saw his wife in air near the high rock. Her hair was streaming in the wind, her clothes in shreds, and her feet bare. He was angry at her appearance. He waited until she was quite close, then jumped and easily brought her to earth, but released her so that his clasp would not drive the breath from her body. He then ran back, very happy, to the house. Eagle-woman soon carried his wife in. Together they stripped and bathed her. She was as if asleep, and so thin that the bones of her hands and feet protruded. Eagle-woman directed: "I can do nothing until nightfall. I shall look into the future and see what her life will be. You must go outside until I am ready."

At nightfall he was ordered to bring in water. Eagle-woman dropped five drops in the woman's mouth. She warned the young man that he must not touch his wife in any way until the proper time. In the morning the wife was conscious, but so weak that she could not move or speak. On the fourth day the young woman could drink easily and suck the juice from meat.

Then the husband wanted to help, but Eagle-woman warned: "No; do not touch her. If you do she will not live, and her parents will be very sad."

In four days more the young woman could sit up, move about in bed, eat and drink, but she could not talk. Four days later she was completely recovered. Then Eagle-woman said to the young man: "Now you may touch your wife. You may even sleep with her."

The young man was glad that his wife was now well and that her new, decorated clothes fitted her so well. He was happy when she was able to perform her usual housework, and he aided by bringing in wood and water while Eagle-woman obtained fresh meat. He slept with both women alternately, for Eagle-woman was his second wife.

Eagle-woman brought in much caribou, which the man and his first wife dressed and stored away; but they were never allowed to see her put on her eagle-skin and go for game. In mid-summer she brought back a large beluga, which the two cut up and dried. All manner of land- and sea-food was cached. In the winter the women made many clothes.

Eagle-woman began to look sad. She kept silent most of the time, speaking only when necessary. The others finally asked: "Why are you so downcast? Have we done anything we should not have done?"

Eagle-woman replied: "I have been thinking of your parents who are still searching and mourning for you. They are having a hard time, for they are very poor. The trail is now good, if you care to see them."

"If the time is right, we shall go."

"I think it is time for you to go. I do not want to send you away, but I am pitying your parents, whose eyes and faces are sore from weeping. I shall protect you on your way, so that you will not become lost. I give you thanks for storing away so much food for me. You may return here whenever you wish."

In the morning the young couple loaded pokes of food, and bags of furs and clothing, on two sleds, and took their departure. After several days they arrived at the home of the two women who had aided the young man so long ago. They spent the night there, feasting and story-telling. As they left in the morning and looked back, they saw that the women had become foxes, and the house was their hole. On the trail they laughed, sported, and raced. After a long trip, they arrived at their home village.

Their parents, though poor and starving, and wearing thin, torn clothes, welcomed the couple, who had been given up for dead. They told how they had spent their wealth sending out searching parties. The whole village greeted heartily and feasted the returned young people in the men's house. They listened to the story, and acclaimed Eagle-woman as great and powerful. The parents thought they should return to help her some time, adding, "We do not care how long you remain away, because now we know that you are living and where you will be."

The young man lived with his own and his wife's parents for a long while, and hunted so well that they soon were wealthy in well-filled caches again. The couple then prepared to return to Eagle-woman. They loaded much seal meat and oil on their sleds. On the way they stopped with Fox-women, and left the foxes a gift of seal-oil, which all foxes like. Eagle-woman welcomed them happily. She taught them to fly with eagle-skins, and laughed at their grotesque antics at the first trials. She showed them how to kill game while in that garb. For a long time the young man and his first wife alternated visits between their own village and the house of Eagle-woman, staying a year at each place.

STORY OF KAIYÓNANĪT

The headman of a village snugly situated in a spruce grove, and his son Kaiyónanĭt, were known far and wide as great hunters. The people always had full caches. One spring, after the seal season was finished, the young man went into the forest to cut timber for new floor-boards for the house. While working, he was startled to hear the sound of a paddle dipping, and a voice raised in song. There was no stream near. The noise drew closer; it came from above. The frightened young man looked up and saw a *kaiak* riding through the air. Fright caused Kaiyónanĭt to drop his woodworking tools and to hide under a log. The *kaiak* circled above, and the trembling Kaiyónanĭt listened to and remembered the song.

Then he jumped up in his alarm and shouted loudly, hoping that his parents would hear and rescue him. At once the *kaiak* slowly tipped over; the occupant, dead, toppled out, and

the craft gently settled to the ground. Kaiyónanít was still frightened, and very sorry. This was the first man whom he had killed, and he had done it by a shout. He examined the kaiak. It was of deep draft and broad beam, similar to the kaiaks used by the King Island men. It was sheathed in metal. Paddles and weapons were also metal-tipped. The body had a metal headband which covered the nose and eyes. Kaiyónanít was puzzled, for he had never seen such a boat nor so much metal. In grief over his deed, he built a grave-box for the corpse. He covered the box and the kaiak with moss.

At home Kaiyónanít acted strangely. He would answer no questions, but told his parents that something terrible had happened in the forest. He brooded long over the innocent man he had slain. In the early fall sealing he caught few animals, because his troubled mind could not concentrate on the work. By great effort Kaiyónanít banished his brooding and then caught enough seal to last a year. He gathered quantities of wood. In the first snows, using snowshoes made by his father, he killed many ptarmigan.

As soon as hard winter set in, the village abandoned all hunting and fishing. Nightly they gathered in the men's house for feasting and dancing. One night a great shout went up. The cry rang through the village that two strangers had come, messengers from another village. It was apparent to all that they were about to be invited to a Messenger feast, so they hurried to the men's house to view the strangers. They crowded the two tiers of benches in the circular men's house, a house supported by one huge centre-post. The messengers were dressing in their finery in a dark room off the entranceway, a room in which the dancers always dressed.

One messenger rubbed the doorway with his long-mittened hand as if to enlarge the opening. Then he walked to the middle of the room, carrying his staff over his shoulders. There he waited for the second messenger, who came out in a similar manner. A drum was beaten slowly and in low tone; a soft song began, led by a man whose sleeves and trousers were cut short. The assemblage followed his direction, stopping when he lowered his arm and beginning again when he raised it. The song-leader bent over the messengers, who read to him in a whisper the meaning of the carved staffs and he repeated the words in a loud voice, the words which invited each villager by name to a Messenger feast. Each except the headman and his son Kaiyónanít received an invitation. The song-leader then seized each messenger in turn and swung him in the centre of the room. The staffs were hung from rafters. Three women brought in a great feast of berries, meat, oil, succulent roots and grasses, and water for the two messengers. These men told of their village and of the preparations being made there. No one had ever heard of this village or seen any of the people. The messengers put on metal headbands and danced. Kaiyónanít was astounded. He immediately remembered the young man whom he had killed. The thought came to him that the two messengers were from that man's village, but he remained silent, brooding and sorrowful. The messenger remained for one moon and half of another.

The whole village made ready to leave, all but the headman and Kaiyónanít, who had not been invited. Their people urged them to come, because they had a large store of food and furs. After a great deal of urging, father and son loaded two sleds apiece very heavily, and departed with their people, led by the two messengers. When near their destination, the messengers halted the throng and went ahead to announce to their village that the visitors were nigh.

The hosts, the following day, led by the young and fleet men, all wearing metal headbands, came out to meet their visitors. They called them out by name and took them to their houses; all but the headman and his son, who came to the village alone and watched the welcome of the others. The visitors gathered before the men's house, the men sitting on the handle-bars of their sleds, and their families perched on the loads. Hosts and guests pretended to fight, shooting arrows into the air. Then hot meat was brought to the visitors, and they were housed with different families. Kaiyónanít and his father, unwelcomed, lived by their sleds. The headman continually pondered why he had not been invited. Kaiyónanít was sad. He knew that the slain man had belonged to this village, but he said nothing. Night after night he heard the messengers call his people by name into the men's house. He heard the sound of feasting, dancing, singing, and the uproar caused by the exchange of gifts.

One night the messengers bade father and son to enter the men's house. They sat apart and watched. No gifts were offered them, nor even food. Kaiyónanít saw a weeping old couple who also remained apart. This couple had no guests housed with them, nor did they exchange gifts or offer food to any one. The heart of Kaiyónanít was sad, for he thought that such a couple

might be the parents of the slain man and were weeping bitterly because their son had never returned home.

A man came to the centre of the room and softly beat a large drum. Kaiyónanít became excited, because he thought that he was about to hear the song of the man he had slain. But this song was different. The drum was passed around to all, and each sang. Kaiyónanít was the last to receive it, but he did not sing; he only beat it. The assemblage jeered. Then he sang loudly the song of the dead young man. The weeping old man jumped to his feet, and cried: "Where did you learn that, the song of my son who never came home? Where is he?"

Kaiyónanít sadly told the tale, and added: "I am sorry. I should not have shouted if I had known that it would kill him. I buried your son well and I can show you the grave-box."

The old man thanked Kaiyónanít, saying: "Young man, I am glad to learn about my son. I am happy to know at last where he is and that he is well buried. We asked you to sing, because we knew that you had killed our son. We wanted to know if you would tell the truth."

The old woman said: "We are glad that you have taken such good care of our son's body. We know now that he has gone to the land of spirits. You must be as a son to us, to take his place."

The following day the messengers brought an invitation from the old people to Kaiyónanít and his father to attend the feasting. They donned their best garments and went. The old couple welcomed and prepared food for them. The old man gave new clothes to Kaiyónanít and a squirrel-skin parka to the father. The two were laden with furs and food of all kinds. When ready to leave their hosts, Kaiyónanít gave much seal meat, rawhide, and seal-oil to the old couple, for inland people prize these things.

After the Messenger feast, Kaiyónanít hunted for his own parents and the old couple whose son he had killed. He was as a son to them, and lived in both villages alternately. By the aid of the old man's power, Kaiyónanít was able to ride his kaiak through the air. Previous to this time the two villages had not known of each other, but after the death of his son, the old man, through his supernatural power, learned about the village and the slayer. The old man always knew when a young man went to the land of spirits, the Land of Light.

STORY OF ULULÍNA

A young couple, who had a small son by the name of Ululína, lived in a large village far up the coast. They left the boy with his grandmother at a fishing camp farther inland, but returned at long intervals to see him. Ululína cried long and hard for his parents, and it taxed the grandmother's ability to stop the wailing. One ruse usually succeeded. She would call loudly, as if to the boy's mother: "Your son is crying for you! You should come here and put him on your back!"¹

Ululína would then cease crying and watch for his mother.

One night a woman, face concealed and wearing a beautiful, decorated parka, entered. Without a word she cleaned the house until it smelled fresh, and cooked a good meal. Then she said to the grandmother: "The boy's mother has sent for him. I shall carry Ululína to her."

Shortly afterward the parents came for Ululína and were dismayed to find him gone. The grandmother wailed: "A woman dressed in a fine parka took him away. She said that you had sent for him. I could not see her face."

The parents searched every house in the camp. They wandered up and down the coast all winter searching for Ululína. Such was their anxiety that they did not even stop to make new clothing and boats, but traded for them when necessary at whatsoever village they chanced to be stopping. In the spring they decided to extend their search into the mountains behind their own village. While on the trail they saw, off to one side, what appeared to be a crow. They thought, "Perhaps that crow is devouring our boy."

As they approached, they soon saw that the supposed crow was their son. He spied them, and called: "Inside this cave is a man with bow and arrows. His wife wears a decorated parka."

The parents perceived the opening to a cave behind the boy, and a stout line tied about his waist leading into it. Ululína recognized his parents and struggled to run to them, but the

¹ Babies and other young children are carried on the mother's back under her parka, which holds the child safely in place. A belt prevents it from falling.



From Copyright Photographs 1898 by O. R. Davis

THE UMIK, KOTZEBUE

line held him back. The parents stood puzzled. They knew that the people were Bears and the cave their den. The father thought to go above the entrance, lower a line, and pull Ululína to him. The father cautiously crept to his son and cut the rope leading into the cave, while the mother pulled the boy up to her. Mother and son began to run home. The father remained there, pretending to be Ululína by moving about and now and then jerking on the rope so that the Bears would be deceived.

Before long, the spirit-animals discovered the man and gave chase to him. He ran away from the village to lead a false trail so that his wife and son might have more time to regain the village. The father once stopped and shot an arrow at the male Bear, but he turned the missile aside by his supernatural power. When he thought that wife and son were safe, he easily outdistanced the lumbering Bears and returned home. The parents carefully trained Ululína themselves after that, and also kept the grandmother with them.

When a young man, Ululína one fall disappeared. His parents knew that he had gone back to the Bears, but they were afraid to search for him. He returned in the springtime. For four years Ululína spent the time from the season of feasts and dances in the men's house until spring, with the Bears, returning to his parents for the warm season.

All the people knew now that Ululína had a great power. They regarded him with awe and carried out his advice and orders. But because he was not cruel, he won great respect. He brought home much game and gave it to the people. One winter the Bears came to the dance in the men's house and proclaimed: "Ululína has a great power. He will always be a great hunter and provide for the village if he uses his powers as we have taught them."

THE TRADER

A woman was so occupied with her new-born child that she could not accompany her husband to the nightly winter dances in the men's house, although she sometimes stood by her own door to listen to the singing as it was wafted by the wind. One night, while sitting alone with her child, she was surprised to see a strange man appear suddenly through the doorway. His clothes were rich, but his face was black from exposure, hunger, and thirst, and his body was thin. He signed for water, and drank a bucketful without stopping. He gulped a huge quantity of meat. Now that his throat was clear, speech flowed easily. The stranger presented the woman with a large bead set on a string of beads in return for the hospitality. He said that he had been storm-blown from Siberia and had landed at this village, but he was so ashamed of his appearance that he kept hidden, living in a grave-box. The woman repaired his boots, which were in tatters from ice cuts, and gave him small pokes of meat, oil, and water. She offered to make two more pairs of boots which would last until he could return home.

She said nothing to her husband of the stranger. That one returned the second night for more provisions, and for the first pair of boots, which were finished. His body had filled out somewhat, and his face seemed less pinched and blackened. He watched her sewing, and then went back to his place of concealment without saying a word.

On the third night the village held a feast and dance for a recent arrival, which the husband attended, while his wife remained at home. She stood by her doorway for a while, listening to the singing from the men's house, then went inside to finish the second pair of boots. The Siberian soon entered, and said, as he took the new boots: "I give you thanks for your aid. I am well and strong once more. Next summer you and your husband must make your camp on that point of land across from this village. I shall be with the Siberian boats which will visit there. I shall bring gifts for you and your husband."

As he left, the woman gave him much meat, berries, oil, and water. When her husband returned after the dance, she showed him the beads and told of the Siberian. He was vexed, and exclaimed: "Why did you not let me know? I should have given him all new clothes!" "His clothes were very good, all but the boots. I fed him until he was well, and sent him away with plenty of provisions," rejoined the wife.

The husband grumbled: "You should have told me. I should have given him many furs."

During the winter and spring, the husband obtained more sealskins and oil than he could use. When the ice was out, he re-covered his skin boat, and with his family and household belongings sailed for the point of land designated by the Siberian. There they fished all summer.

One day, when a fine on-shore wind was blowing, he made out sails approaching his camp. The Siberians, amongst whom the woman recognized the man she had aided, soon made a landing and were welcomed and feasted. Then the boats, containing much wolverene, furs of all kinds, tobacco, pots, and knives, were unloaded. That night the Siberian retold the story of the woman's kindness, and added: "I have brought wolverene and spotted deer fur as a gift to her, and tobacco for her husband for that aid. In thanks for the new boots, I shall offer some pots and knives. But for that help I should not be alive, and my parents, who were very glad that I returned, have also sent gifts."

Man and wife stowed away that which they had received; they and the Siberians traded for a long time. The Siberian gave the husband trade goods to use in the village, saying that he would return the following summer.

When the couple arrived at their village and attended the dances and games, they traded these goods for furs. At that time a knife was worth three white fox; a large pot, six fox-furs; and a roll of tobacco, one fox. This couple made fine clothes for themselves. In the following summer they returned to their camp, and later again met the Siberian with whom they traded furs for goods. The two men became partners and traded every year in this manner.

THE NOATAK

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

NEARLY a week's journey by skin boat up the swift, shallow Noatak river, which empties into the narrow strait connecting Hotham inlet with Kotzebue sound, is situated the winter village of the Noatak people. The little settlement nestles picturesquely in a grove of spruce on a high bluff overlooking the stream, which is wide at this point.

These villagers dwell in small log cabins, each containing a single room with bunks built against a side and rear wall. Light and ventilation are obtained through the usual smoke-hole covered with intestinal parchment. Stone and clay lamps and Swedish oil stoves serve both for cooking and for heating. Entrance to the room is gained through a small room, a shed, which is used for storing nets, snowshoes, sleds, and weapons. This storeroom serves the purpose also of a storm-door throughout the winter. Both room and shed are roofed with a covering of timber splits overlaid with earth and sod. Near the houses are circular dog corrals of slightly spaced spruce palings, and caches, either platforms or small sheds, erected on stilts.

It is said that the present village, with its log houses, is of comparatively recent origin; that in former days the main settlement, with dugout houses, was near some inland lakes. At that time many families lived alone in dwellings scattered along the river. The territory occupied by them formerly, as well as recently, lies between the coast and the Noatak river, which extends in a general northwardly direction, and to the south and east from the Noatak to a line about halfway between Noatak and Kobuk rivers. There the territory of the Kobuk people begins. The relations between the two are peaceful and friendly, though there have been wars in the past. When Kobuk and Noatak meet along this common ground, they often hunt together. In winter the Kobuk used to make journeys to the Noatak by dog-team to trade birch-bark and tobacco for caribou-

hides and furs or sealskins. A few of the more venturesome trapped fox and hunted caribou far to the northeast, even extending their journeys to the Meade River country south of Point Barrow, there trading with the local inhabitants for fox- and wolverene-furs, seal- and whale-oil, in return for tobacco and caribou-hides.

In midwinter some of the most courageous families undertake a truly remarkable journey overland from the Noatak river to the sea and down the coast to Sheshalik in order to arrive in season for the early seal-hunting. Not only is regular equipment for the trail carried, but the hunters haul their large and burdensome umiaks by means of dog-teams. The progress is necessarily slow, involving hunting for food as well as prodigious labor in moving their burdens. The difficulties of the trek are by no means lessened, in the crossing of a mountain range, by the intense cold and the winter storms.

In spring, while the ice is still breaking up, the hunters kill ducks along the river, for many varieties are migrating from the south at that time. Later, when the river is free of ice, the muskrat season begins, and hundreds of these small rodents furnish both food and furs for garments. Following this, the remainder of the Noatak move by skin boats, umiak and kaiak, down the river to its mouth, where they pitch their spring and summer camps on Sheshalik (Sisálík) peninsula across the strait from the Kotzebue settlement. Here they hunt beluga and seal, and set out fish-nets. In former times, when the village was farther inland, near the lakes, the people rarely came down the river. Then their chief means of support was the caribou, which furnished food, skins for clothing and for kaiak-covers, bone for knives, scrapers, spear-points, and arrow-points, horn for spoons, and sinew for thread. These products were traded for sealskins and seal-oil, as well as for blubber and oil of the whale.

As the people journey downstream, the hunters extend along each bank to shoot whatever caribou may be seen. At Sheshalik the hunters harpoon seal from kaiaks. These boats are not the deep-draft, broad-beamed, seaworthy craft such as are found farther south, but extremely narrow, shallow, skin boats designed for the smooth river waters and for muskrat-hunting on the reedy lagoons. Skill and dexterity are required in the management of these kaiaks, and even the best paddlers sometimes capsize, especially in the excitement of the hunt when they tend to dig the paddle too deep in the water. The double-bladed paddle serves also as a balancing pole. These craft, also used by the Selawik, Kobuk, and Kotzebue peoples, have thin, rakish lines. The forward deck inclines gradually from



From Copyright Photograph, 1922 by C. J. Davis

bow to manhole, thus affording some protection to the paddler from spray and waves.

Beluga are sometimes killed by spearing in deep water with the heavy flint-headed spear from skin boats, umiaks with a crew of from ten to fifteen, which then tow the body ashore; but the general custom, when one or more of the animals are seen, is to surround them on the seaward side with a line of kaiaks, and with noise and splashing drive them into shallow water near shore. They soon run aground, and in this helpless position are easily speared and killed. Women are not allowed to touch a carcass previous to cutting up. The successful hunter, or the one first spearing, places a piece of the skin on a pole which he sets up before the camp. Other beluga seeing this, it is believed, will know that the hunters properly treat the bodies, so that the beluga-spirits may return to the sea; hence they will allow themselves to be killed. This belief, and the harm resulting from failure to carry out the customary procedure, is illustrated in a Kobuk legend.¹ All the women help in the cutting up of the meat, whether or not their husbands had cast spears or made kills. During and after butchering no one may sleep for a day and a night, and before sleeping the pole with the skin must be taken down. Fishing with gill-nets and seines takes place during the summer.

Diomede and Cape Prince of Wales people visit the Noatak here during the summer, bringing walrus skins and meat, whale blubber and oil, to trade for the furs of inland animals. Walrus herds do not appear near Sheshalik. Near the close of summer the Noatak move across the strait to Kotzebue, where more trading, feasting, and story-telling take place. Then before winter sets in, skin boats and kaiaks are loaded with the summer's catch, household belongings, tents, women, children, and dogs, and the traders commence the journey back to the village. Along the lower reaches of the stream, progress is rapid, sails — latten, lug, and leg-of-mutton — are raised in a favorable breeze, and the boats, heavily laden as they are, skim along at good speed. But the greater portion of their progress is obtained by hard labor. The river is shallow, filled with gravel bars, and exceedingly swift. The vast, smooth, inclined plane of the terrain causes the stream to change course from year to year. Progress here is slow. The stream must be crossed often from bar to bar, accomplished by sail and paddle, and ground is lost in the transit. Along the bars and banks, dog-teams on long tow-lines driven by men, boys, and girls, who also pull on the line, drag the boat against the current.

¹ See pages 212-213.

The women remain in the boats and aid by steering, poling, and paddling. In the swiftest reaches, several dog-teams and the able-bodied of the group pull up the boats one by one. While the people travel together, it is by groups rather than as a whole, for some leave Kotzebue earlier than others. At night the groups camp on convenient gravel bars. The people are not daunted by this arduous labor, but laugh, joke, and make merry over any slight accident or mishap. Arrived at the village, they do not at once move into winter quarters, but camp on the shore below the bluffs, setting out fish-nets.

In former days many of the families, which had spent the summer in fishing along the river, at this season moved upstream as far as they could go by boat and kaiak. They then went overland to a lake to hunt caribou. Some hunted with bows; but when herds were sighted, it was customary to stampede them into the lake, driving the frightened animals between two long lines of people and killing them while in the water. Sometimes the herds were driven into the river or over steep bluffs. Those families coming up the river later, went to meet the hunters and help carry back the game, the last to arrive bringing dog-teams, because snow would then be on the ground. In return for the transportation, the hunters shared the meat. After the freeze-up, when herds were located, the hunters built circular enclosures or corrals of willow, with a wide entrance. On the opposite sides they set strong sinew snares in openings. The herd was driven slowly through the entrance, between two lines of people, and the caribou were caught in the snares while trying to break through. Those not snared were speared. The meat was then cut up and brought home by dog-team; or if the place seemed good for future winter hunting caches, circular willow frames, covered with moss and roofed with sod, were erected, and half of the meat was stored there for future use. Sometimes a hunter, or perhaps several hunters, would erect a dwelling and winter there, rounding up caribou whenever seen. At the present time, the necessity for caribou-hunting is past, because the village owns a reindeer herd which furnishes meat and skins.

During the winter, ptarmigan are caught in nets, stretched high so that the birds will fly into them. Snares and large meshed nets are set amongst willows for rabbits. The making of sinew nets, and more recently nets of cotton cord, for fish; the tanning of hides and making of clothing; and the manufacture of new kaiak-frames, weapons, and utensils, are occupations for the long winter nights. Pots were made of wood, the hollowed-out trunks of small trees; cooking was accomplished by raising water to boiling point with



From Longworth's Photographs, 1923 by E. S. Davis

heated stones. Another kind of pot was made of clay mixed with ptarmigan-feathers as a binder. The wet clay was first kneaded into a ball with the fingers, and then the feathers were mixed in. The mass was next rolled out and shaped inside a willow frame, but at this stage the prospective vessel was without a bottom. The clay cylinder was then set on edge around a small fire to dry and harden. Finally, the bottom of still wet clay was set in place and the whole thoroughly rubbed with seal-oil. After being soaked again in water, it was set in a fire to dry and bake.

MYTHOLOGY

ORIGIN OF THE MESSENGER FEAST¹

Sámik, a hunter, lived in the interior of Kaiyóruk, subsisting mainly on venison, using the fat for oil. Early one summer, at a time when caribou-fur was at its best, he found a herd at sunrise. As he stalked, crawling, a large Eagle snatched him up in the sky and flew toward the sea. Sámik thrust upward many times with his spear. With each thrust, blood spurted upon him, and soon the Eagle was dead. As they floated down, and it appeared as though they would fall into the sea, Sámik thought, "If we drop in the water, our bodies will be lost; but if we strike land, our bones will be found."

When the bird glided toward land, Sámik thought, "If we land near my village, some one will find our bones."

As they neared earth, Sámik knew that if the bird fell on top of him, he would be killed. Just as he pried open the great talons and swung to one side, bird and man landed heavily. When Sámik came to his senses, one cheek was in a pool of water. He arose, skinned the bird, and took it home. The hide, large as a walrus-skin, he spread, dried, and stored away in a wooden box. Each sunny day he aired the skin and smoothed the feathers. Sámik had a premonition that another Eagle might catch him, so he was very cautious; but as time went on and no Eagle appeared, he relaxed his watch. He was now more than ever successful in hunting.

Another time, stalking a herd, he was snatched suddenly into the sky. As he was about to spear, the huge Eagle begged: "Do not kill me! My parents have sent me for you, but I shall carry you back safely. Nothing will happen to you."

The bird flew so high that Sámik could see two large bodies of water. Then land disappeared, and they flew through a hole in the sky to another lighter, more beautiful land. Ahead was a large house. As they approached, the man was frightened to hear a loud, irregular pulsing, as of a huge drum. Eagle said: "Do not be frightened. That is the beating of my mother's heart. She is mourning for my brother."

They alighted on a cache, where were two eagle-skins. The bird took off his skin, and they went inside the house, where the aged parents sat. The father addressed Sámik: "I sent my younger son for you, because my wife is mourning for her dead son and her heart is getting worse. We saw how careful you were with the skin of our son whom you killed, and we are glad, but we could not get him back. You can return him by holding a dance. First make a drum to sound like my wife's heart. Then hold a dance for four days, and afterward burn the drum and our son's skin. Then you will have nothing to fear from us. The dance will be called *Níliga*."

On returning home, he began to follow instructions. He tried many ways to make a drum to sound like the old woman's heart; but none gave the right tone. One, a wooden bowl placed bottom-side up in a tub of water, was good; but because the water would freeze in winter, when the dance was to be held, he discarded the drum. Finally, he made a wooden box and

¹ Compare the Kotzebue legend of the Messenger feast, page 168.

headed it with a fox-skin. The skin was painted red and had a black border painted on it to represent the Sawtooth mountains. All summer the man gathered food and furs.

In the winter, Sámik invited the village to his home. In the rear of the room he hung the eagle-skin. Below it were seated the singers, and before them Sámik placed an old man to drum, giving him a horn beater. For three days, morning and evening, the dancers, wearing long mittens, headbands with feathers, and shaking horn rattles, danced. On the third evening, after a certain song, four dancers wearing walrus-heads went into the entranceway. Above the entrance Sámik had placed a board with four openings to represent wolf-holes. Because Sámik was a land hunter, all the things he used had to be in keeping with the land. The wolf dancers stuck heads through the holes, peered about slyly, then jumped into the room and danced.

On the fourth day Sámik gathered all the dance equipment he had used, including the eagle-skin, and burnt it behind his home. Afterward he became a mighty hunter. He told the people to keep up the dance in remembrance of him. The people did as he wished, later one village inviting another, until the present day. The dance is now the Messenger feast.

THE FOUR WOLF-SPIRITS

A wealthy man, a good hunter, mourned long for his lost wife. Each day he sat idle at home, lamenting and wailing. His wife had failed to return when she had taken a sled to bring home his game. In his search he had gone to all nearby villages, but there was no trace of her anywhere.

Close by lived a poor woman with her son who had often been taken care of and fed by the missing wife. Continually they talked in this strain, the son asking: "How are we to live, if the hunter's wife does not return? She has been the only one to feed us; without her we shall starve."

The old woman always answered: "I can not tell him where to find her, because I do not know where she is. We can not help him."

One day the old woman commanded her son, "Go to that hunter and bring him here!"

The youth went to the man's house, but was afraid to enter. Returning home, his mother scolded him for not obeying. When he went a second time, and entered, the man kept his face averted and said nothing. At the door the youth called, "My mother wants to see you!"

Out of curiosity the hunter came to the old woman. She expressed great pity for him, and offered help. She advised: "A good hunter like you must have some powerful talisman to bring home so much meat. Now make a walking-stick and fasten your charm on the end of it. Perhaps you will find your wife. Stand the stick upright at night behind your house. Next morning see if it is leaning. Go in the direction toward which it leans and you will find your wife."

The hunter made a walking-stick and tied on it a bag containing a hawk-skin. He talked in this wise to his power: "You are a bird. You may know where my wife went. You hawks are the fastest of birds, and travel far. You should know when my wife left and where she went."

In the morning, when he found the stick leaning toward inland mountains, he dressed for travel, made a pack, and set out. At sunset he built a snow-house and set up the stick behind it. To the power he said: "You know where my wife is and will direct me to her. We shall find her."

In the morning the walking-stick leaned a little more toward the interior. Many days the man walked, building a snow-house each evening, and each morning finding the walking-stick leaning closer to the ground. Finally he discovered it lying flat, and knew that he was near his destination. Late in the afternoon he saw a large house on the distant side of a hill. The thought came to him: "My wife must be there. If I only can see her, I shall be glad, even though I lose my life."

He placed his weapons in the entranceway and went inside. There were an old couple and his wife, who wept violently on seeing him. The old man spoke: "I used to tell my sons never to bother with other people. My sons always find what they go out for. If I lost my wife, I should seek her, even as you have done. That is why I always taught my sons not to touch other people's property. My sons are now hunting, but when they return, they will not kill you. They will let you take your wife away."



From Shipwreck, Chicago, 1928 by G. S. White

When the sons entered, the old man said: "This is my eldest son, Owérarok, a good hunter and fast runner. See! He has a long string of caribou-tongues on his shoulder. This other is my youngest son, Náhroaluk, almost as good a hunter, but he has not so many caribou-tongues."

After eating, the old man addressed his sons: "I always told you not to bother humans, because they are not all alike. Humans often have a supernatural power to help them in finding things." To the hunter he warned: "You may take this woman, for she does not belong to my sons; she is your wife. My sons regret to see her leave, because she is so industrious. But next year my sons will take her again. After you leave us in the morning, look back at us."

After man and wife had left, they glanced back and were astonished to see four Wolves standing by the house. After a long journey, staying each night at one of the snow-houses the hunter had built, they arrived home, and were happy all spring and summer. As winter approached, the hunter bethought himself of the old man's words. He knew the Wolves would return for his wife. As the time drew near, he worried and planned how to thwart them.

He called together all the people and medicine-men, great and weak, and one old man who by his powers could see and hear for a long distance. He stationed men with bows in the entranceway to shoot the Wolves when they came. Should they get past these, he had men lay snares around the entrance hole and stand by them. Inside were men with bows. His wife he concealed in the hollowed-out centre-post. They all remained in his house, eating his food and waiting for the Wolves. Some thought the Wolves would come from the sea; others, from the interior.

One night, when there was a full moon, and on the anniversary of the day when his wife had been stolen, the old man with far vision and hearing suddenly announced: "You medicine-men have sung for many nights, but I have not seen or heard anything. Now I see the Wolves leaving their home. They are coming this way. They are descending from the sky, for I can not hear their steps. Let two men go out, look at the moon, and see if any one is coming."

The two men were sent out, not once, but several times, and saw nothing. On the fourth watching they reported four Wolf people walking toward them, between moon and earth. The old man continued: "I can hear them plainly. They are nearer. Now they are very close. They are at the entrance. The Wolves have passed the bowmen, who are powerless to draw string. They are coming up the entrance hole."

The hunter ordered: "They have passed our guards. Let the snaremen and bowmen inside make ready."

The four Wolves, old couple and two sons, came through the hole. The men with snares and bows stared as if turned to stone. The Wolf persons called out their names and circled the room twice. Then the father pointed at the hollow centre-pole. The hunter's wife walked through it and joined the Wolves. All circled the room once, and went out. The men, suddenly released from their spell, rushed in pursuit. Outside they could see the four Wolf people and the woman going up into the sky. In despair and rage the hunter shot arrows, the people cast spears, and the bowmen released shafts, but all fell short. Neither the Wolves nor the woman were ever seen again.

SUN-MAN

During the summer seasons a family consisting of parents and daughter moved far upstream. The father instructed his daughter: "You must go out to pick berries every morning; but if you should ever find a baby while wandering, do not touch it."

After many days of picking, she was greatly surprised to hear wailing and crying, the sounds coming from beneath some berry-vines. Bending, she curiously peered under the vines and there saw an infant. Disobeying her father's instructions, she picked up the babe and played with it all day. Then she carried it home. Her father, very wroth, scolded: "You are too young to have a baby. I shall not provide for it. I shall not give any skins for its clothing."

The girl obtained furs from her mother and made an outfit of clothes. Throughout the summer she took care of the child and taught it to talk. But the infant cried continually when inside the house, except while in the girl's arms. One winter night, greatly disturbed and angered by the crying and shrieking, the man put the baby outside. The girl, going out when the family were asleep, comforted the child and promised it a sled-ride in the morning if it would be quiet.

While preparing to go out in the sled the next day, the girl chanced to look up and saw a

man and dog-team coming down from the sun. She ran inside and told her father. The whole family were so frightened that they remained huddled by the fire, not daring to go out. Soon they heard a noise by the entrance, and the Sun-man, young and well dressed, came in.

He first inquired of the girl concerning his son; then he thanked her for taking care of the baby, well pleased to see how fine and healthy it looked. He asked the girl to marry him. After two days with his new wife, he departed, saying that he would return the following year. When in a year's time Sun-man came back and told his father-in-law that he intended to take his wife and child to the sun, the father sullenly replied: "Take her if you like! She never would obey me!"

Early in the morning they left, going straight toward the sun. As they reached it, all was dark, but after passing through the entrance, the little group came into a light country. While the father and son went to drink from a pond, a poorly dressed woman came up to the waiting girl. She asked for the girl's parka, but was refused. After insistent begging, the young woman yielded and the two exchanged garments. The strange woman then took on the form and features of the girl, while the young woman herself shrunk gradually until she was very tiny. She turned into a louse.

The man returned, and they went away, he unaware of the exchange of women. His own wife cried out, but her voice was so small and weak as to be unheard. After travelling all day, the family reached the village. All the people were out to welcome them, because once before a Sun-man had brought home a beautiful wife from the earth, but after close scrutiny the people jeered and ridiculed this woman.

The man, angry at this unexpected reception, stamped into the house, followed by his family. In silence he ate, and as silently went to bed. Uninvited, the false wife crawled in beside him. The man became very much amazed at the tossing, turning, and restlessness of his supposed wife. His wife had never before acted in such a manner. When he seized her to make her quiet, she thrust her head under the furs, begging him not to touch or to look at her neck and back. The man knew that something strange had happened. He even offered to search her head for possible lice which might be annoying her, but she refused. In his anger, he accused her of smelling strongly; she answered that she had worked hard and had perspired.

Meanwhile his real wife, heartbroken, continued to live as a louse. Although very tiny, she noticed that caribou never stepped on her, but avoided her. One day in her misery she cast herself beneath the hoof of a caribou-bull. She burst with a loud pop! Then the girl stood up, human again but naked. She soon wove a grass parka and put up a willow house. With a sharp flint she skinned and cut up a dead caribou found near her house. Each morning she discovered a dead caribou near by. Thus meat was abundant, and the skins she fashioned into clothing for herself, husband, and boy. The girl planned to journey soon to find her family.

One day her husband, hunting far from home, spied a house which he had never seen before. Curiously he approached, and entered. He discovered a girl who looked identically like his wife. She exclaimed, "I have made these clothes for you, my husband, and the boy!" The man was astounded, but readily believed the story she related. He knew now that the other woman was an impostor.

They went to the village, where he seized the false wife, grasped her hair, and twisted her head around until he could see her neck and back. She was crawling with lice. He caused a huge fire to be built, and burned the false woman. After that time the villagers welcomed the girl and brought many gifts to her. Husband and wife often visited the parents on earth.

THE FISHERMAN

A man and wife who dwelled in a permanent fishing camp with several other families were overtaken by a long period of ill fortune. Because his hooks were always empty, though his neighbors obtained a good catch daily, he and his wife faced starvation. Thinking that there must be some reason for the continual failure, the man decided to go out at night, make a new hole in the ice, and meanwhile watch the old one.

When the moon was waning, the luckless fisherman saw two strangers approach the old hole and lower a bag in the water, one telling the other: "We had better not catch too many. It is a long pack home."

The man, curious to see what these strangers were doing at his fishing hole, clattered noisily



From the photograph of Noatak, 1928, by E. G. R. R. R.

THE SEAL HUNTER, NOATAK

toward them on his snowshoes. The two heard, and looked up. One exclaimed angrily, "I shall swallow this curious one!"

"I shall eat this rash one!" growled his companion.

Disregarding these threats, the man still kept on, but when he reached the hole the strangers suddenly vanished. Surprised, he looked about. He was alone, save for a bag of fish lying by the hole. Then he quickly packed up and started toward his home. His wife, waiting as usual by the trail through the willows, was greatly surprised to see the bag of fish. It had been long since her husband had brought home a catch. He lied, "With my own hands have I caught them, but we must not eat frozen fish until tomorrow, because something might happen."

In those days it was forbidden to consume fish on the day they were caught. But the couple were so starved that they were unable to resist the temptation, so they feasted well and long that same night. Every night the fisherman was successful in obtaining a large catch at the old hole.

Later, when the days became longer, the man found a snow-house on one of his trips up the river. It was empty save for some fish-hooks and frozen fish, which he took home with him. On his way, finding the burden too great, he flung the fish into open water. In front of his house was a strange sled, and two pairs of snowshoes by the door. Before going inside, he carried away and hid the two ptarmigan which he saw on the sled. His visitors were an old man and woman. After eating, these two refused fish and accepted only meat. They all sat up late, telling stories. When all were asleep, the man arose and hung his fish-hooks outside the door. He whispered to his wife: "Let these strangers arise first in the morning. We shall remain in bed."

The strangers went out in the morning, departing without a word, while the man and his wife slept. They were never seen again.

The wife, going outside, called back, "Why, there are fish-hooks here that I have never seen before!"

"Those are my new hooks which I hung up last night."

"There are fresh fish on them."

The man knew that his visitors had been Fish-people. They had refused to eat fish, taking only meat. At night, after a day's hunt, the man again hung up his hooks. Again he told his wife to stay in bed late in the morning. They heard, as they lay there, the two sons of their neighbor go out hunting. All that day and the next night the two young men remained away. On the following morning, the anxious mother, going outside to watch for her boys, in dismay and sorrow saw the two bodies hanging from the fish-hooks of their neighbor. He pretended pity and surprise: "How could that happen? How could those bodies get on my hooks?"

But he thought to himself: "Now I am indeed a medicine-man. I shall try my powers. I shall bring back to life those ptarmigan which I took from the sled and hid."

The first came to life at his bidding. The man instructed it, "You must come here every summer."

As it flew away, he reanimated the second, and commanded, "You must return here every winter."

Since that time there have been ptarmigan on the Noatak river summer and winter.

THE SERPENT KILLER

Long ago, when the people were moving to the coast one winter for the seal-hunt, a young man with a dog-team came to them. Though he soon knew every one in the village, and was well liked, he never revealed whence he had come. This man married a girl who had many brothers. The man noticed that whenever a son went hunting with the father, he was never seen again. Son after son vanished, nor did the father ever explain what had become of them. When all the sons had gone, other youths went hunting, and they too were never seen again. The young man also wished to hunt with his father-in-law, but his wife, fearful of what might happen, always entreated him to stay home.

At last, weary of his yearning for hunting, she gave consent and provided clothing, meat, oil, and berries for his journey. He went far along the coast, across a valley and a mountain range, and came at last to a large house with two caches. After tying up the dogs and hiding his sled, he approached the house, walking-stick in hand. Though the young man purposely

made much noise, no one came out to greet him, so he began to examine the caches. In one was a great store of seal and beluga meat; the other contained human bodies. Then he passed into the house entrance, where seal meat was stacked on one side and human bodies on the other. The interior was empty, save for a human head which wore labrets. This severed head was alive, and with blinking eyes it watched his movements.

Alarmed, the young man rushed out and prepared to continue his journey. Just then a huge man with two dogs drove up and unharnessed. The young man stopped and watched. The huge man's attention was caught by the actions of his dogs, smelling and sniffing the young man's tracks about the door. The young man hummed a low tune, which put the dogs to sleep. Then, suspicion allayed, the huge man passed inside the house.

The young man made weapons ready to fight. In reconnoitring, he went over the roof and ripped off the smoke-hole cover. A huge hand, which he nimbly dodged, snatched at him. Peering below, he saw his enemy going down the entranceway. As the huge man came out, the youth shot several arrows, scoring each time. With grunts of pain, his adversary returned inside. The youth shot arrow after arrow into his defenseless enemy from the smoke-hole, until the body lay quivering on the floor.

He bathed in urine, changed clothes, and travelled on. In the distance a village loomed. Nearing it, he spied the young men playing kickball. He instructed his dogs not to bite any one of the village, because it might result in punishment. When the people caught sight of him, they rushed up, four brothers in the lead, in welcome. After an evening of story-telling, the headman sent for the stranger. His hosts begged him to let them accompany him and use their spirit-powers, lest evil befall; but he demurred and went alone.

The headman motioned him to a place near the entrance, and the assemblage of people remained quiet until he had eaten. Then an old man questioned him concerning his journey, and he told the entire tale. All became greatly excited at the news of the death of the huge man; and they were very much pleased, because the giant had taken many men from the village. The old man, the questioner, was especially happy that the head with the labrets was still alive; the head was his son.

The young man, welcomed by all, remained with the four youths who had first met him, and he married their sister. After a long period, he began to think of his other wife and to make excuses to leave the village; but this wife refused to let him go. Finally, tired of his persistence, when the young man asked if there were other villages persecuted as this one had been, she yielded and told of one in which dwelled a man-eating serpent tended by four youths. He made preparations for departure, and instructed her: "When I am about to return, I shall appear as a white fox. You must not allow your brothers or the villagers to trap white fox while I am gone. Here are a pair of gloves for you to wear when I return."

Although the other village was but a day's journey away, the man set out early in the morning. From a short distance, hidden behind willows, he watched. He saw many houses, and a playground fenced off with skins. About dusk, all the people gave food to four youths, who carried these offerings to the serpent's home. Afterward the villagers went to the playground, lighted lamps, and began to play games.

The young man stealthily entered the village, climbed to the smoke-hole of the huge, square house, and peeped in. There he saw a great serpent, with scales of flint, coiled about the room. The reptile breathed through holes in its jaws, and had two long, quivering, far-reaching whiskers or tentacles. When these began to creep toward the young man, he picked up his walking-stick and hummed a song. Immediately the serpent fell asleep. Then the young man entered the house and thrust a spear through the serpent's nostrils, killing it. After the coils ceased their death throes, he repaired to the playground and slept. Early in the morning he was awakened by shouting, by the clamor of many voices:

"Which of those four youths was watching the serpent?"

"It is dead!"

"Some one has killed it!"

"The serpent's mother will be here soon, and she will smell out the killer!"

The young man wondered why his wife had not told him of the serpent's mother. Could it be that she wanted him killed?

Soon a great whirring, rushing sound was heard, and the serpent mother weaved into the village. She encircled the playground, breaking down the skin fence to get inside. Within



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NOATAK MAN

the circumference of her coils were all the people. She searched out each villager in turn with her long whiskers, only to find him guiltless and to move to the next. When she came to the young man, she knew that he had killed her son. Her long tentacles crept toward him, but he jumped over them. As he ran around the playground, she sought to catch him, but his nimbleness enabled him to escape. When nearly exhausted, he grabbed a man and hurled him at the serpent. She ate the body ravenously. To gain breath, the young man threw all the assembled villagers one after the other at the serpent, until he alone was left. Now completely worn out and unable to dodge the tentacles or to leap the coils, he suddenly dived down her throat, barely avoiding the fangs. In the stomach he tried to cut his way out, but the flinty skin all but broke his knife. The stabbing, however, killed the serpent. The young man turned into a bug and crawled out the lifeless throat. Once outside, and in his own form, he began to clean himself with snow, and rubbed so hard that the skin turned white and his form became that of a white fox. He started back to his second wife.

His brothers-in-law had disregarded their sister's request and had set out fox-traps. This the young man soon found out, but avoided them by becoming once more a bug and crawling home. There he crawled into the gloves that he had given his wife and which she kept in a sled.

During the night the wife dreamed of gloves, and in the morning went to the sled. The gloves were safe, but she found the bug, which she merely tossed to one side. Three nights the same dream returned, and each morning she went to the gloves and saw the bug, which seemed to be greatly increasing in size. The thought came to her that her husband was about to return, so she carefully cleaned the house and prepared food. On the fourth morning she went to the sled and drew on the gloves. Then the large bug took on human form and was her husband. He lived the rest of his life in that village, never returning to his first wife.

THE GIANT MOUSE

Three brothers, Shókòk, Yáganúk, and Kúvrúvúk, lived with their mother in a cave north of Point Hope. The two younger brothers were great whale-hunters, but they compelled Shókòk to remain at home because he was too big and powerful to get in a boat. His great strength was very helpful in landing the boat against the swift current or in pulling whale carcasses on shore, a feat which he could perform easily with one hand.

Because the brothers quarrelled so fiercely amongst themselves, the mother decided to separate them. Shókòk she kept at home; Yáganúk was sent down the Noatak river to kill sea-monsters. These animals often travelled far inland to seize and eat people. One of them, shaped like a boat and so colored as to be almost invisible, used to lie inert on the shore. When a person stepped inadvertently on it, the monster with one quick snap of his jaws would swallow the luckless one.

Kúvrúvúk was sent forth up the river to Big lake, there to destroy monster serpents and the Giant Mouse. This ferocious beast used to lie in wait along the riverbank and snatch one person from each boat whenever it passed by. Kúvrúvúk killed many of the monster serpents, but was unable to cope with the Giant Mouse alone; so he sent for his brother Yáganúk, whose hands and feet were webbed and who was famed as a swimmer.

The two, one swimming and the other paddling his kaiak, went up the river past the lair of the Giant Mouse. The monster, spying them, rushed into the water with a great splash, eager to seize his prey. Yáganúk dived while Kúvrúvúk paddled with all speed toward the opposite shore, going so fast that his kaiak hurdled the bank and came to rest some distance inland.

Kúvrúvúk rushed back with his spear. He saw a great flurry and thrashing in the water. Spray dashed high, and mud from the bottom spouted up in the furious struggle between the Giant Mouse and Yáganúk. He had attacked the monster from the underside. Kúvrúvúk, watching his opportunity, succeeded in driving the spear through the monster's neck, killing it instantly.

Yáganúk then went back downstream to wage war against sea-monsters, while Kúvrúvúk continued to dwell with the Big Lake people, whom he taught to hunt caribou by driving the animals down a lane of willow withes into the lake and there spearing them from kaiaks. Kúvrúvúk, strong and brave, often played kickball against the entire village. His arrows were so long that he hung whole caribou carcasses on them to dry. The frame of his sled was com-

posed of sticks as large as a man's arm. Once Kúvrüvk lifted an island from the middle of the lake and set it on the mainland because it was in his pathway.

Kúvrüvk took the head of the Giant Mouse, as big as that of a beluga, set it on a pole, and stuck the pole on top of a bluff. [The skull, lower-jaw missing and the rest much gnawed by animals, is said to be still there on the bluff. The informant, whose father had seen it, relates that the skull is about two feet long and tapers gradually from a width of six inches at the eyes to almost a point at the nasal extremity. Owing to this mole-like head, it was called a "Giant Mouse." Other villagers claim that their fathers had also seen the skull. The tale is current and well known in the Noatak village.]

STORY OF UGÚKNĪK

In a large village, far up the Noatak river, it was the rule that no one should go either upstream or down unless permitted by the medicine-man, and then only to hunt caribou. When one man failed to return from a hunt, the medicine-man sent some one in search; this one, too, remained absent. One by one the men departed and were never seen again, until but one man was left in the village. His wife refused to let him leave.

The wife of this man bore children, who also were lost when they reached manhood. One boy, whom the mother called Ugúknĭk, was given a red-hot stone, a skin ball, and a feather, all of which he swallowed, as his supernatural power. The father of Ugúknĭk thought: "When my son grows up, he will be sent away like the other men and never be seen again. He will be lost to me like my other sons who never returned. I had better kill him myself now."

The father first tried to spear his son, then shot at him with arrows; but although still a small boy, Ugúknĭk skilfully dodged all missiles. Another time the father dug a pit in the entranceway and lined the bottom with sharpened stakes; but Ugúknĭk discovered the trap set for him, and avoided death by placing a log over the sharp points and safely walking across. Later the father attempted to kill his son, while sleeping, by dropping a stone on his head. Although deep in slumber, Ugúknĭk moved his head to one side, barely in time. When the father realized his inability to kill, he gave up and instead began to teach and train his son to become a good hunter.

One day Ugúknĭk, now a sturdy youth, found two strange arrows in the house. His father, being questioned, reluctantly told him that the arrows had belonged to one of his brothers, who, like most of the men, had gone out, never to return. Ugúknĭk then decided to solve the mystery. At his request, his father made him a *kaiak* with a cover of caribou-skin. Ugúknĭk tested it. He saw some quail flying low, and paddled hard to attain their speed; but they soon passed him. He knew that this *kaiak* would never do; it was too slow, and the seams had been sewn with women's hair. With a second *kaiak*, Ugúknĭk easily outsped ducks, and was satisfied. After killing enough caribou to last his parents several seasons, he took food and weapons, and set out upstream to search for his brothers and the lost men of the village. On the way he killed every living thing within range of his weapons, even mice and small birds.

Ugúknĭk went through a lake and to the headwaters of the river. There, one night, he spied a fire a short distance inland. After hiding his boat, he saw many other *kaiaks* on the shore, old and rotten, weatherbeaten and about to fall to pieces. When he reached the fire, he found only an old woman and her daughter, who offered him food. After the old woman had gone to bed, Ugúknĭk crawled in beside the girl. To deceive the old woman if she came over to her daughter, and because he was sleeping on the side nearer the mother, Ugúknĭk cut off some of the girl's braids and fastened them on his own head.

During the night, the old woman reached over, felt the braids on Ugúknĭk, and thought he was her daughter. She touched the other body, and said, "This reckless one, like those other young men, also has made himself my son-in-law, but I shall kill him now." With one quick slash she cut off the head of her daughter and then went back to bed.

In the morning the old woman and Ugúknĭk awoke at the same time. In a rage at her mistake, which she only now discovered, she flung a knife at Ugúknĭk. It missed, and quivered in the wall. Calling her harsh names, he accused her of the murder of his fellow villagers. Then he snatched the knife and threw it, cutting off an arm. With her remaining hand she hurled the blade again at Ugúknĭk. He dodged, and threw it back, this time severing the other arm. He now taunted her, and ridiculed her helplessness, until in a great rage she grasped the



From Copyright Photograph 1928 by E. P. Curtis

NOATAK CHILD

knife between her teeth and cast it. Again Ugúkník dodged, and in his turn and from his teeth he threw the knife. This time it cut off the woman's head. Ugúkník, having avenged his village, returned home.

The next summer he again set out in his kajak, this time downstream, because the current was very swift. On his way he speared some animal, which was a seal, and though he did not know what it was, he cut off the head and took it with him.

Seeing smoke inland, Ugúkník hauled up his kajak and went along the trail. He found a huge two-roomed house, and was welcomed by an old couple and their sons and daughters. After the evening meal, Ugúkník was directed to sleep with one of the daughters. He took the seal-head to bed with him.

During the night, the seal-head suddenly began to bite and eat the girl, who screamed loudly. Ugúkník, in a panic, jumped up and ran out, hotly pursued by four brothers of the girl. He turned, put an arrow in his mouth, then shot and killed one of the men. He ran around a bend and into a large village. The people were up and armed. They shot arrows at Ugúkník, but he dodged all of them. When the people surrounded him, he leaped over the human chain and fled toward his kajak. His pursuers became polar bears, and pressed hard on his heels, but he succeeded in reaching his boat and drawing out of range. Then Ugúkník paddled homeward.

THE KOBUK MASSACRE

Because the Kobuk often lay in wait and shot down the Noatak people as they travelled up the river, the Noatak sailed in groups to resist attack. A large hunting party once landed at Big lake and prepared to camp. A scout, famed for his farsightedness, went ahead. He saw a Kobuk creeping through the willows, but the others, unable to locate the man, laughed at him and made camp. In the morning the men left to round up caribou, leaving the women behind. They encountered some Point Hope hunters and killed them, because too many people would scare away game.

After the hunt, the men sent two messengers to their women. These found many of the women dead and lashed together with rawhide, and others were missing. One followed the trail of the slayers, whom they knew to be Kobuk, while the other ran swiftly to inform the hunters.

A pursuit was organized, and several nights later the lone scout met the party and informed them that their enemy was near by, camped in a thicket. Soon two Noatak women prisoners came out to gather wood. These the headman met and instructed to build a large fire, but to run when the fighting commenced.

While the enemy Kobuk were drying clothing about the large fire, the Noatak poured a cloud of arrows into their midst and then rushed on them. They succeeded in killing all but one man, whom they took prisoner.

The Noatak fastened a thong from their prisoner's feet to his labret holes and forced him to walk. His many stumbles tore the skin down to his jawbone. Thus they sported themselves in revenge. Wearying, the Noatak told the prisoner that if he could climb a small bluff, still tied in that manner, they would give him his freedom. The Kobuk succeeded in the climb, though he tore the thong through his flesh in the attempt. Then the Noatak killed him.

WARFARE WITH THE KOBUK

Near the headwaters of Noatak river was a village called "Old Tongue." Here lived a woman with her stepson, though they usually went over on Kobuk river for the winter, and in the spring hunted caribou. Then they returned with the meat to the village. When in their winter quarters, the stepmother continually warned the youth to hide his bow every night outside, and never to leave it hanging on a post with his snowshoes.

One winter night the youth was awakened by a sharp pinch in the side. He thought first that his stepmother had thus awakened him, but then he smelled an odor of strangers. He saw a person, a Kobuk, standing by his bed. Putting on his parka, he said aloud and to himself, "I must go out and urinate."

The stranger answered, "You should have done that before you went to bed."

In the entranceway the youth saw many Kobuk people. Guilefully, he spoke in the Kobuk language, saying, "I am going outside to urinate," and passed unmolested outside. He quickly

snatched his bow from its hiding-place, and called for the strangers to come out and fight. As they left the entranceway at his cry, he shot them one by one. Then, unmindful of his stepmother, he ran hard for the Noatak village. Looking back, the youth saw many Kobuk people pursuing, and two warriors attempting to intercept. To avoid capture, he hid under a snowbank, and when the two came near, he shot them both. Then he fled to his village to warn them of the enemy.

All made ready to repel an attack, and advanced to meet the enemy. The Noatak people thought the Kobuk too strong to be attacked, so they returned to their own village. The Kobuk also thought the Noatak too numerous, and went back to their village.

The stepmother, wrathful at having been left behind, crept to the Noatak village and in revenge stabbed two villagers with her flint knife.

THE KOBUK

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

THE Kobuk villages of former times lay scattered along Kobuk river, while their actual hunting territory included a much vaster range, as is the case with other river people herein described. Their territory extended, on the river proper, to points on each side midway between the Noatak and Kobuk, and Selawik and Kobuk rivers, respectively. None of the three river peoples, it is claimed, hunted farther southward than Kuyuguk river. The Kobuk, as did others, also extended their hunting along the Endicott mountain range and the Arctic flats thereunto.

In the winter, moose and caribou were hunted, the usual method being for large numbers of people to stampede the animals into deep snow, where they were easily killed with arrows and knives. The skins of moose, it is said, were not used. The arrows used had willow shafts tipped with caribou-horn or flint; the knives were of flint.

Rabbit and ptarmigan, both snared in winter, were staple foods; but other animals furnished skins for home use and for trade, and the meat also was eaten. Skunk and wolverene were caught in dead-falls; the arctic hare, porcupine, and weasel were snared; muskrats were speared or shot in the spring from canoes or kaiaks.

The many varieties of ducks, geese, and loons, in season, were caught chiefly with snares of sinew set on the mud flats when the birds were not nesting, and at other times near the nests. Another method was to catch the birds between the prongs of spears, or with arrows to which long sinew lines were fastened. Also, when water-fowl were moulting and could not fly, they were driven into the shallows and clubbed by men in canoes of bark sewn with roots.

While some of the fishing was done with hand-lines of willow with willow floats and horn sinkers, and today many fish-traps are used (the art of which was taught the Kobuk by people from Unalakleet), most fishing was by means of seines. Some of these were as large as

a hundred feet long and three feet deep. With careful use the life of the net would be about three years. One end was made fast to the shore, while the other was taken out in the stream and then hauled back with hand-lines until the whole net, with its flopping burden, was on shore. The construction was of willow, of which long strips were cut with flint knives from the inner part of the bark. These were moistened in the mouth and twisted into lines in the manner that sinew is twisted. The lines were then ready to be woven into nets. At the present time all the nets are of cord obtained from the trading posts. The fish commonly caught were pickerel, salmon, smelt, trout, whitefish, and a few cod and flounder.

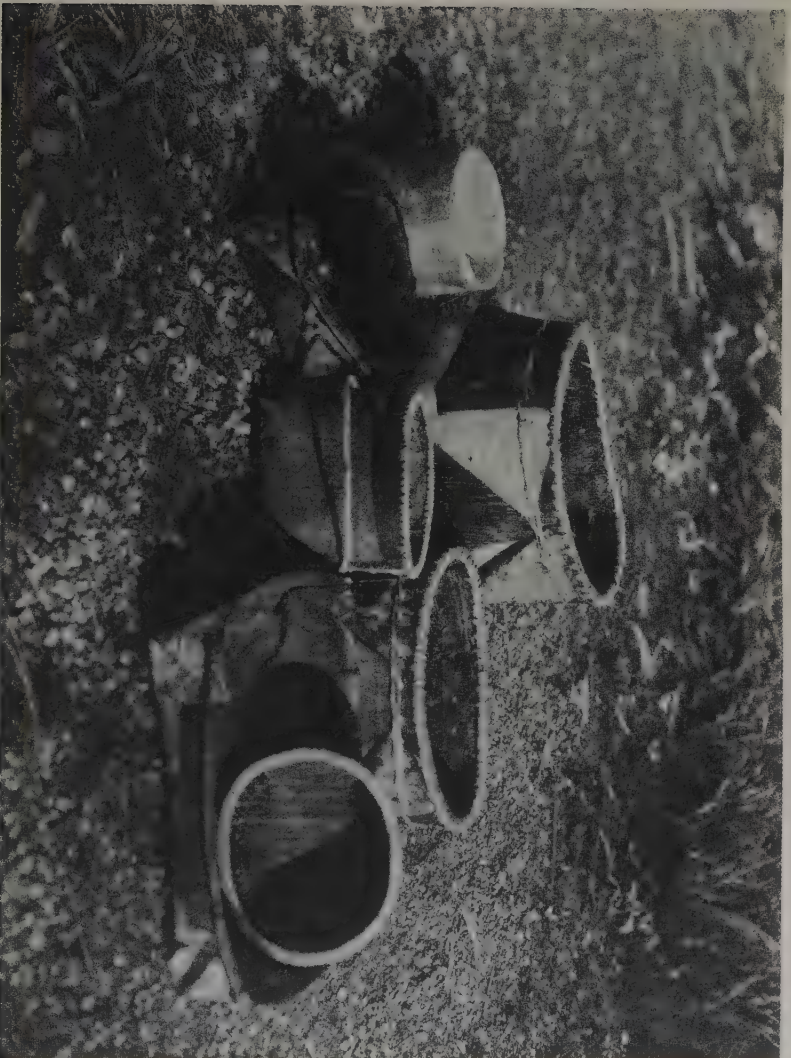
The cooking of meat and fish, whether fresh or dried, was generally by boiling in birch-bark vessels, which the Kobuk are adept at making, or in wooden containers. The water is brought to a boil by dropping in hot stones. The informants claim that in ancient times bear stomachs, supported by sticks and filled with water, served as cooking-pots.

In the summer season the Alaskan potato, blackberries, blueberries, cranberries, and salmonberries, all of which grow in profusion in that flat country, are gathered in great number. The excess is laid away, for later use, in bark baskets or sealskin pokes obtained from the coast peoples. In winter a mixture of berries, dried fish, birds' eggs, and seal-oil is greatly relished. The potatoes, crushed and stored away in pokes, are eaten in much the same manner as butter is used by white people.

Meat, fish, and berries are stored away in caches, which are erected wherever convenient to the hunter and fisherman. Many of these are found built at random along the river. They are merely platforms supported by poles, on which the food is placed and overlaid with moss and wood, the whole weighted down with stones. Food soon to be used might be kept in a frozen condition outside the houses.

In building the winter house, a hole about three feet deep and fourteen feet square was first dug. Posts, about six feet high, were planted at each corner and connected by poles. Willow hoops, ends thrust in the ground, encompassed the framework, over which were laid grass mats woven by women. The structure was then covered with earth and sod. A smoke-hole, covered with a grass mat, was left in the roof. The entranceway was a long tunnel, of which the door was covered with a skin. The usual sleeping bench was built against the inner walls at a height of about two feet above floor-level.

In the summer fishing camps the Kobuk used to erect square



From Copyright Photograph 1925 by E. P. Davis

habitations with a framework of willow withes covered with bark. The seams were sewn with roots and were well pitched. The smoke-hole in the roof was covered with a grass mat. Such a structure could house two families. Lone hunters sometimes built a small, circular shelter, with a frame of willow hoops, the whole covered with moss.

Caribou- and muskrat-skins were commonly used for making clothing in former days. Clothes for the dance or for ceremonial wear were ornamented with, or made of, beaver, fox, and wolverene. The leg of the waterproof boot was the seamless skin of moose- or caribou-leg stretched while raw; the sole was of muskrat-skin.

Soon after birth, a name of a relative, a friend, or perhaps one of the parents, is conferred on the child. It is believed that, if the mother continually carries the child on her back throughout the day until of an age at least when it can walk, the child will excel in everything it undertakes, especially in hunting, if it be a male.

As soon as a youth has caught his first animal or bird, a feast is given to his friends, and he himself receives clothing of the finest skins which his parents possess. When the youth has brought in his first fox, a feast is held for the entire village. The first wolf or wolverene necessitates a still larger feast, to include all people within easy access. On these occasions the meat of the kill is divided equally among those present. The meat may be given to some medicine-man, who in turn divides it among those who for any reason at all are not able to hunt for themselves. At the feasts, any medicine-men present offer food to their spirit-powers. The skins of the first catches are presented to a medicine-man. When a youth is old enough to take care of himself, his game is always distributed in the village, as is the case when maidens gather berries. The purpose of this practice is to show, first, that the parents are not greedy and need not rely on their children for food; second, that the youth, or maiden, is able to take care of himself or herself; and by this distribution the aged and helpless are assured of provisions. If they fail to follow these customs, the medicine-men will cause them to be unsuccessful in hunting or in berry-gathering.

Marriage is effected in two ways. A mother arranges the betrothal of a marriageable daughter with the parents of some suitable young man, preferably a good hunter and provider. Again, the young couple may marry through mutual choice. When all is satisfactory, the parents of the young woman hold a feast for both families, after which the couple live with the girl's parents. The young man then must provide meat and skins for the family. Divorce is merely a

separation by mutual consent. In event of adultery, the innocent one leaves the other, taking the household belongings.

As soon as death occurs, the body is removed outside at once, just as it is. It is not allowed to remain in the house. A close relative then pays some medicine-man to conduct the interment. The body is dressed in its best finery, and a knife, a man's or a woman's according to the sex of the deceased — and in the latter case needles and a piece of hide are also included — is laid by the side. The corpse is then lashed tightly in a skin and carried to a selected spot, where it is laid on the ground, head to the east, with a sod under the head. The personal belongings of the deceased are placed around and close to the body for the use of the spirit. The corpse is next covered with a skin and overlaid with sod, packed especially tight along the sides. A conical framework of poles, covered with sod, is erected, and two long cross-poles are set up over the whole to serve as a marker and to show that the burial has been conducted properly. Those who have handled the body must discard and burn their clothing. These, and other relatives and friends, must perform no work for a period of four days. At the end of this time a spear of green willow is cast toward the sun, that the spirit, which has remained in the village, may depart and never return. During the time of mourning, the medicine-man who conducted the rites stays away from the village, inducing his spirit-powers to cause the spirit of the deceased to leave. If all has not been carried out properly, the spirit may remain in the village and do mischief. After a year has passed, the relative who paid the medicine-man for officiating, gives a feast at which he invokes his own supernatural power by throwing two pieces of meat to the ground, along with a hair from each of his parkas. When a child or some other person without supernatural power dies, the body is left within the house, which is then abandoned. It is believed that some spirits fly toward the sunrise, but that most go somewhere in the earth.

The supernatural powers of medicine-men were obtained chiefly through inheritance. When aged, medicine-men taught the use of their supernatural powers to sons or other relatives, or to friends; or the beneficiary might become a medicine-man after the death of his benefactor without previous instruction, as in the instance where an old medicine-man instructed his son to blacken his face with charcoal after he had died, in order that the son should recognize his father's spirit. Furthermore, the son was instructed to charcoal his own face that his father's spirit might recognize him. The son was

to eat a piece of the flesh of his father, and by this means obtain the father's supernatural power. Then when the son in his turn was about to die, he should pass on the power in a similar manner.

Again, whenever a person is receiving instructions in the use of supernatural power, he must obey the commands of the spirit, as is the case also after such power has been obtained. Disobedience would result in insanity or death, as is illustrated in the following tale:

It was the custom of those about to become medicine-men to absent themselves from the village until they had received complete instructions in making use of their supernatural power. The son of an aged couple disappeared for two years, to the great bewilderment of his family, who believed him lost or drowned. Meanwhile he was receiving his instructions on the top of a mountain, where his spirit-power fed him. One day the son returned, and was acclaimed with great joy by his family. In celebration, his mother prepared a feast, but the son refused all food. He requested his parents to refrain from sewing and story-telling for a period of four days. The mother, at the end of two days, was saddened to see the hungry appearance of her son, and pleaded so hard that he should eat that he took a few mouthfuls of fish to appease her. His mother also sewed before the four days expired. The son then asked his father to bring in a few heads of snowbirds, because he wished to eat some. As soon as the son had finished eating, he declared: "During the time I was away, I was on top of a high mountain receiving supernatural powers given me by my cousin's father. There I was fed and instructed by a Snowbird. It was he who allowed me to come home, and he who forbade my eating for four days, and sewing or story-telling within that time. I have disobeyed those commands. Now I must leave the village. You, my parents, will never see me. I shall become insane."

With these words he rushed from the house. For a long time afterward many villagers heard, but never saw, this young man singing and wailing whenever they made trips to the mountain. Then, at last, a fisherman found the body of the young man frozen upright in the ice of a lake, where he had apparently broken through. The body was recognized by the headband it wore.

It was believed that strong medicine-men were able to take away the power of the lesser, either by means of their own superior knowledge or by killing or causing to be killed the weaker medicine-men. The ability to cause death, even after the death of the medicine-man himself, and the ability to assume the supernatural powers of other medicine-men, are together illustrated by the following:

A man (the grandfather of the informant) once killed a medicine-man. The spirit remained in the village, and all recognized it as that of the deceased shaman. It continually flew about the man's home,

emitting a long train of sparks as it went. The harassed man soon died, whereupon the spirit disappeared. The man, however, on his death-bed, told his wife that there were too many medicine-men in the village for the good of the people; that she was to tie a sharp knife to her wrist, kill them, and assume their supernatural powers. This the woman did, and became herself a powerful medicine-woman.

It sometimes happened that men desired supernatural power in order to become great in the village. Since they were not able or desirous of purchasing it with skins from recognized medicine-men, nor had they received such powers from friend or relative, they would endeavor to secure it by questionable methods. Such a man would play mischievous and harmful tricks upon his fellow villagers, thus causing evil spirits to recognize him and to give him certain powers. In the process of reception the person would be betrayed by the appearance of blood about the mouth and forehead. When these evident marks of evil intent became noted, the "legitimate" medicine-men immediately killed the impostor.

Medicine-men not only performed rites of healing, receiving payment in skins,¹ but also advised the people in all their actions, and rigidly enforced customs and taboos. For example, when the first salmon of a season was caught, a day must elapse before consuming it, and then only in a freshly made wooden dish. Again, when a beluga had been killed, it must be cut up with women's knives only, and these must never be used except for that purpose. No berries or roots might be picked during the time from the first cutting-up of the beluga until it had been consumed entirely; nor could other foods be eaten. The people were requested to go without sleep for four days after the beluga had been caught, and during this time they were not allowed to eat its flesh. These customs are now in vogue only when the people are at Sheshalik, where belugas are chased into shallow water and are easily killed when they run ashore. The origin of the beluga taboos is given in the following tale:

Once when the people had returned to Sheshalik after a day's beluga hunt, it was discovered that a young man was missing. The distracted parents implored a medicine-man to find their son. After much incantation, the medicine-man asserted that it was useless to hunt for the young man; that he had gone with the belugas. The parents, after the season had passed, went to Kotzebue with all the people for the usual feasting and trading, before returning to their own village. In the meantime the young man had returned to the

¹ Five hides were called a "half-skin," and ten a "whole-skin," the count, no doubt, receiving its appellation from the total number of manual digits.

fishing camp, after having been a long while with the belugas. There he mourned, because he had been left behind. The Belugas said: "Do not mourn. Leave your kaiak and become one of us." Since the time the young man became lost, one of the mortuary taboos — that no one may work or use a sharp instrument for four days — has been observed after killing a beluga.

The most common form of talisman is a bead, usually blue in color. The owner, who carries it on a string, puts it in his mouth in times of trouble and receives special aid. Such beads are obtained from medicine-men for the asking. When such a talisman is requested, the medicine-man puts any convenient small object in his mouth and immediately expectorates a bead. Talismans of greater power are given by medicine-men only to those whom they especially favor. When these are requested, he again, by some feat of legerdemain, inserts an object into his body. When it is drawn forth, it may have assumed the shape of a bird or an animal-skin, in any case being quite different from the original object. The recipient is instructed in its use, and henceforth its peculiar powers belong to him.

It would appear that ceremonial custom, which played such a large part in the lives of the Eskimo to the southward, is limited among the Kobuk to minor observances, such as feasting on the occasion of the taking of a first bird or animal, proper observance of burial form, and the ritual preparatory to cutting up belugas. These, directed largely by the medicine-men, who seem to be the chief power in the land, and shamanistic performances, compose the main part of ceremonial form and procedure. A crude form of the Messenger feast was held, however, the object being the mercenary one of trading rather than ceremony, although trading, ritual, and social usage are all intermingled in Messenger feasts elsewhere. In early spring the Kobuk despatched two messengers to the inland Indians, with whom they spent some time before starting back to their village, guiding their guests. When a few miles away, the Indians made camp, while the messengers returned to the Kobuk to inform them of the Indian camp. Then the messengers were directed once more to go to the Indians and ask what food they wished to have prepared. Some who had friends among the Indians also sent messengers to inform them where they could be found.

After the Kobuk had prepared the requested food, the Indians approached the village. The Kobuk danced, sang, and drummed at the approach, to signify not only welcome but that all was peaceful in the village; that there was no warlike intent. Feasting occurred

for many days within an enclosure fenced with caribou-skins. Then brisk trading began. The Kobuk traded caribou-hides, parkas, and seal-oil and -blubber, obtained from coast peoples, for skins of beaver, fox, mink, mountain-sheep, weasel, and wolverene, and such articles of clothing as moccasins, decorated shirts, and beaded mittens. At the conclusion of the trading, which might last almost throughout a summer, the Indian visitors invited the Kobuk to their village for reciprocal feasting and trading. The Kobuk always visited the Indians in late winter or in spring, rather than in summer.

The Kobuk not only traded with the Indians, but many in summer went to Sheshalik on the coast for fishing and beluga-hunting. Then they visited Kotzebue for feasting and trading, receiving sealskins and seal-blubber and -oil in return for the pelts of inland animals. In late fall they returned to their own village.

Some of the Kobuk claim that originally they were Indians who lived along Kobuk river; that they spoke an Indian language, depended mainly on caribou for their support, wore shirts and moccasins, and used the Indian bow and bark canoe. These say that the withdrawal of the greater part of the Indians from upstream to places farther inland, left them isolated on the river; that yearly trading and other intercourse with coast Eskimo ultimately brought about the use of Eskimo customs, costumes, and language; that intermarriage, close association, and the dying off of the old men and with them Indian language and traditions, made the remaining Kobuk outwardly Eskimo; and that the coast Eskimo call the Kobuk, those who come to the coast and trade, Eskimos, while those who trade with Indians and speak an Indian language are called by them Indians.

Other Kobuk maintain that they were always Eskimo, but that some of their members traded upstream with the Indians, learned the language of the latter, adopted some of their customs, such as dress, and often intermarried.

The memory of living adults, and current folklore, do not prove the former contention. It is a subject requiring closer research.

MYTHOLOGY

RAVEN BRINGS LAND

Long ago a great flood covered the earth, so that the tops of only the highest mountains remained above the water. Even now the frames of skin boats are sometimes found on mountain crests, boats used by the people to escape from drowning. Only two villages, one Kobuk and one Noatak, remained above water, on two tall peaks.

Raven often visited the Kobuk village, living among the people as a human or ascending into the air as a bird. A special friend of Raven's was a very old medicine-man whose spirit-power was a human jawbone. The old man used to sing to the jawbone, whereupon he would become an eagle, in which form he often flew with Raven. The daughter of the medicine-man had married a very powerful shaman of the Noatak village, who treated her with excessive cruelty. The old man, though fearful of the superior powers of his son-in-law, often expressed a desire to go to his daughter. Raven always said, "Do not go, old friend; you will soon be dead." The old medicine-man was puzzled on hearing these words, because he did not understand them. At that time there was no death.

Raven, seeing the village become crowded, knew that he must either kill some of the people or that they must find more land. Raven informed the people: "O, my people, some time a sod will float by our village. If any man can spear the sod, it will become solid land. Then there will be room for all."

After a long time, a piece of sod was seen floating by. The cry arose in the village: "The sod! The sod! Let us spear it and make a new land! Raven has promised it!"

The sod did not want to become land, so it sank and avoided all the spears. The people were saddened at their ill luck.

Raven, because he was not human, did not care to dwell too long among people, so set out one day in his canoe. After a long trip he discovered uninhabited land, but it was too small to be of use. On his return to the village, Raven was made headman, because he had been the first to find new land.

The old medicine-man, still wishing to find his daughter, heckled Raven for aid, but each time he received a short answer, because Raven was then busy planning to spear the floating sod, and, by providing a large and spacious land, to become famous.

Raven called the medicine-men together and instructed them: "It is now too rough to go out to spear the sod. You must use your powers and smooth the water."

In those days, because there was no land to break the seas, the slightest wind resulted in high waves. When the medicine-men had worked until exhausted, the water became smooth. Then Raven called to the people to embark and give him aid. All paddled out, and soon found the sod, gently bobbing up and down on the soft swells. All, even Raven himself, cast spears, but none could touch the sod. To those whose weapons came closest, Raven gave food and wealth. The seas soon rose high, so that the villagers were forced to return home. Raven remained alone in his canoe. He sang:

Waters, become smooth now.
Waters, become smooth now.
I am hunting for Sod.
I am hunting for Sod.
Sod, come close to me.
I must spear you to give land to my people.

The waters became smooth again, and once more the bobbing sod appeared. Raven closed his eyes and sang:

O, Sod, come closer.
O, Sod, come within reach of my spear.
O, Sod, become wide land.
O, Sod, let there be room for all.
O, my people, watch me spear Sod.

Sod came closer, and all the people paddled out again. Raven opened his eyes. He cast a spear into the very middle of Sod, who sank. The line ran out and Raven was towed fast across the waters. The people, to help, made fast to Raven's canoe, but he cast them off to fight Sod with his own powers. Raven sang as he hauled in on the line:

Come up, O Sod. Come up!
Come up, O Sod. Come up!
Come up, for the last time,
O Sod.

When Sod came to the surface, Raven killed him with a second spear of willow tipped with flint. Sod then grew and expanded until the waters were turned back and the villages were once more connected by land. The people could now spread out and live as they used to live. They were not cramped in one small village on a mountain peak.

The old medicine-man, the friend of Raven, now travelled overland to rescue his daughter, but the great power of his son-in-law always forced him to turn back. His wife and sons then attempted the rescue. They set out, the wife on the jawbone talisman and the sons on each side, flying through the air to the Noatak village. Soon they circled the settlement, where the woman saw her daughter badly treated, given the dirty work of the village to perform, and her clothes covered with unspeakable filth. The young woman was constantly guarded by the people to see that she did not escape. They wished her to remain and work at all the filthy jobs. Half the villagers watched her by day and half by night.

The woman and her sons brought the flying jawbone to earth by the house of her daughter. With her power she made the villagers fall asleep, then sought her daughter, whom she commanded to prepare to leave. The daughter, hopeless from her long-abject condition, replied: "No, I can not leave. I have tried to run away many, many times, but always they have brought me back. My husband watches me closely, and says that if I make one more attempt, he will kill me."

The mother wasted no words, but snatched up her daughter, and they departed through the air at great speed. Then the husband awoke and began his pursuit, in the form of a huge ball of water. They passed over their own village, but were unable to stop, because of the tremendous speed at which they were travelling. Instead they ran headlong into a mountain and sank deep into the earth. The irate, pursuing husband also crashed into the mountainside, bursting into many drops of water. The woman, daughter, and two sons were changed into squirrels, which to this day bear a spot of red on their backs, indicating the filth on the daughter's parka. They were the first squirrels.

The mountain since that time has been regarded sacred and a great power to the people. In times of trouble they are saved by singing the squirrel song and thinking of the mountain. The world has since taken on the shape it holds today. The paths of huge serpents and eels on their way to the sea have made the river-beds crooked and tortuous, because of the method of progress of these creatures. In those days all trees, especially the willow, were very soft from their long immersion; but now the wood has become hard and the bark may be fashioned into nets.

RAVEN BRINGS LIGHT

In the long ago the world was in darkness; there was no sun to shed his welcome rays; no moon to shine at night, and no stars to twinkle or guide travellers. When the people left their homes, it was necessary to form a human chain, one end at the door, so that all could return safely.

In those times of darkness a raven often flew over the village, a harbinger of good news whenever he came. The people knew he was a raven, although they could not see his form. One time as he flew over, some men called, "O, Raven, bring us light, that we may see!"

Raven answered, "There is a far-distant village where dwells a rich, powerful man who owns a ball of light."

"O, Raven, secure for us this light, that it may shine over the world!"

"I can not. I do not know how. If your wisest men will instruct me, I shall do my best to bring the light."

The medicine-men assembled, discussed matters at great length, and gave out their decision that Raven should become a feather. Raven turned into a feather and the wind blew him to the village of the light-owning wealthy man. The feather dropped into a spring of fresh water.

The daughter of the wealthy man was unapproachable. No young man, not even a medicine-man, was allowed to enter the home. The father refused all offers to betroth his daughter, nor did the maiden herself care to marry. His most prized possessions were his daughter and the ball of light. He often placed the ball of light beside his door, that the villagers might see to play their games and to do their work. When the daughter went for fresh water, she drank some while at the spring before filling the pot. She knew she had swallowed something, because she felt a tickling in her throat. It was the feather.

Soon the young woman bore a male child. Both she and her family were puzzled, because they knew no man had approached her, but they welcomed the boy. The wealthy man instructed his daughter to give the child all that he desired. The boy saw the glittering ball of light and cried for it until they let him play with it, but the family always took it away when he treated it roughly. The wealthy man not only watched the boy at play, but never allowed the ball of light out of his sight. Finally they became so accustomed to seeing the child with his new plaything, that he was allowed to pick it up whenever he desired.

The boy now began to plan to steal the light. One time, while in play, though keenly watched by the wealthy man, he rolled it to the entranceway, then jumped outside and succeeded in turning back into his raven form and escaping before the watchful wealthy man could catch him. Raven flew high in the air, and there broke the ball into tiny pieces, so that light scattered over the whole world. He then winged his way back to the Kobuk village, where he cried: "I have brought you light! You asked me for light, and I have brought it. Now you will have light to work and play in; you will have a period of darkness to rest and sleep in. I ask as a reward the daughter of your headman."

The people were so blinded by the light that they could not see what manner of creature Raven was. The young woman gladly married the bird and took him into her home; but the personal habits of Raven were so filthy that the family cast him out. He caused so strong a stench about the person of his wife that his father-in-law ejected her also from the home. Raven and his wife then lived together alone.

To the couple was born a child which had a raven's beak on its forehead. Raven was very proud that his son resembled him. His wife was very sad. Her eyes now accustomed to light, she saw that her husband was not human and that her son bore resemblances to a bird. In despair she fled to her father. The father scolded, whipped, and banished Raven from the village. His daughter remained in her father's home, but she was never allowed to marry again, because her first husband was not human.

THE KOBUK TRAVELLER

A man, the greatest canoe-paddler on the river, lived in a willow-framed house covered with sod. His wife bore him three sons, but when they reached manhood, each went away and never returned. A fourth son was born to him. The man decided to train him in his own way, and if the son survived, he could never be killed by any human. The father heated stones red-hot and threw them at the boy, who always dodged. He shot arrows at his son, but the boy easily avoided them. The man even stalked his son like wild game, or shot at him unawares through the smoke-hole, but the boy always escaped. The father taught the youth to ride canoes. When he attained the age of manhood, he asked his father to be allowed to go hunting by himself. The father replied: "Yes, you are old enough to go out alone now. You have been well trained and nothing can kill you."

The young man paddled far downstream. Then he left his craft to climb some high mountains, but they did not please him, so he returned to the river-bank to sleep. While resting, he heard some one approach on snowshoes, although the ground was still bare. At each step the Snowshoes cried:

What has happened?
What is here?
What has happened?
What is here?

The young man listened, then climbed and ran along the bluffs overlooking the river, but he still heard the voice of some one on snowshoes in pursuit. He heard a voice asking, "How did that man go down these bluffs?"

The Snowshoes answered, "He went down that crevice." The Snowshoes still cried out at every step:

What has happened?
What is here?
What has happened?
What is here?

Then the young man heard his pursuer trip and fall. All was still. The young man slept until morning, then backtracked to get a glimpse of his pursuer, whom he knew must have been killed by falling into the crevice. He found a man with teeth, finger-nails, and snowshoes of copper. He decided to take the snowshoes, because snow was now falling and becoming deep. The Snowshoes still talked, but he could not understand their language. He decided not to go home, because he had killed a man. As he continued downstream, he came at nightfall to an uninhabited house. Here he built a fire, ate a meal, and prepared to sleep. As he sat by the fire, a stranger entered and stood in the doorway. The young man inquired, "What is happening?"

There was no response. He again spoke, "Take off your parka and sit by the fire."

For answer the stranger suddenly drew a knife, which he flung at the young man. He dodged, grasped the stranger, and cast him into the fire. At that moment the stranger turned into a swallow and flew away.

Early in the morning the young man awoke and journeyed onward. For many days he went through valleys, past lakes, and over mountains. One day he saw a wolverene attempting to gnaw through a beaver-lodge. The animal broke off a tooth and went away. The young man picked up the tooth and continued his journey. When he arrived at an abandoned house, he stopped and made preparations for the night. As he was about to lie down, he heard a person approach. The person entered the room, strode to the fire, and demanded, "Where is my adze?"

"I do not know where it is," was the answer.

"I lost it today when I was opening a beaver-lodge. You picked it up, and I have been following your trail all day."

The young man remembered the tooth which he had picked up, but would not part with it. The two fought, and just when the young man was winning, the person became a wolverene and wriggled away. Then he became a man again, and once more demanded the tooth, which was his adze. The young man gave it, and the stranger went out.

In the morning the young man set forth again, continuing over cliffs and tundra until he came to a large village. He married the daughter of the headman. The people ate little here; one rabbit would last a family a whole day. The young man became so hungry that he began to hunt for himself. He caught many rabbits, returned home, and threw them down the smoke-hole. The family were so angry that none would touch the game, so the young man was forced to skin, clean, and cook them himself by roasting on a long stick over the fire. After he had gorged, his father-in-law ordered: "You must go and never return. Soon you will have killed all our game."

He did not wish to go, especially as his wife was soon to become a mother, but the anger of the whole village compelled his departure.

The young man walked far over the Kobuk flats and along the Kobuk river until he arrived at another large village. There he married again. The people ate nothing, but when hungry sucked the juice from meat and drank water. The young man soon discovered that these people had no stomachs or bowels; they could not digest solid foods. But his hunger became so great that at last he was forced to go hunting, and brought in rabbit, ptarmigan, and caribou. While he cooked and ate, the whole village gathered around and looked on in great astonishment. They wondered how all that food could ever leave his body; they were sure that he would swell up and die. They grew fearsome at the sight. The young man ate all day, then lay down to sleep.

In the morning, when his bowels moved, some one saw him in the act of defecation and was so astonished that he called the entire village. They watched with great interest. They thought he must have come from the sky, because he was so different. They tasted and divided the feces. From that time these people had stomachs and bowels which could assimilate solid foods.

The young man departed, to continue his travels, soon after a son was born to him. He chose a man, who had once been a lynx, to go with him. The two built a sled, journeyed downstream, and up a branch of the Kobuk. Once the young man left Lynx-man to explore the country, and was gone so great a time that the long face of Lynx-man became round and pinched from hunger. Since then the face of the lynx has always been round.

When the streams ran high with water, bank full, the two built a canoe, covered it with bark, and pitched the seams. They paddled to a lake, thence up the Kobuk and Kuyuguk rivers. It was now summer. The young man cast a spear at a pickerel, but one prong broke off in the

fish, which escaped. As they pulled up to a house that night and went in, they found a man suffering from a piece of bone which had become lodged in his head. The wife said to the young man, "If you will remove that bone, I shall give you plenty of fish."

After the young man withdrew the bone, he found it to be the prong from his spear. The man had been accustomed to turning into a pickerel and catching fish.

Another time, while paddling along, the young man shot a double-pronged arrow at a mink. The animal broke off the missile and sank from sight. The young man then thought that the mink might also be a man, and because he did not wish to meet him, he portaged overland to another stream. At nightfall he and Lynx-man came to a house and there found a man suffering from an arrow-point lodged in his neck. The man's wife gave them many fish for removing the point.

The two men kept on downstream to a large village, where the young man went ashore, leaving Lynx-man to guard the canoe. He married and lived there until a child was born, forgetful of his companion. In midsummer he thought of Lynx-man and went to the canoe. His companion was nearly starved; he had no fire, no water but snow-water, and only a rotten fish for food. The two hunted until Lynx-man was once more well fed, then began a journey up the Kuyuguk river. Although they saw many mink and pickerel, they killed none, because the animals and fish were humans in those forms. In their wanderings the two met many people, both Indian and Eskimo, and stopped at many villages. One time, as usual, Lynx-man was left to watch the canoe while the young man went to live with the Beaver people. He did not stay long with them, because they ate only bark. They believed that wood was some kind of fish and not good to eat.

After leaving the Beavers, the two companions crossed to the Yukon river and lived for some time among the Rabbit and Muskrat people. At length they reached a village high up on the cliffs, so high that half a day was spent in reaching it. The young man married a wealthy man's daughter.

The cliff-dwellers had a novel game. They lowered a pole over the edge, far above the water. The most athletic and agile would slide down to the end, and then climb back hand-over-hand, a very difficult feat. Some could even perform gymnastics at that dizzy height. The young man expressed a desire to play the game over the objections of his wife, who related that many outlanders had tried and been drowned in the waters far below. At his first attempt, he descended only halfway, then returned. Others encouraged him to try again, so he slid down to the very end. At that moment some one struck the pole such a blow that it broke off. The young man plunged down, down. . . . During the rapid fall, he thought of his spear. At once he became a spruce-hen and flew back over the heads of the people, who were rejoicing at the stranger's death and making fun of his wife. Enraged, he became human and rushed at the group, succeeding in casting several over the cliff, but the number of his opponents crowded him over again. Once more he turned into a spruce-hen, then flew down to the awaiting Lynx-man.

As they went along, they stopped at intervals with Mink, Rabbit, and Ptarmigan peoples. In these places they ate willow-bark and leaves. The animals were men while the visitors remained with them.

They arrived at the Yukon mouth, followed the coast to a big bay, crossed that to land again, staying in Mink, Muskrat, and Beaver villages. In each place the young man married and remained until a child was born. The two travellers then felt that they were becoming old and thought of returning home. They crossed tundra and mountains until they came to a clear and deep lake at the head of the Kobuk, where they stopped to hunt caribou.

As the man was following a trail around the lake, he stumbled over a white ball. His foot stuck fast. While trying to release one foot, the other also became fast. In desperation he reached down to pluck away the ball with his fingers. They, too, were stuck, so that the man remained a prisoner. Lynx-man attempted to release his partner, but to no avail. He did not become captive to the white ball, because he was not human. Night fell, and soon voices came to the man. One said: "I am glad we have some one for a good feast. We have not eaten a human for a long time."

The man pretended to be dead, and stiffened his muscles as if he were frozen. His captors came, released him, and bore him to their home. One said, "I think I shall eat his heart and liver."

Another answered: "I want his brain. The children can have the rest."

He was laid by a fire, and the wives of the captors were instructed to cook their prey when thawed out. They poked him at intervals to see if he was sufficiently thawed out, but the man kept his muscles taut. The people were becoming very hungry, and the men wished the body cup up. The wives objected, saying that the meat might spoil if cut up before thawed. At last all went to sleep hungry. The man tried to escape, but each movement caused the sleepers to stir uneasily. As a last resort he cleared the smoke-hole in one mighty bound, and ran down the trail to the canoe, where Lynx-man was waiting. They shoved off from shore just in time, for the disappointed and enraged captors were in hot pursuit.

The two went down the river again to a large village. Here the man married and stayed until two children were born. He had never before remained so long in one place. The people were eager to kill the visitor, but he overcame all their efforts; even when the medicine-men sent spirit-weapons against him, he always escaped by becoming a spruce-hen and flying away. Once in this form he alighted in a snare and was unable to work out of it. A woman and her son visited the snare, whereat the man pretended to be dead. As they released the snare, he flew away and once more rejoined his companion, Lynx-man.

They journeyed down the Kobuk river until they reached the man's village, whence he had started. Here he lived the rest of his days, for he was now becoming old. He still retained the power to become a spruce-hen in times of trouble, and often visited the villages of animals which became human while he was with them. The man was considered to be a great medicine-man. He was the first of the people in those parts to travel widely.¹

THE YOUTH WHO SLEW THE SERPENTS

In a village, where lived a poor young man with his aged grandmother, nearly all the young men and hunters had disappeared. They had left the village either singly or in groups. Of late even the searching parties failed to return, until there was left of the young men only the poor youth, who was too poverty-stricken to possess weapons. To him came the headman, in great despair, for his only son was now missing. "O, youth," said he, "I shall give you food, clothing, and weapons, if you will set forth after my son and the hunters of my village and bring back word of them. I shall give you my daughter in marriage, or you may become headman in my place."

The youth eagerly accepted the proffered equipment, and departed upstream in his canoe. On the first night out, his grandmother appeared to him in a dream, saying: "O, my grandson, here are a red bead and white bead. Put one in your mouth if ever you are in trouble."

The poor young man found the beads on awaking the following day. He paddled up a small stream which branched from the river and soon saw a sandy bank where many canoes were drawn up. Some were old and rotting, while others were quite new. All had belonged to the missing hunters. The young man then followed a pathway inland, through wooded country, down a valley, and to the top of a mountain. He listened and heard a faint clamor as of dogs barking, the laughter of people playing, and the many noises of a large village, but he saw no evidences of life.

At nightfall he began the long, tortuous descent of the mountain, and at last came upon a large, lighted village, situated in a clearing. When he arrived at the nearest house, he made a noise. A woman came out and bade him enter. Inside were a man, his wife, three sons, and a daughter. After he had finished the offered food, the head of the family said: "O, youth, eat well now, for your days will be short. Our medicine-man always sends for strangers, whom he kills. When strangers fail to come to our village, he even kills our own young men."

"Has a youth in clean, new clothes arrived here recently?" inquired the poor young man. "Yes, several days ago one such came here and was soon killed by the two serpents which eat people."

The poor young man then knew that he had discovered why all the hunters of his village had disappeared. He thought to return home and claim the reward offered by the headman, but the old man, his host, dissuaded him from travelling that night. In the morning, while eating, and pondering sadly the fate of his comrades, a messenger came to the poor young man,

¹ This story is related amongst Kobuk, Selawik, and Kotzebue peoples. In its most extended form the tale requires many nights to be told. The rendition given is but a synopsis.

and said: "Follow me, young man, to the home of the medicine-man. If you do not come at once, a terrible fate awaits you, because the serpents will be sent for you."

He set out, accompanied by the three sons of his host. He thought: "I wonder what manner of animals or serpents I shall find. I shall put this red bead in my mouth." When the group entered the large house, they found the huge medicine-man reclining. He roared at the poor young man: "Why did you not hurry? I shall teach you a lesson! You will soon be dead! I shall have one of my wives set food before you. Eat heartily; it is your last meal!"

When food was brought, the poor young man refused it. He flung the pot in the medicine-man's face, crying, "You had better eat your last meal yourself!"

The medicine-man was mad with anger. He sang, and a monster serpent appeared, gliding toward the poor young man. He was not afraid, because he had the powerful bead in his mouth. As the serpent was about to strike, the young man spit the bead into the threatening, distended mouth. Flame seared and split open the slimy coils from mouth to tail.

The medicine-man began to fear his youthful opponent, and asked him what his helping spirit was. The young man refused to answer, but asked in his turn, "Did you kill that hunter with the clean, new parka?"

"No, the female serpent killed him."

The young man decided to kill this serpent to see if any bones or particles of clothing belonging to the headman's son remained in the stomach. He decided to do this after all had left the house. He addressed himself to the men in the house, "If this man has stolen any of your wives or possessions, take what belongs to you and go out."

Although the medicine-man was now frightened, these bold words enraged him anew. He knocked the young man down, and laughed, "If that is the way you fight, you will not live long."

The angry youth sprang up, seized the medicine-man, cast him to the floor, and pulled out an arm. In vain the defeated one pleaded and offered riches, clothing, weapons, and power. The youth killed his enemy, divided the spoils among the people, and returned the stolen wives.

The young man killed the remaining serpent, and found several bodies, including that of his headman's son, in the stomach. Their hair and eyebrows had already begun to rot. He put his white bead in his mouth, blew out his breath, and immediately all the young men who had been missing were restored to life and health. They all returned home, where the young man took the headman's daughter to wife as his reward. He and his brother-in-law hunted and travelled together, and ruled the village together. After a time, however, they became cruel, taking away the possessions of others for themselves, and killing people.

THE FALSE WIFE

In a large village on the Kobuk river dwelt a wealthy man and his son, both of whom were noted hunters. The son, however, refused to marry, although many men offered to betroth their daughters to him; and his father, although eager to have a daughter-in-law, never tried to force his son to take a wife.

In the same village lived an old woman with her stepdaughter. These were so poor that they had to gather weeds to eat, and to pick up cast-off caribou-skins for clothing. One day the maiden joined a group of girls at play. The young hunter, son of the wealthy man, as he was passing by, stopped to watch. He gazed hard at the poor girl, unable to remove his eyes from her. Feeling the intensity of his stare, she turned and looked. The young man smiled, whereat the maiden, though pleased at his attentions, tightened her hands over her breasts so that the flimsy costume gave way. In embarrassment she ran home.

The stepmother questioned her on the condition of her parka, and the girl lyingly answered, "In a game, that wealthy young hunter tore my clothes."

The stepmother was glad to have the man pay attention to her daughter, and willingly mended the rents. On the following day the same thing happened, and the stepmother again repaired the parka, thinking that the hunter might marry the maiden.

The young man soon took the girl to his home as his wife. They lived for a long time happily, and always had plenty, even in times of famine, because the husband was a great hunter. One time, when the wife was gathering berries down the stream far from the village, a strange woman accosted her. This woman with her power took on the form and features of the wife.

Then she rendered her victim dumb and paralyzed, and brought her back to the stepmother, who nursed and cared for her, but never revealed the identity of her changed stepdaughter to any one, because she was displeased at the wealthy man and his son.

Meanwhile the strange woman entered the young man's home and performed all wifely functions just as the true wife had done. The hunter, when they slept together, however, always noticed a strong, peculiar odor about his false wife. She always explained this by saying, "I smell from the things I have been working with today."

One day, when the false wife was away from the village, an eagle snatched her and bore her to his eyrie on a craggy mountaintop. The husband was saddened by the disappearance of his supposed wife, and went to the old woman, his mother-in-law. There he saw his real wife, but did not recognize her, for she was still unable to talk, and her form was different, although she now was well in body. The old woman kept the truth from him, but sent for an old man, noted for his powers, and his son, to consult about the missing woman.

After much incantation and discussion, they announced that the woman had been stolen by an eagle, a powerful bird, which assumed human form at night. The old woman instructed the wealthy hunter to return home. Then she told the young man, son of the old man with powers, the whereabouts of the eagle, giving him a fish to aid him in recovering the woman. The fish had the power, when wet, of travelling where requested.

The young man followed the flopping fish, arrived at the mountain, and climbed to the nest of the eagle. It was daytime, and the bird had flown. The woman was there in the house, the floor of which was strewn with horns and bones. The woman was glad to see her rescuer, but informed him that now neither could escape; that the bird would catch and bring them back each time, and that probably it would kill and devour the young man. Soon they heard a great whirring of wings, and in alarm the woman hid her presumptuous rescuer under a pile of skins.

The Eagle changed to human form outside; then entered, his boots bespattered with caribou blood. Immediately he sensed something wrong, and sniffed the air. He cried: "I smell something! With my keen nose I scent something! Some human is near here!"

The woman calmed him by saying, "Oh, no! No human is near here. That smell must be from some rotten meat I threw out today."

The Eagle believed her, and began his meal, which occupied the remainder of the day. The woman suggested to the Bird-man that he go out to fetch some wood. Then she instructed the hidden man that as soon as the Eagle was asleep, they would attempt to escape. The woman and Eagle went to bed as soon as he brought in wood. After much laughing and talking, the Bird-man slept. Then the woman and the young man slipped outside. They entered the fish-power and soon arrived in their village.

The false wife returned to her unsuspecting husband, and the two lived happily for a long time. The rescuer received great wealth as his reward. The true wife, still unable to talk, often crawled to the door of her husband's home, where she sat all day, returning to the stepmother at night. The false wife paid no attention to her, and the husband thought she was only a poor girl. He often flung her pieces of caribou when returning from a hunt. The true wife cried in rage and jealousy, but was unable to change matters. She wished continually that some one would take pity on her, return her to her own form, and restore the power of speech. In despair she put a medicine-bead in her mouth, then threw it out the smoke-hole, hoping at the same time for the power to talk.

The wish and hope came in a dream to the old man with supernatural power, whose son had rescued the false wife. In the dream her story and the mischief wrought by the false wife were revealed to him.

The old man, on awaking, told the dream to his son, whom he sent to relate the tale to the wealthy man, father of the hunter, and to the husband of the dumb girl. The old man then went to the true wife, completely restored her, in spite of the opposition of the stepmother, and led her to the wealthy man. He denounced the false wife before the true wife and husband, telling the whole story and saying that the woman was only a poor stranger, jealous of the true wife and stealing her voice and figure through her supernatural powers.

The husband rejoiced at once more having his real wife. He now knew that he had long disliked the other woman, because of her peculiar odor. The two lived happily together, while the false woman in disgrace went to the old woman, stepmother of the real wife. She now

became unable to move or to talk, and the people carried her and the old woman far away and forbade them ever to return.

The old woman made the evil woman well, and by their powers they returned to the village, flying through the air. After this demonstration of what they could do, the villagers let them alone.

The true wife pitied them, and with tearful entreaty persuaded husband and father-in-law to send for the two outcasts and forgive them. When they arrived, no one could tell the true wife from the false, even the old man of the supernatural powers who was present. However, the young man who had rescued the evil one declared that only the true wife would weep tears of pity over the other woman.

The evil woman cast aside her ways and married her rescuer. True wife and husband lived in plenty, and had a son and two daughters. The four ruled the village, and all lived in peace and plenty.

If the young hunter had obeyed his father's wishes and had listened to the old men and their offers of betrothal to their daughters, he would not have undergone nor suffered all the trials and troubles which came to him.

THE YOUTH WHO LEARNED TO LAUGH

A wealthy, childless couple lived in a village situated on a grassy plain. There were born to them many children, all of whom died in childbirth. The parents' hearts were sad, and they despaired of ever having sons or daughters, because they were growing old.

One day, while the woman was out gathering firewood, she saw a finely carved piece of wood, which she concealed beneath her parka. While walking homeward, she felt something moving in her body, and knew that she was with child. Delivery came as soon as she reached home, and the pleased husband gave his best furs for wife and newborn son to lie upon. The boy could not smile or laugh. In four days the baby grew to the stature of manhood; then went hunting and brought in much game.

One night the youth joined the young people of the village in their games at the playing place. For a long time they amused themselves trying to make him laugh, uttering witticisms and performing strange antics. At length the young man smiled, and flame blew out of his mouth. He declared, "I have smiled; now I shall laugh."

As he laughed, great flames belched from his mouth, burning all the grass, and consuming the young people playing until only skeletons were left. The old people mourned the loss of their sons and daughters. The youth felt very sad when he heard the singing for the dead. Soon it occurred to him how to bring back his fellow playmates to life. He walked about the playing ground, singing, and as he went the burnt grass became green again. Then flesh appeared on the skeletons. The young people opened their eyes, leaped to their feet, and resumed playing as if unaware that they had been dead. The youth joined them, playing and laughing, though flame no more came from his mouth. The people rejoiced, and respected the youth, though they feared his powers. He became the greatest medicine-man in the village.

One spring a group of hunters failed to return from a caribou-hunt. A searching party also became lost. In a short time all the young men had disappeared from the village, except the youth of flame-breathing powers. He determined to find his lost comrades, setting forth with no weapons. He walked a long distance, passing through a forest, crossing a lake, and climbing a range of high mountains on his journey. When he came to a trail, he followed it until he reached a house of flint, with no doors or windows. A wooden crane was perched on a tall pole before the house, and this strange bird began an outcry when the youth appeared. With a wave of his hand the young man silenced the bird. He climbed to the smoke-hole, peered within, and there saw the youths and hunters of his village, all headless, standing in a row.

He descended from the roof, and finding no entrance or doorway, he drew the outlines of a door with his finger on the house walls. At once a door opened to him. Inside he came upon a man and a woman fast asleep. Their skins and clothing were of flint. At his approach, they awoke, and the man immediately said: "You are the first man to enter here of his own accord. Wife, it is very strange for a human to come to us."

As they rose to their feet, they were so huge that the young man had to crane his neck to

look up at them. The Flint-man informed him: "You are a medicine-man, but you must die! No one may enter our house without yielding his life!"

The young man pleaded, "Let me sing and dance first; then you may kill me."

"No, you must die now!"

The youth alternately laughed and pleaded for a long time, until Flint-man, exasperated, cried, "Dance quickly, then, for you will soon die!"

In his dance the young man moved his arms to the left. The Flint couple were impelled by some power to follow his movements. Following his lead, the Flint people then waved their arms to the right. When the young man threw back his head and closed his eyes, they did likewise. The young man opened his eyes and saw that the Flint couple were dead, still standing in the last position.

The young man then kicked each one of his comrades in turn. At the kicks, the heads returned to the bodies, and they became alive and well once more. The entire party returned to the village, where great feasting and rejoicing took place. The villagers were happy once more. The young man went back to the flint house. He carried it alone to his village and lived in it. All feared him, but liked him. He became the greatest medicine-man of the village.

HOW SQUIRRELS CAME TO MAKE MANY HOLES

The braggart Crow, always hungry, one day saw Squirrel picking berries. Crow's cunning thoughts told him to wait by Squirrel's hole. Soon Squirrel darted in great haste to his hole, for he knew that a fox had caught his scent. Squirrel stopped short when he saw Crow, knowing that the hungry bird would snatch him. He thought rapidly, then said, "O, Crow, with your beautiful glossy feathers, if you will sing and dance for me I shall give you the fat from my right side."

Crow, his vanity tickled, began to prance about, but always between Squirrel and the hole. Squirrel cried: "Dance harder, O, Crow, and shut your eyes! That is a fine dance!"

Crow obeyed, because he liked to show off to any one who would watch him. Squirrel applauded: "O, Crow, how well you dance! If you would only spread out your beautiful wings!"

The pleased Crow stretched and stiffened his wings till they rasped the ground. Squirrel then seized his opportunity and scuttled under the wings into his hole. The tricked and chagrined Crow, with anger in his heart at being so cozened, choked down his rage and called in honeyed tones to Squirrel: "Come out again, little partner. The sun is high, and it is time to dance and play!"

Squirrel, in safety, merely laughed to himself. All summer Crow lay in wait, and Squirrel refused to come out. He grew very hungry, but took the edge from his appetite by eating his nest. One morning frost came, so Squirrel stuffed the entrance to his hole and went fast asleep. Crow, though ravenous, would not give up, and decided to wait all winter, if necessary, through storm and calm.

Winter passed, and the trickling of melting snow awakened Squirrel. He knew that spring had come once more. Hunger seizing him, he determined to go out. He tore down the stuffing that blocked his hole and peered out very cautiously. There he was reminded of his enemy. He saw the bones of Crow picked clean by the foxes. All summer Squirrel thought of the hunger he was made to suffer through Crow, and dared not go far from the safety of his retreat. The idea came to Squirrel to make many holes to run to in case of danger. Then he could increase his range and obtain more food. Today all squirrels dig many holes to which they can scuttle whenever Crow, Fox, or other enemies approach.

THE SELAWIK

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

SELAWIK, properly Siliṽik, village is reached from Kotzebue sound through Hotham inlet, and across the length of Selawik lake and several minor bodies of water. In late spring and in summer and fall the inhabitants scatter in family groups along Selawik river and spread over the territory between that stream and the Kobuk, as well as over an equal stretch of country to the southward.

In the village proper the houses are built over a pit about three feet in depth, from the bottom of which rise four corner-posts, the rear pair slightly shorter than the others in order to give a slant to the roof; these are connected with horizontal beams. Split timbers extend from ground-level to the horizontal beams, and similar timbers from the roof. The whole is covered thickly with sod, but if sod is not available, mud is made to serve the purpose. In the roof is a smoke-hole, which is provided with a cover of intestinal parchment, or, in winter, a slab of ice. A doorway opens from the higher end of the dwelling into a small chamber built against it; this serves not only as an entranceway, but for the storage of the weapons, sleds, snowshoes, dried meat, and clothing. A firepit is dug in the floor of the living quarters, near the entrance.

Formerly the summer habitations were semicylindrical, with squared ends. The framework was of willow withes bent semicircularly, with ends stuck in the ground, and strengthened with horizontal willow strips. This frame was overlaid with moss or grass, or with squares of spruce-bark which had been soaked in water, flattened with stones, and allowed to dry; then the structure was weighted with stones. The doorway was in one of the squared ends.

Caches are of the platform type, high enough to be beyond reach of dogs and other marauding animals. These, with drying racks of willow, are situated near the winter homes, but when much meat is obtained on a hunt, temporary caches are erected.

Cooking is done in wooden pots filled with water and brought to a boil by dropping in hot stones with the aid of tongs consisting of two sticks bound together at one end. Food bowls are made of willow wood or of birch-bark. The younger people eat with their fingers, while the elders use spoons of wood or horn.

In former times the clothing of the Selawik Eskimo consisted of caribou-skin parkas, trousers, and boots. Some of the people, however, remained upstream and traded with Athapascan Indians of the interior for caribou-skin shirts and moccasins. These upstream people are said to have intermarried with Indians, and, while retaining their own language and customs, spoke an Indian dialect when engaged in trade.

The spring season is occupied in hunting and in fishing. The terrain about Selawik village is flat and low. Small lakes, lagoons, and sloughs abound, making it an ideal country for muskrat, which are the chief object of the spring hunt. After the spring thaw, when the water is open, the hunters formerly set out in bark canoes, or in kaiaks obtained by trade with the coast Eskimo; but nowadays kaiaks or small wooden boats patterned after those used by white men are employed entirely. The hunters paddle from one stream to another, and along the other waterways, following their banks closely in search of muskrat. In earlier days these animals were shot with spruce arrows tipped with two prongs of caribou-horn; now the weapon is a small-bore rifle, with which, it is said, a good hunter can bag as many as a hundred muskrat in a day. The meat is eaten fresh or is dried and stored for use in winter. Skins are made into clothing and form also an important item of trade.

Fishing is done during spring and summer, when the families scatter along the streams and erect their summer shelters. Canvas tents have superseded the native structures. The streams are narrow enough to permit the use of gill-nets, which are stretched from bank to bank. The nets of former days, about four fathoms long by two and a half or three feet deep, were woven of willow-bark and are said to have lasted about three years with careful use. Fish-traps of willow-bark were also anchored in favorable places. The most common fish caught by these methods are a small whitefish and pickerel; but few trout are gilled in the nets. Fish are dried on racks and stored for winter consumption; fish-eggs are dried, and fish-oil is put away in pokes.

The women gather blackberries, blueberries, cranberries, salmon-berries, and the Alaskan potato. The berries, stored in baskets, are



From Copyright Photograph 1928 by G. P. Davis

ON THE SELAWIK RIVER

used chiefly in winter. In autumn, before the freeze-up, Selawik traders in their large skin boats and wooden craft, laden with muskrat-fur, go to Kotzebue to traffic for seal-oil, sealskins, blubber, and kaiaks, and there they purchase such staples as flour, tea, coffee, and sugar, as well as guns and ammunition. Others go upstream to trade seal-oil to the Indians for baskets, beads, moose-skins, and such articles of skin clothing as shirts and moccasins. When the days grow short, the families return to the village. Soon afterward is held a feast for the dead, directed by medicine-men, at which food, clothing, and various other articles are given away by relatives in accordance with the last wishes of the departed.

Before they were superseded by reindeer, caribou were hunted during the winter with bow and arrow, some of the hunters stampeding a herd while others shot the animals as they passed. The Selawik people also used the corral with strong snares, as elsewhere described. They still trap fox and wolverene, and snare ptarmigan and rabbit. In former rabbit-drives a long line of people, shouting and beating bushes and underbrush, drove the fleeing rabbits into a large net held by two men.

A special hut is erected for occupancy by a woman in labor. Old women function as midwives, but if delivery is retarded, the husband is called in to hasten the birth by squeezing the wife's waist. Mother and child must remain in the shelter three months if the infant is the first-born, otherwise two months; then she is allowed to go to her home, where the family hold a feast amongst themselves. At this time the child receives a name, that of a medicine-man, a successful hunter, a relative, or perhaps the name of a person recently deceased.

When a boy catches his first game, it is given to some man who has a young daughter. The acceptance of the gift by the father is an indication of the betrothal of his daughter, and that the two young people will marry when they reach the proper age. If no betrothal takes place, the meat is cooked and pieces distributed to the villagers, that they may know the boy has caught his first game. A dance and a feast follow.

When a girl picks her first berries, or catches her first fish, the product of her industry is given to the old people of the village. As they eat, they hope that the girl will become successful in fishing and in gathering berries. When a young woman has reached the age of puberty, she must dwell by herself in a corner of the house and eat from separate dishes served by her mother. After this time she is eligible for marriage.

Marriage takes place when an early betrothed couple attain marriageable age, or when two people, mutually attracted, decide to marry. The young man's parents make clothing for the young woman. The pair live with the parents-in-law of either, or reside at alternate intervals with both. After the first child is born, they live together in a home of their own.

Divorce consists merely of separation by mutual consent, and is usually the result either of inability to perform work or of adultery. Should the latter be the cause, the adulterer might be slain by the husband.

When a person is about to die, all but immediate relatives remove their belongings from the house and live elsewhere. As soon as death occurs, the legs of the corpse are tied together, the hands bound to the sides, and the body wrapped in a skin and lashed. All the possessions of the deceased are divided amongst relatives and children; nothing is put in the grave. The body is carried away as soon as possible and placed on a small platform raised a few inches above ground, the head of the corpse directed toward the east. To keep away marauding animals, split timbers are leaned against the platform, as in the case of the houses, but they are not sod-covered. A stick is thrust in the ground at the head of the burial as a marker. The family must build a new dwelling, and those who have handled the dead are required to throw away or to burn the clothing worn when the funerary offices were performed. During the period of mourning, which lasts several days, the relatives must eat from separate dishes.

MYTHOLOGY

THE RESCUER

Many families once dwelled together in a large village on a high hill which overlooked a lake. None believed that there were other people in the world, although some of the old wise men claimed that another village existed on a hill near the Kobuk river. In this settlement lived two brothers, Kógrüglük and Aksigyókük.

It happened that a deluge swept over the land. The land soon disappeared, and the waters rose until only this village and that on the Kobuk, situated as they were on high hills, remained dry. All else was fathoms deep under water. Kógrüglük was lost in his kaiak, for he had been hunting when the water began to pour down.

After the storm had subsided, Aksigyókük set forth to find his brother, but returned discouraged after a long search. Word ultimately reached him that Kógrüglük had taken shelter in the Kobuk village. Aksigyókük decided to bring his brother back, so began to build a large skin boat, because the waters still covered the land. He constructed the frame and covered it with sealskins. He carved a paddle blade from the flipper-bone of a whale, and attached a handle of willow. When all was finished, Aksigyókük chose a crew of eight men and started on a trial trip. As they paddled, they saw a flock of ducks. Vainly they endeavored to catch up with and to pass the birds in their flight. Aksigyókük returned home and pulled the boat up



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AT SELAWIK

on shore. He examined the craft and found a slack lashing. Then the boat was relashed by the whole crew until it was very tight and strong, and the frame re-covered. Again a trial trip was made, and this time, when a flock of ducks was sighted, they easily overtook and passed the birds. Now that the boat was in perfect condition, Aksigyókük placed a large blue bead of great supernatural power in a hole drilled in the stern-sheets.

When all was ready for a long journey, the boat provisioned and the crew embarked, Aksigyókük put on an old parka, rubbed fish-eggs on his arms to the elbows and on his face, and they set out. While he sat amidships, in order not to rub off the eggs, another man steered. The whole crew were afraid of him, because they now knew that he was a medicine-man and had great powers.

Arrived at the Kobuk village, whose inhabitants were said to be very cruel in the treatment of strangers, the boat was tied up, leaving the crew with it, while Aksigyókük alone walked to the men's house. His gait and bearing were those of an old man, shaking and tottering. He was taken inside and brought before the headman, who ignored him for a long while. Many others entered the room, rudely pushing aside Aksigyókük whenever he was in their way. He saw his brother, Kógrüglük, dressed in a ragged parka, seated near the headman. When the people filled the urine pot, the headman took pleasure in emptying the contents over the head of Kógrüglük, deriding him all the while. The brother, Aksigyókük, saw that many people had pity on Kógrüglük and fed him pieces of blubber when the headman was not looking.

Aksigyókük became very angry. He did not like to be pushed aside, and the treatment of his brother enraged him. He stalked up to the headman, and cried, "I am going to take my brother home, where he will be well treated!"

The headman retorted: "Be still, old man! If you talk in that fashion I shall have my warriors kill you right here!"

The angry Aksigyókük shouted: "Do not answer me like that! I shall treat you as you have treated my brother. I shall empty a urine pot over your head!"

The villagers, none of whom liked their headman, who ruled through fear and by the support of his warriors, clamored: "Yes! Yes! Kill our headman! He has stolen our women and mistreated us. Treat him as he has abused your brother. We do not want such a man to rule us!"

The headman contemptuously glanced over his subjects, then replied to Aksigyókük, who still pretended to be an old man: "Ancient one, you are stirring up trouble amongst my people. I shall put you in your place. I shall stand you beside your brother and empty a urine pot over your head, that all may see what happens to those who dare to taunt me."

The headman, confident in his ability to overcome easily an old man, stalked close to Aksigyókük. Aksigyókük wiped some of the fish-eggs from his arms, and quickly seized the headman, forcing him down by his brother so hard that he was unable to rise. All the warriors and henchmen of the headman were so surprised at the strength shown by one whom they had supposed to be an old man, that they too could not move out of their places. The people shouted with joy at the discomfiture of the headman.

Aksigyókük stripped the urine-soaked parka from his brother and clothed him in that of the headman. He pulled off the headman's arms and legs, one by one, and threw them out of the entranceway. He also smashed in the headman's chest and wrung his neck, while the people shouted and danced in their joy at being relieved of their cruel master.

Aksigyókük carried his brother Kógrüglük on his back to the boat. The people crowded to the shore and offered him many gifts. One old man said: "When you came here first, we thought that you were an old man, and weak; but when you rubbed off the salmon-eggs, we saw that your arms were as large as a man's legs. You are strong and powerful. Now that our cruel headman is dead, and we can live in peace, we want you to become our headman."

Aksigyókük replied: "I shall take Kógrüglük, my brother, home to our village, but I shall return and be your headman. I am very strong."

They set out for the Selawik village and encountered nothing but fine sailing until they almost reached the shore. Then some jealous medicine-woman from the Kobuk village caused huge waves; but Aksigyókük, with his great paddle and blue bead, rode safely over the waves and put his brother ashore. He returned with his crew to the Kobuk village, where he drove away the medicine-men and followers of the former headman and ruled peacefully over the people. Long afterward his boat, with the blue bead in the stern, was found half-buried on a mountaintop.

THE POWERFUL ORPHAN

Two brothers once dwelled in a large village near the mouth of Selawik river. The elder was the headman, very wealthy and powerful, but cruel and disliked by the people; the younger was a great hunter, the best in the village, and popular with everybody. In the same village was a poor young man, an orphan, who lived in the men's house. He had no family ties, no home of his own, and no one to teach him the use of weapons, songs, or dances; but he was a good story-teller. The headman, the elder of the two brothers, greatly disliked the orphan. He beat the youth, and often tried to force him to sing, because he knew the orphan had no songs.

The younger brother took pity on the orphan and adopted him into the family. He had his wife make clothes for the orphan, and his daughter served food to the youth. The hunter brought home much marrow, because it was a favorite dish of the youth. But he was forbidden to play with other young men, because the hunter wished to rear the orphan in his own way. The cruel headman still abused him whenever he caught the orphan in the men's house, where he still slept, and tried to make him sing, beating him savagely when he could not utter a note. The orphan wondered and planned how to learn to sing. When others played games or told stories, he remained quiet, his thoughts continually on singing.

One night, in a restless state of mind, the orphan put on new clothes and walked upstream. Soon he came to a house which he had never seen before. The entrance was low and deep in the ground, and light streamed from the smoke-hole. As he came to the door, something seized him and whisked him inside. Fear almost overcame the young man, but he was soon reassured when he saw only an old couple smiling their welcome. The old man ordered his wife to bring food, and when the youth had finished eating, asked why he had come to their house. The orphan answered: "The headman in my village has always treated me cruelly. He scolded me, beat me, and tried to make me sing songs. I can tell stories, but I have no songs. That did not please him."

"I have heard of you and I have seen you in my mind. I brought you here by my thoughts, because I pitied you. Now, if you are not afraid of what I am going to do, I shall teach you a song."

The orphan sat beside the old man and listened to a song twice repeated. Told to sing it, he rendered words and tune correctly at the first trial, which greatly pleased his instructor, who said: "Now you have learned a song. Keep singing it loud and clear. My wife and I are going out. We shall return in a moment, but have no fear when you see us in other forms. When we come toward you, push our muzzles aside, shove us through the door and close it. You must keep up your singing all the while."

As the old couple departed, the orphan commenced his song. After he had repeated it several times, he heard growling and scratching in the entranceway — sounds which frightened him so that he abruptly broke off the song and looked about wildly for a hiding-place. At once the noises ceased and the couple reëntered in their human forms. The old man warned: "You can never learn to sing if you take fright so easily. Nothing will harm you. We shall try once more."

This time, after they left, the orphan closed his eyes and sang loudly. The scratching and growling commenced again. The youth raised his voice. Then two huge Bears came through the door, with frightful snarling and gnashing of teeth. Though alarmed, the orphan, still singing, pushed their noses aside and shoved them through the door.

Soon the two old ones entered again as humans. The old man spoke: "This song will always belong to you. Whenever you use it, sing it loud and clear. If that headman tries to make you sing again, have him sit beside you. Then we shall come, but do not push us aside. Let us attend to him, and no one will suffer harm. It is daylight now and time for you to return to the village."

He slept in the men's house for a short time, but arose when the women brought in food, because all the men ate together there. A friendly man gave him a portion. Soon the headman, the elder brother, entered. He went at once to the orphan, slapped him until he cried, and tried to make him sing. The orphan begged: "You have been very cruel to me. If I begin now, you must sit beside me, and all the people must be here, because this is my first song."

Then the youth sat in the middle of the room, the headman beside him, and the people gathered around. The orphan said: "Now you will hear my song. Do not be afraid."



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KĪHSŪK, SELAWIK

"I shall not be afraid of any song that you can sing," retorted the headman.

In the midst of the song, growling and scratching were heard at the entrance. The headman became frightened. In order not to betray his fear, he whispered to the young man to stop singing. As he sang harder, two huge Bears came through the entrance, snarling, and gnashing their teeth.

The headman, in great fear, cried: "Stop! Something will happen to us!"

The orphan sang louder in spite of the headman's efforts to clap a hand over his mouth.

The headman offered, "If you will only stop, I shall give you a house, clothes, weapons, caches, and my daughter to wife."

The orphan sang on. The Bears circled the room, touching no one, though all were paralyzed with fear. They came to the headman and began to drag him out by the legs. The orphan cried to the luckless headman: "You have always asked me to sing! I have sung! These are my powers, and they may do with you as they like!"

He turned to the headman's family, and said, "If you want to ask for his life, do it now while I am here."

They answered: "He was as cruel to the people and to us as he was to you. We are glad that he is being taken away."

The orphan again spoke, "If any one else wants to speak for this headman, let him rise."

The younger brother arose: "I am glad that my brother is being taken away," he declared. "The people can now dwell in peace. I was ashamed of my brother. Tomorrow let us all bring wood and build a house for this young man. I am going to give him my daughter."

The orphan smiled to himself and motioned the Bears to drag away the headman.

The younger brother continued: "I am now the headman. I am glad my brother is killed. He treated me cruelly, because I was the younger. Let us not build a rough house for this youth, but build one as fine as we can. Let it be big and well built, so that no one need be ashamed of it. Let it be big enough so that he can work inside of it. I shall teach him to hunt so that he can have many furs."

Another man, a son of the old headman, said: "I shall give half of my weapons to this orphan. When he has many skins, he may return them."

The new headman appointed men to bring timbers, others to search for moss for chinking, and the best builders to erect the frame. Ground was prepared beside the younger brother's house, and the orphan divided the work of building. Some were told to set up the framework. Two front posts were put in place, and two rear posts slightly lower to give a slanting roof. These were connected with beams, and the whole was covered with timber splits leaning against the framework. The chinkers piled on earth and moss while the caches were built. The men filled the caches with meat, and the women brought skins and furs in plenty, so that the room was lined with them. Even the big head-logs, on which people sat when singing or telling stories, were covered with furs. A storehouse was built against the main house and filled with meat and fish, fresh and dried, and marrow.

All the people rejoiced, because the new headman was kind and a great hunter. They were glad that the now powerful orphan used his powers in a good way. They were proud of the new house, the best in the village.

When all was finished, the villagers gathered in the new house. The daughter of the headman stood by the orphan. The younger brother spoke: "These two are man and wife. If at any time any one wants to know something, or asks aid, seek this orphan, my son-in-law. He will now be the headman, for I am growing old. He will direct you when to hunt caribou and when to fish."

The orphan, as headman, now assigned families to certain sloughs on the river. He warned them to fish until ice could hold a sled. He told all the best hunters of the young men to go to the mountains for caribou. He advised the women where and how far to search for berries. Many things the orphan talked about, and answered many questions. He advised the people to do so much because he foresaw a period of famine. This was the first time that tasks were assigned the people.

The orphan himself hunted caribou; but while others used arrows, he cast spears and in this manner killed entire herds, so that other men ceased their hunting to carry in the meat. The orphan listened to much advice from his father-in-law on how to rule the people. Now

the caches were full, and the winter was occupied with feasting and dancing. Thus life with plenty went on for several seasons.

One night the orphan called a gathering of all the people. He said: "A time will come when we shall see no more caribou or fish for a long period. Let the families be sparing of their food, and eat no more than three times a day. Let each cache be filled with one kind of food. Build a big, new storehouse and fill it with all the food you can get."

The people obeyed, and brought in much food. In the winter the orphan hunted with his father-in-law for fox and wolverene. Of these a great number were killed. The skins were given to the people for clothing, until all were supplied.

THE RESCUE OF THE STOLEN WIVES

There were once two villages on opposite sides of the lake far up the Selawik river. In one lived a famous hunter with his wife and youthful brother-in-law. He had meat caches both in the village and over the countryside. Whenever the hunter made a kill, he would return home and send his wife out with a sled to bring in the game. The brother-in-law, while a good hunter, spent a great deal of time in running and in practising games of strength.

One night the wife, sent after meat, failed to return. In the morning the hunter followed her tracks to the meat, but found only the empty sled. There was no trail leading away, so he returned home disheartened. The whole village searched for the woman, but finally all had to give up; no trace was ever found.

The hunter heard that in the village across the lake a woman had disappeared also, so he sent for the husband to discuss ways and means of locating their wives. This man had a grown brother-in-law, who accompanied him. After much discussion, the three men and the youth had women of the village make them light travelling clothes: parkas, trousers, mittens, and boots. Then they set out up the river. They travelled light and hastily, killing game only when necessary for food, and even then they left most of the meat behind, rather than be troubled by packing it.

One day, as they walked swiftly on the ice, a rabbit crossed their trail. One of the men tried to catch it, but it scurried into the willows. The youth who had spent so much time in games of skill and strength, jeered: "The rabbit ran slowly, but you could not catch it! If I ran, I should catch it alive!"

The man was angry, but said nothing. The youth advised: "If we see another, we shall chase it to see how fast we can run. Some time some people will want to kill us, and we should be able to run fast."

As they saw rabbits, each of the three men in turn pursued, but none was able to catch or even appear to keep up to the animal. The youth exclaimed: "None of you men can run! Any enemy could catch and kill you easily!"

As they went on, a jack-rabbit jumped from cover and crossed their trail. The men were glad, for a jack-rabbit is faster than other kinds. In their turn they jeered at the youth. He ran, caught up with the animal, and with one kick killed it. As they ate the meat for supper, the youth instructed the men not to eat caribou while they had rabbit. Camp was made in a thicket, and the youth said, "We must have a shelter."

He walked to a tree, solid in the frozen ground. He boasted, "If any one comes here, I shall kill him with this."

At the same time the youth tore the tree up by the roots. He said to the others, "Show how strong you are, and pull up more trees for the shelters."

None of the men could stir a tree, not even a dead one. The youth derided them, "If an enemy came here, you would be killed and I should be left alone."

They followed the stream to its source in the mountains; then they climbed to the peaks and looked about. Far in the distance a large lake sparkled in the sun, and smoke arose from two villages on the shore. The party carefully descended and approached the first village, which was near the shore; the other was farther away toward the mountains, but both had many food caches. Many people were playing kickball in a playground between the two villages. The people continually sniffed the air like dogs. At nightfall the party changed from their travelling clothes to new garments, and left weapons and packs by a cache. Then they entered a large house where lived an old couple, two young couples, and a young single woman. The men

and the youth uttered no word, but sat down, and the young woman offered them food. She addressed them: "I have seen no strangers here for a long time — not for many seasons. Perhaps you may be killed."

After they had eaten their fill, the people began to tell stories, but the youth interrupted them: "We did not come here to tell stories. We want to know if your people carry off women."

The old man replied: "I am glad that you have come to my house; my daughter will feed you whenever you are hungry. There are five big brothers in the other village, who are cruel and steal women. They have just brought back two fine young women, but we do not know whence they came."

The two hunters immediately thought of their lost wives, and began to weep, but the other man and the youth questioned the family. More people came in and talked in a friendly manner to the searching party, but they looked grave, and said: "You are strangers. You are young and strong, but those five brothers will kill you."

One old man said that one of the recently captured women resembled the youth, so he knew it must be his sister, and the husband knew it must be his wife. The youth became attracted to the young woman who had served them. The old man said: "Those five brothers are the best runners and ball-players. No one can beat them. I want you men to help us in our game today. If we alone try to beat them, and give them a hard game, they always kill our young men. So we always let them win."

While they were making ready for the game on the following day, a messenger came from the other village, and said: "The five brothers have learned of the presence of strangers. They want them and your village to play today. They say that they will kill you if you do not win. They are very angry."

The youth who had assumed the leadership of the party answered, "We shall come over." He also instructed the others to say nothing during the game; that he would be the spokesman for all. The old man of the house advised them to wear light clothes during the game. He said, "We like to have visitors tell us of other places, but those five brothers always kill them."

The youth replied: "I am a fast runner. I can beat them."

Around his parka he wore a wolven belt with two weasel-tails on it, and wore mittens of caribou fawn. All drank water and went out. The villagers commented: "Those poor men! If they do not win, they will be killed. They are fine-appearing men, and it is too bad they are about to die."

The other village trooped out, and both sides lined up on the lake ice. A huge man, one of the five brothers, stalked out with a ball between the two lines. He said, "I want one of those strangers to help me put the ball in play."

The youth went out opposite the huge man. As he walked, he sang:

I want to play against him, although I think he is too big for me.
I want to fight this huge man, although he is too big for me.

The giant put his foot against the ball, and growled: "Now, you little fellow, you have dared to play against me! I always kill small people, and you are the smallest I have ever played against. You may be brave, but I am stronger. When I kick a ball, it goes farther than you can see."

The youth retorted: "I have come a long way from my home. I am looking for my sister and I think she is here. She is the wife of this man. Another woman you have stolen is the wife of that man. You are big, but I shall play against you. You are large, but I am going to rescue my sister."

Each put his foot by the ball and grasped the other by the shoulder. The huge man said: "Let us see who can kick the ball out first. If you can push my leg aside, it will go; or if I kick your leg away, it will go."

Both pushed with their feet so hard that the ball broke. The huge man exclaimed: "You are the first who has ever broken my ball! You must be strong, even if you are small. You must be brave. Let us try another ball."

The second ball broke likewise. The huge man became angry, and the youth taunted: "You have balls that any one could break. I did not even kick it. Why do you not make one of stone? Put those balls aside and let the women sew them up for games against weaklings!"

The third ball also burst; but the youth succeeded in pushing aside the huge man's leg

and kicking the fourth ball far down the lake. Both sides then gave chase, but the youth easily outstripped both villagers. Close behind him panted the five brothers, and behind them the others of the rescue party. The youth reached the ball first and kicked it toward his village. Whenever it landed, he was the first to kick it. As he ran, he jeered over his shoulder at the slowness of the five brothers. Finally he kicked the ball into the house in the village where he was guest, and the game was won. All the villagers cried out, "That's the first stranger to win a game!"

The huge man approached the youth, saying: "This is the first time a stranger ever won with my ball. I want you and your party to come to my village and eat with me in the playing place. I always play there with strangers."

The four went to the playground and sat on a shelf by the entrance, while the villagers took their usual places. The huge man ordered, "Prepare food for these men!"

A naked woman with her hair bound in at the waist entered with food. She stood with head bowed in shame. The youth and her husband at once recognized her. The other hunter wondered where his wife was.

The huge man commanded: "Eat! You can not play games without food in your stomachs!"

The youth in anger at the degradation of his sister, retorted: "Yes! I shall eat! Thus!" He hurled the pot of steaming meat in the face of the huge man. The people watched, breathless. The huge man made no move, but quietly said: "This small man is always against me. He must be very brave. Food is scarce and should be eaten. He has wasted his, so I shall have to punish him. I shall try him out to see how strong he is."

He had men bring in a whale-bone with a hole in the centre just large enough to contain a man's head. It was bloodstained. The huge man removed his parka, tightened his belt, and said: "Now, you little man; you have said you were so strong, let us wrestle and try your strength. No one, not even medicine-men, can kill me. That hole in the bone will be your grave!"

The youth could reach only to the waist of his opponent, who derided: "This poor little man is only scratching my skin. He can not reach around me."

The youth squeezed hard, and panted: "I have never before fought a huge man. Wrestle me as you always wrestle strangers."

The huge man threw the youth, and cried, "You have tried to win, but you are going to lose now."

The youth, undaunted, retorted: "I can not throw you, because I can not reach around you; but soon I shall beat you. I shall get even for that throw."

The youth took a hold beneath the arm-pits, and wrestled hard. All the people were wishing in their hearts that he would win, because the five brothers were very cruel and ruled harshly. The huge man laughed: "See this little man try to throw me! He is only tearing the skin from my shoulder!"

But with one mighty heave the youth flung his antagonist to the floor, where he lay dazed. Soon he arose, crying, "I shall kill you now, little man!"

He dragged the youth toward the whale-bone, but when near, he twisted away. The surprised huge man bluffed: "I let him go. I was only playing with him. I do not want to kill him yet."

The angry youth answered: "I twisted away from him, but now I shall kill him, because he tried to kill me."

The youth seized the man and bore him struggling to the whale-bone. Then he forced the head through the hole and cut it off. A second huge brother, angry, jumped down, crying: "I am stronger than my brothers. I shall kill you now!"

The youth easily disposed of him. The people were now smiling and glad, but the remaining huge brothers were greatly frightened. They offered to free all prisoners and to give great wealth if only the youth would spare them. The people shouted: "Do not stop! Kill the others, or they will be cruel to us after you are gone!"

One after another the youth killed the evil brothers, until none remained. He offered to kill any other bad men who might be in the village, but he was told that all the rest of the people were good. The youth smashed the whale-bone against a wall, and cut up the bodies and threw them outside. Then he commanded all to leave the bloody place. Outside he saw that the



From Esquimaux Photographs 1920 by G. S. Smith

SELAWIK WOMEN

pieces of flesh had become meat of whale, walrus, and seal. He freed all prisoners who had been changed into sea-animals. The youth found an eagle parka and several polar-bear skins that the five brothers had used for hunting. He finally ordered both villages to live in peace.

The youth, with the aid of the woman who had first served him food, changed his clothes and entered the men's house, where much feasting took place. The stolen women were returned to their husbands, and all were happy.

The young man remained a year in the village and married the young woman after obtaining her parents' consent. He always hunted alone, and took no weapons but clubs, with which he struck off the heads of caribou. His wife skinned and dressed the game; she was the best and fastest of any in the village at this work. He hunted for both villages, and gave away much meat to the poor and old. The people, though afraid of his power, respected and loved him for his goodness. When asked how he became so fleet of foot and so powerful, he replied that while others never practised, he had always trained himself for running; that he pulled up trees by the roots to become strong.

After two years, the party with their wives went downstream to their old village, killing many caribou on the way. They received warm welcome in their two villages. The youth, however, travelled continually between his own village and that of his wife, killing much game and helping all the people. He taught the people to pack skins to the coast, and to trade them for seal meat and oil.

THE HUNTER WHO WENT TO THE MOON

A large village was situated on one bank of the river far from all other people. In those days the people knew nothing of sealing or sea-fishing, but lived on caribou and river fish. One fall, when all returned to the settlement on an appointed day after the caribou-hunt, a youth was missing. No trace of him was ever found. After snow came, another young man was lost, and all the village was perturbed and at a loss to explain the disappearances.

A young man lived with his grandmother. He was not as other youths, because the old woman had taught him many things. He thought that some medicine-man had stolen the lost young men, so decided to find out where they had been taken. For many nights after all were asleep, he watched and walked about the house. One night the watcher saw something coming from the moon, which he soon made out to be a woman no taller than the width of his palm. She went in the entrance of the men's house, where the youths slept, but soon came out carrying a naked young man, who was still sleeping. She went up into the sky toward the moon, and the young man watched until she became a tiny speck in the distance, and finally was out of sight. The young man said nothing the following day when the excited villagers puzzled over this fresh disappearance.

He now determined to go to the moon himself, but was unable to rise from the earth, even with all the power he possessed through his talismanic headband, the complete skin of a white bird given him by his old grandmother. He was forced to await the reappearance of the Moon-woman. One night, very late, she returned to earth. The waiting young man accosted her: "Who are you? Why did you come down to our village?"

"I am seeking a husband," she answered.

"Then take me with you."

"I shall take you for my husband if you will wear nothing, nor carry anything away with you from here."

He removed all clothing, even the bird-skin headband, and followed her to the moon. There he saw a house and a pathway leading to the sun. In the dwelling were an aged couple, the parents of Moon-woman. She instructed him, "If you obey my parents and me, all will be well with you, and you may remain here always."

The young man asked for weapons. The old man said: "I have spears and arrows. They have not been used for a long time, so I do not know how they will work."

He took the proffered equipment and set out. Soon he found a herd of caribou and easily killed one. While packing back the meat and skin, the young man was bothered by a butterfly which persisted in fluttering in his face, nor could he brush it aside. At the house he said nothing about it, but gave the meat to the old woman and Moon-woman. For many days as he hunted, the butterfly troubled him, but on one trip the young man succeeded in crushing it on his face.

He was happy to be able to go his way in peace. While still far from the house, a fog came over the land, till the young man could no longer see the trail. Then he removed his pack and sat down. He knew that some supernatural power was trying to destroy him. He thought of his grandmother, and his own talisman left behind, and was sad. Then he began to sing:

Grandmother; O, Grandmother!
Soon I shall be dead!

At that moment the young man felt something strike his forehead, and on reaching up found it to be his bird-skin headband. The fog cleared slightly, and he saw a huge man with a body of flint standing near. In sudden fear, the young man cried: "Grandmother; O, Grandmother! Soon I shall be killed!"

Immediately the fog cleared away, and a new spirit surged through the young man's heart and made him strong. He whirled the bird headband around his head and flung it at Flint-man. It struck the forehead so hard that the man fell apart in small pieces of flint.

When the exultant young man reached the house, he found Moon-woman tear-eyed and sad. Dropping his pack, he patted her, and asked, "Why are you so sad? I have never seen you this way before."

She answered: "You have killed one of my husbands. He was the best hunter I ever had. I am not angry at you, but what am I going to do now?"

But she soon became happy again, and the whole family talked of leaving the moon and of hunting seal on the ice. Four men, sons of the old couple, came from afar to help man the boat. One day, during a hunt on the ice, the young man became separated from the others and drifted to sea on an ice-floe. The others, when they found him missing, searched far and wide all summer and well into the winter, and then for several seasons.

The young man continued to drift, and finally the floe grounded. He sat on land, tired, hungry, and dejected. He had lost his weapons. Now he thought his end was near. He sang:

Grandmother; O, Grandmother!
Soon I shall be dead!
Grandmother; O, Grandmother!
Soon I shall be dead!

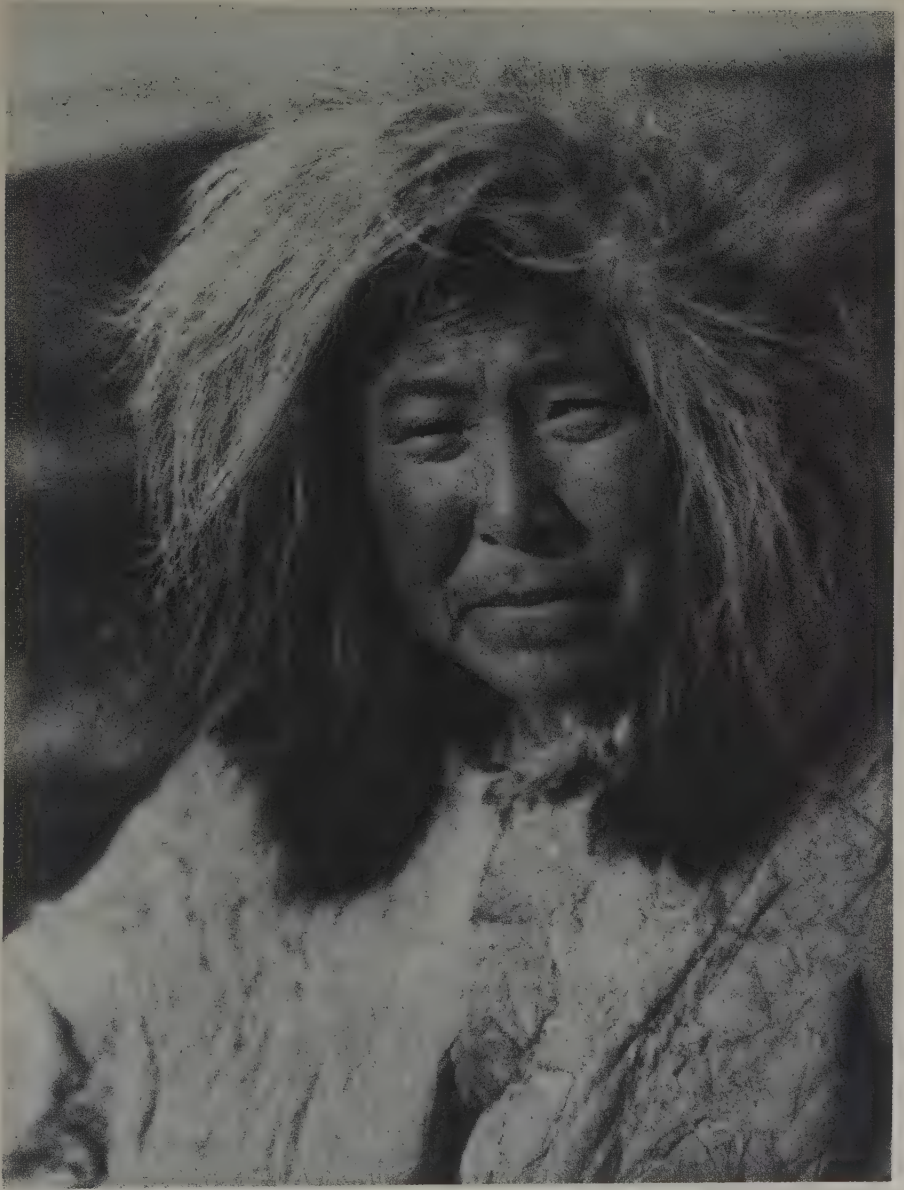
At once he thought of his bird-skin headband. He stretched it in his hands until it was very soft. He made himself small and crawled into the skin. After some practice, the young man became able to fly. He took on the habits of the bird and flew down to look at every floating thing in the water. If it was edible, he ate. Nights he rested on ice-floes.

One night, during the fourth season of his absence, the young man heard voices not far off, saying: "It is too bad we can not find our hunter. He probably is lost forever. We have been searching so long that we had better go home now. We shall look over that large floe, and if he is not there, nor any trace of him, even a piece of parka, then we shall go home."

The young man located the boat and tried to follow it. His strong bird habits forced him to alight and examine every floating object, and in so doing he nearly lost the boat. He saw the floe that they were headed for, and alighted there at last. After some difficulty, he removed the bird-skin, for he had been in it so long that it stuck fast to his skin. Then he resumed his own size and put the headband back on his forehead. As soon as he overtook the searchers, they rejoiced to see him again. The party then returned to the moon. The young man soon lost all his bird habits; he became a mighty hunter and medicine-man. So many supernatural powers came to him that he was bothered with them. He could not sleep at night. One power was a tiny drum, which became large when he beat it.

One night he told the family that he was going to try out his powers. While all watched, he brought in buckets half-filled with water. Then the young man spread out his bird-skin headband, made himself small, entered it and flew about the room. As a bird he dived into each bucket and brought up fish. The young man removed the bird-skin, and addressed the family: "I want to visit my home on earth. There will be plenty of meat here for you while I am gone. But if you think I will die soon, or if you need me, I shall not go. If you will let me go, I shall return soon."

For a long time the family remained silent, but finally all gave their consent. The young man donned his bird-skin once more and dived into a water-bucket. In a few moments he was



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SELAWIK WOMAN

once more on earth and in his grandmother's home. She knew that he was coming, and had prepared food and new clothing. He learned that all was well in the village. At the playground, the young man told the people about the disappearance of the youths, and of his adventures on the moon and the sea. He told them that he was now a great medicine-man with many supernatural powers, but that he had never killed any one.

After a short visit, he returned to the moon, where the family were still awaiting him, talking about his last words, but not looking into the water-bucket. He was the only husband of Moon-woman, and he spent the remainder of his life there.

THE SIX MEDICINE-MEN

Two powerful medicine-men, brothers, ruled a large village up the Selawik river. They were lecherous men who kept their house filled with women, married and single, and killed all who might object to their desires.

In the same village dwelled two brothers with their two sisters, and two dogs, one male and one female. The parents of the family had been slain by the medicine-men. The brothers removed to an inland lake, where they lived in a grass-thatched house with a willow frame. The elder brother, who was also a medicine-man, erected a tall stalk of grass, higher than the tallest tree, on the opposite shore of the lake. If any medicine-man approached, the stalk quivered and shook down frost which immediately killed the invader. However, the strongest wind could not remove a single bit of the frost. The elder brother also wore a dried weasel-skin on his breast, which he could imbue with life and send out to kill game. The two dogs brought in meat for the family.

For a long time, through the days and nights, the elder brother sat, with head bowed, trying to think of some means to protect his sisters from the cruel medicine-men of the village whom he knew would soon try to steal them away. A thought came to him at last, and by supernatural power he surrounded the younger sister with heavy stones, while the elder he turned into darkness. The home became a solid rock. Satisfied with his powers, the elder brother restored sisters and house to their former shapes.

The following morning, the elder brother saw the grass stalk shaking down frost. He knew then that an attempt would be made to steal his sisters. He informed the family: "One of those evil medicine-men who killed our parents will come here tonight. Fear not; I shall match my powers against his. Even should he prove to be stronger, be not afraid."

That night, while all were sitting about the fire, the elder brother remained quiet a long time, head bowed on his hands. He spoke slowly and quietly: "That medicine-man is now starting. He is coming this way. I see him near the lake, but do not be afraid when he enters. Now he is close. He will enter, but not through the door."

Suddenly the evil medicine-man appeared through the firepit, head and shoulders rising like a seal's. Immediately the elder brother caused a sheet of flint to slide beneath the medicine-man, so that he could not escape.

The medicine-man spoke, "I have come to take these young women to my home."

"Do not talk that way about my sisters. They will never leave here," rebuked the elder brother.

"Just watch. If you oppose me or think I can not take them, you will die!" was the threat.

"Try all your powers. Though you work hard, or even kill me, my sisters can not go. They must not become your wives, because you have killed their parents by your supernatural powers."

All night long the talk and threats went on between the two. At last the exasperated elder brother cried: "Because you want my sisters so much, I shall kill you right here! If you talk about them any more I shall slay you now!"

The medicine-man again threatened: "Your power is not strong enough to kill me. I am a great medicine-man. I shall strike all of you dead if you try to prevent me from taking your sisters!"

"I have no weapons in the house, but something else will surely destroy you if you persist in trying to take my sisters."

Just then something began to claw, scratch, and eat at the feet and legs of the medicine-man. He used all his powers, but was unable to escape. Meanwhile, the elder brother changed

the house to stone, surrounded the younger sister with stone, and transformed the elder into darkness. He and his younger brother became arrows and shot themselves into the grass outside the house. At daybreak they found the evil medicine-man dead beneath the tall grass stalk. After restoring his sisters and the house to their original forms, the elder brother changed the dogs into serpents, which ate the medicine-man's body. He then killed the serpents and commanded their bodies to become dogs again. Now the evil medicine-man was forever dead. The elder brother next gave the dogs flints to eat. Each time they failed to swallow the stones, he killed them and reanimated them until at last the dogs were able to eat and digest stones. Finally he hung chains of flints about the dogs' necks.

That night the elder brother ordered the male dog, "Find and kill the brother of that medicine-man!" He threw the dog into the ashes of the firepit, where it soon sank from sight. He flung stones after the dog, and these became a swarm of mosquitoes to aid the animal.

Arrived at the medicine-man's home, the dog, with a cloud of mosquitoes about his head and chains of flints clinking about his neck, circled about, and, as he went, the walls became stone. The medicine-man saw the dog enter and became greatly frightened; he knew at once that his powers could not harm the beast. The dog flung his flinty chain about the medicine-man and dragged him about the room, shrieking, promising to free the people, swearing to kill no more, and begging to be freed. The dog pulled him outside and away from the village to the tall grass stalk, where the medicine-man died. The elder brother again changed the dogs into serpents, which ate the body. After killing the reptiles, the elder brother transformed them into dogs again.

The family moved back to the village, and the elder brother told the people to be afraid no longer, for they would never be troubled again by these medicine-men. He also released the imprisoned wives and returned them to their own husbands.

A villager informed the elder brother, "These medicine-men had been sent here by two powerful brothers who live beneath the sea."

"I can kill them, no matter how strong they are," replied the elder brother.

"But there are still two more who live yet farther away under the sea, who are much more powerful, and they will avenge these others."

The elder brother informed the people: "I am going to kill these medicine-men under the sea. They will never again ravish our village of maidens."

The hearts of the people were gladdened, and they rejoiced.

To the dogs, with their jade breasts and flint chains and swarms of mosquitoes, the elder brother gave instructions: "Go to the first village under the sea and kill the two evil medicine-men there. I shall follow through the air."

The dogs went below the surface of the sea until they came to a village. There the people were all gathered on a playground, where the medicine-men dwelled. While passing through the entrance, two huge sea beasts attempted to seize the dogs, but the mosquitoes settled in the throats of the monsters and choked them to death. The dogs entered the playground, where they saw men on one side, women on another, and the two evil medicine-men sitting by the rear wall. They circled the enclosure, snapping at all who stood in their way. The medicine-men saw them, and became greatly frightened, for they knew that their own power was of no avail. They cried to the dogs, "If any one has sent you here, we shall give him anything he desires if he will take you away and let us go!"

The dogs made no reply. They quickly flung the chains of flint about the bodies of the medicine-men, so that they were helpless, and dragged them outside. The dogs moved swiftly to the surface of the sea, and there devoured the two evil medicine-men. The elder brother then appeared, and said: "I am glad that you have obeyed my instructions. I shall tell these people that they too can live in peace, and I shall restore the women to their husbands. Now you must go under the sea again to another village, where dwell more powerful medicine-men. These also you must kill. I shall follow through the air."

After a long journey, the dogs came to another village under the sea, where dwelled the last two medicine-men, the most powerful of all. As they started to pass through an entrance-way to a large house, two ferocious beasts sprang at them. The mosquitoes again flew down the throats of the attackers and choked them to death. Inside, the dogs saw many people, many captured women, and the two medicine-men. They endeavored to catch the medicine-men in their flint chains, but each time the men threw off the chains and healed their bodies



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SELAWIK GIRL

from bruises and cuts by rubbing themselves with flints. Finally they became exhausted, and an easy prey to the dogs, which dragged the medicine-men through the door, so that none of the people might see what was about to happen. The tall grass stalk sprang up and showered frost on the medicine-men, who died immediately; the dogs changed to worms and consumed the bodies, afterward becoming dogs once more. Then the elder brother appeared, and went to the people, saying: "My dogs have done well in ridding the village of these evil medicine-men. Never more will you be ill-treated by them. The women they have stolen I shall return to their families. If other evil medicine-men bother you, send for me and I shall destroy them."

The elder brother, with his dogs, then returned to his own village and family.

THE POWERFUL MEDICINE-WOMAN

At one time a number of people formed a village on the seacoast. Here dwelt a single man who never hunted or fished for himself. He dressed shabbily, but was always well-fed, because he was very strong and in the habit of entering homes to take what he wished. He not only snatched away food, but wantonly destroyed furnishings of homes. He was so strong that none dared oppose him.

In the same village a woman lived by herself. She was very powerful, and the greatest medicine-person in the community. All the hunters gave her half their catch, which she stored away in her caches. The people had fear of the strong man, and thought that with his power he would some day begin to kill people. They knew that he feared the woman, so they went to her and asked to be relieved of his presence. She answered that she would use her powers as they wished, and send him away.

As she finished her reply, a skin boat with a crew of four men drew up on the beach before her home. While the whole village watched, one of the strangers beckoned the strong man to him. Drawn by some power and unable to resist, he walked to the boat. The leader grasped him firmly, and said: "I have heard that you are a cruel man. Now I have you in my arms. If you are really cruel, speak!"

The man remained silent.

The stranger resumed: "We have come for you. The medicine-woman sent for us. You have always made an easy living. In the place where we are going to take you, you will work harder and be treated far worse than you ever have been treated before. All your life you will have to fight and work hard to keep from being killed."

The strong man did not want to be taken away. He cried and pleaded: "The power I have used just came to my mind. I could not help it. I am sorry. If you will let me go I shall not do as I used to do. I shall bother no one, and shall not try to become stronger."

The stranger replied: "If you had kept on with your ways, you would have become the strongest and cruelest medicine-man around here. You would have killed people. That is why we have come for you. Even if we allowed you to remain here, you would become powerful and we would have to give you the same punishment."

With these words, the four strangers picked up the strong man, threw him in the boat, and cast off. Far out of sight of the mainland, an island loomed. There the crew put him ashore. The strong man looked about and saw that he was on a bleak island, inhabited only by countless worms and insects. To these latter the leader of the strangers spoke: "Do not kill him at once, but gradually destroy him, so that he will have a long, hard time dying. We shall bring to you any others who are becoming cruel."

The boat departed, leaving the strong man alone. He soon became thirsty, but there was nothing to drink. The worms attacked him in great numbers, and in spite of his enormous strength they quickly stripped him of clothes. Then the insects alighted on the strong man and devoured his flesh, bit by bit, until only the skeleton remained. But, through his power, the strong man still lived.

Meanwhile, in the village the medicine-woman informed the people: "That strong man is being eaten by worms and insects. Some power must be helping him, because he is still alive. If any one else is trying to become strong and cruel, I shall send him to the same place."

From that time all the people became kind and helpful toward one another. The younger, especially, aided the older and poorer with gifts of food and clothing.

The medicine-woman, powerful and wealthy, lived alone in a great house always well

lighted. It could be seen from afar at night. The walls were transparent, so that all the people could see her at work. Her power was such that she could see, watch, and read the thoughts even of all in the village. The medicine-woman remained single, because no man dare marry her; they were afraid of her powers. One time she called the people together and asked that some poor young man be brought to her for a husband. A poor youth who lived with his grandmother became her husband. The medicine-woman ordered a new house to be built for the old grandmother and that she be cared for by some young woman.

That fall the fish did not run and caribou became scarce. A famine occurred in the village. The caches of the medicine-woman were filled, because she had always taken half of all the catches. From her stores she fed the village, so that none starved. She sent out the best hunters, but they returned empty-handed. Then she ordered her husband to remain home and to divide food amongst the villagers, while she hunted. He, however, begged the medicine-woman that he go out, and was allowed to take weapons and a sled, and depart. Away from the village, on shore ice by open water, the husband saw a boat filled with whale meat. One of the boat crew stood up and addressed him: "We have heard about the famine in the village. We know that the medicine-woman has fed the people from her stores. We have taken pity on you and are going to give you this whale meat to take home. Let people come out with sleds and take home whale and seal meat."

The man loaded his sled, returned home, and sent out men. They brought in meat of whale, sea-lion, and seal, until all the caches were completely filled.

The husband, soon growing tired of sea-food, asked permission of the medicine-woman to hunt caribou. After walking far, he met an old man, seated on a snow hummock, who said: "There is a big herd of caribou near by. Go and kill."

The young man, armed with a spear, soon rounded up the herd. When he waved his weapon in a circle about his head, the caribou milled about and he killed all with ease, piling the carcasses in two heaps. He searched for the man who had directed him, but he was nowhere to be seen. He went home to the village, and ordered the people to go out with sleds and bring in the meat. He told them to hunt thenceforth for themselves, because he would not live forever to support them. All were saved from starving, and since that time the people have lived in plenty.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

GENERAL SUMMARY

LANGUAGE — Eskimauan.¹

POPULATION — The population of the Alaskan Eskimo as given in the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Education to the Secretary of the Interior for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1927, according to districts, is as follows: Northwestern, 2136; Southwestern, 935; Western, 1740; Seward Peninsula, 2108; Southeastern, 4062; Central, 1424. Total, 12,405.

DRESS — Both sexes wear the parka, a frock-like garment reaching to the knees. The pattern is similar for both men and women, excepting that there is an open seam on each side of the bottom hem of the women's parka. Parkas intended for outdoor wear have an attached hood which is pulled over the head or allowed to remain folded at the back of the neck. Indoor parkas are lighter in weight. Parkas are made of bird-skins (duck, gull, or loon) or of animal-skins (caribou (now reindeer), mink, muskrat, or squirrel). The waterproof parka for use in rainy weather, in choppy seas when in kaiaks, or while hunting, is made of seal-intestine. Men and boys may wear tight-fitting fur caps. Trousers for both sexes are made of seal- or caribou- (now reindeer-) skins; those of the men end at the ankles, while women's trousers are of full length and have crimped soles for the feet. Boots for men are of knee height, have crimped soles, and are secured with thongs passed over the instep and around the ankle. Boots are made of sealskin, or of the skin of some other animal, with the hair on. The waterproof boot is hairless. Grass pads and sometimes woven grass socks are worn inside the boots to absorb moisture. Mittens, some having a forefinger, are worn in cold weather. The facial decoration for men consists only of labrets, carved ivory plugs worn in apertures below the extremities of the mouth. Women wear elaborate labrets, earrings, and often nose-beads on ceremonial occasions. Tattooing, affected by women only, is in parallel lines extending from the corners of the mouth to the chin, and sometimes in lines about the wrist.

DWELLINGS — Permanent and winter houses were (and still are in outlying places and amongst the natives who resist the influences of civilization) of semi-dugout construction. The height of such dwellings is about seven feet, four feet of which is underground; the horizontal dimensions range from eight to eighteen feet square. The framework and rafters consist of wooden beams overlaid with split timbers, the whole covered deeply with earth and sod. The long entranceways serve as storehouses for equipment of all kinds. On Nunivak island the houses are connected with tunnels. The men's houses (community club-houses) and the women's houses, where such exist, are the largest. These dwellings are similar, in the main, but often vary in details of construction in the different villages. The summer and winter houses on King island are box-like structures, consisting of a living-room proper, and a storeroom erected on stilts which in turn rest on terraces dug out of the steep cliff. Summer and camp habitations, now mostly canvas tents, formerly were light, unsubstantial structures, such as the skin-covered conical hut; the round, skin-covered shelter of the Cape Prince of Wales people; the semi-cylindrical shelter covered with bark, moss, or grass, used by the Selawik; or the square, bark-covered hut of the Kobuk.

PRIMITIVE FOODS — Birds, such as auk, duck, geese, snipe, and ptarmigan, in seasons of migration are so numerous as to be easily killed. Sea and river varieties of fish, such as cod, herring, pickerel, salmon, smelt, trout, and whitefish, form important food. Edible plants,

¹ See map facing page 3 for dialectic differences.

collected during the brief summer season, are the Alaskan potato, blackberry, blueberry, salmon-berry, cranberry, cowslip, dock-leaves, wild cabbage, and wild parsnip. Inland river Eskimo depend chiefly on caribou (now reindeer) for meat, trading with the coast Eskimo for blubber, meat, and oil of sea-animals, except when family groups travel to the coast for hunting. All of the coast and island peoples catch seal, the chief staple food; the Diomedes, King Island, and Nuniwak peoples obtain many walrus; the Diomedes and Cape Prince of Wales groups are noted as whale-hunters. The blubber, meat, and oil of sea-animals form the most important food staples of the coast and island dwellers. (See list in the *Vocabularies*, pages 264-268.)

ARTS AND INDUSTRIES — Amongst the island and coast Eskimo, ivory is skilfully carved into numerous implements — awls, bodkins, drills, needles, needle-cases, and spear- and harpoon-points. Woodworking is a highly developed and important industry, the product being chiefly boat-frames, boxes, bowls, dishes, spoons, masks, sleds, and numerous small implements. The fabrication of nets for birds, fish, seal, and walrus is an important activity of the men. The principal industrial occupations of women are the gathering of edible plants, the preparation of food, the working of skins, and the weaving of baskets and mats from tundra grass. The river peoples make many birch-bark dishes.

GAMES — The comparatively few games and pastimes, of the outdoor, athletic kinds, are: shooting or throwing at marks, kickball, wrestling, rope-jumping, foot-racing, tug-of-war, and the tossing of individuals in blankets. Other forms of social diversion are feasting, singing, dancing, and story-telling.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION — Villages are composed of small family groups, each headed by the father or grandfather. The nominal ruler of a village is the so-called headman, one who holds office through superior wisdom, knowledge of ceremonial precept, or shamanistic power. He acts only as a counselor and advisor to all who seek him. The social and ceremonial life of each village is carried on in the men's house, a community club-house. While the functions of such buildings may vary in detail, they are broadly similar in that each family has a permanently assigned place. Here men perform necessary indoor work, lounge, and tell stories. Unmarried men, youths, and boys usually live in the men's house. In many of the villages, women bring in food to their husbands. Sweat-baths and ceremonies take place in the men's house.

MARRIAGE — The age at which marriage may take place is generally indicated by the ability of a youth to provide for a wife, and the ability of a young woman to perform the necessary household tasks. While each group varies in detail, the general procedure is broadly similar, in that marriage takes place through the mutual choice of the couple involved, or by parental arrangement. With the exception of the Nunivak, there is no ceremony; in this instance the youth's father gives a sweat-bath in the men's house, after which the woman brings in food to her husband. The newly-married couple live with the woman's parents in all villages except at Selawik, where they may live alternately with the parents-in-law of each side, and at King island, where they take possession of the home of the parents of either, who then must build another. Polygyny formerly was practised to a slight extent among the Kotzebue Eskimo. Amongst these and the Nunivak, exchange of wives sometimes took place between brothers or close friends. Separation is effected by mutual consent, or is optional with either person.

RELIGION AND CEREMONIES — The Alaskan Eskimo have no belief in or conception of a personified supreme power. They believe strongly that spirits inhabiting animal bodies or inanimate objects, as well as spirits of the dead, may impart supernatural power to humans. The principal ceremonies are dramatizations of legends. All groups, with the exception of the Little Diomedes people, give the Messenger feast, social in nature and characterized by exchange of gifts. Amongst the Kotzebue Sound groups this feast has an added, deeper significance — that the spirits of children lost or killed may proceed to the land of spirits. The chief rite of the Nunivak, not found amongst the groups to the northward, is the Bladder feast, in which reverence is paid to the spirits of the dead and which is propitiatory to animal spirits, especially seal, that a successful catch will ensue. The Whale ceremony of the Diomedes and Cape Prince of Wales peoples, and the Beluga ceremony of the Kotzebue region, are similarly propitiatory in concept.

MORTUARY CUSTOMS — Bodies of the dead are removed from dwellings as soon as possible, dressed in their best clothing, wrapped and lashed in skins, and carried to the place of interment. The Little Diomedes people tie the hands to the sides; the Selawik, in addition to lashing the

hands, tie the legs together; the Cape Etolin group on Nunivak island flex the legs upward to the chin. The head is directed toward the east, except in the case of the Eskimo of Kotzebue who place the head toward the west, and the Cape Prince of Wales group who deposit the body so that the head will be directed southwardly. The Little Diomede people divest the corpse of its clothing at the place of interment, and encircle and cover the body with stones. At Cape Prince of Wales the people place grave-boards beneath, at the sides, and on top of the body, and cover them with stones. On King island the corpse is covered with an additional skin and overlaid with stones. At Nash harbor, on Nunivak island, a shallow grave is dug and overlaid with stones; while at Cape Etolin, on the same island, the body is placed in a grave-box, about four feet square, erected on stilts. The Kotzebue natives lash the corpse in the crotches of crossed poles. At Selawik the body is laid on a low platform, against which split timbers are placed. The Kobuk cover the corpse with an additional skin, overlay it with sod, and erect a conical framework, also covered with sod, over the whole. Food and possessions are generally left at the grave. Simple grave-markers of single poles or of crossed poles are found in the Kotzebue Sound region, and elaborately carved markers at Hooper bay. Rites of purification for near relatives last four days. At Cape Prince of Wales and on Little Diomede island these rites have a duration of five days, when the deceased is a female. In the Kotzebue Sound region, it is believed that the spirits of the dead go "toward the light," that is, eastward, although the Kobuk maintain that most of the spirits dwell somewhere in the earth. At Cape Prince of Wales, spirits are believed to dwell in a village, where they live in a manner similar to people, somewhere on the mountainside above the community. A somewhat similar belief prevails on Little Diomede island, but here there are two villages of spirits on the cliffs above the community, while spirits of the lost and drowned go somewhere in the earth. On Nunivak island, evil spirits are supposed to descend into the earth, while other spirits remain in the village for a period of forty days, thence traversing a "spirit road" to a place vaguely situated "somewhere."

MEDICINE-MEN — Medicine-men, after receiving supernatural powers, were important personages in each village. Often through recognized ability they became headmen. Medicine-men in general supervised ceremonies; gave advice, usually in regard to auspicious periods for hunting and fishing; and, on request or by purchase, distributed charms and talismans possessing varying supernatural powers. Medicine-men, it is believed, are controlled by, rather than themselves control, the spirit-powers, to which they must give implicit obedience.

APPENDED LEGENDS

NUNIVAK

DEATH OF CROW

In the old days before the land was inhabited, a Crow became conscious that he was alive. He stretched his muscles, flapped his wings, then looked about and decided to walk along the beach. In rock crevices were many sea-anemones which he took great delight in stepping on, because their grasping suckers gave a pleasant sensation to his feet. After setting his claws on a particularly large anemone, he found himself held fast. The harder he tried to break away, the tighter the suckers grasped. Crow, frightened, pleaded and sang: "Look here, O, Flower; let me go! Let me go! My uncle's *kaiak*, the whitest and the best, shall I give. Thus shall I pay you."

"We Flowers know nothing of *kaiaks*," was the answer.

"Let me go, O, Flower; let me go! Of my uncle's two *umiaks*, the better shall I give."

"We Flowers know nothing of *umiaks*."

The tide was rising and the water swished about the feet of Crow. Alarmed, he struggled with great flapping of wings. Resorting to trickery and cajolery, he pleaded: "O, Flower, by my house I have a well with water very sweet to drink, not like this salt stuff. I have deer fat to kneel on while drinking, and there is a fine piece of intestinal fat floating on the water."

By this time the tide came up to Crow's neck and spray broke over his head. Anemone, pleased at the offer of sweet water, released his grip on Crow and the two started off for the well. Arrived there, Anemone found that it contained tundra water, and that the promised fat

was garbage; but he drank his fill. The fresh water made Anemone itch so that he could not stop scratching. This caused the blood to flow, so that to this day Anemone carries red streaks on his head. In desperation he ran back to salt water, resolving never to roam again, but always to live in rock crevices.

Crow continued his journey along the shore, warily sidestepping any sea-flowers. He came upon a dead herring whose scales he pulled off and rubbed upon himself. Since that time Crow has had purplish, glossy feathers.

After a time Crow saw a house and a person drying caribou meat, the sight of which made his mouth water, so he set his mind to scheming how he could obtain it. The person asked, "Have you been catching herring?"

Crow answered craftily: "Yes, I made a great catch of herring. I filled my cache, and packing so many on my back has made my feathers glossy. I had to leave many on the shore."

The person was eager to get the fish, and left for the spot Crow pointed out. Finding only one dead herring, and that long dead, he turned back to his home. Crow was gone, and so was the caribou meat.

Crow walked along until he came to a mouse-hole in the ground. Still very hungry, he decided to wait till Mouse came along, who might feed him. Soon Mouse appeared, carrying a root in his mouth. Crow asked for some food, but Mouse shook his head negatively. Crow tried to prevent him from entering the hole. Whichever way Mouse stepped, Crow hopped before him and barred the entrance with his wings, grinning the while. Once Crow's grin stretched so wide that his eyes closed. Then Mouse nimbly dodged by. Hungry and disappointed, Crow walked on his way.

In turn he came to the holes of other animals, and tried the same trick, but his wide grin and the closing of his eyes allowed all to get past him. He went to the holes of the bobtailed rat, mink, muskrat, squirrel, red fox, white fox, arctic hare, wolverene, and wolf. Wolverine and Wolf merely brushed Crow to one side and paid no attention to him.

At last Crow, by now nearly famished, found a person cutting up caribou meat. The person refused to part with any, so that Crow in desperation cried: "I might as well be dead! Throw that hide over me and shoot me!"

The person flung the hide over him, and Crow hungrily began to peck away the particles of flesh still clinging to it, thinking that the thickness of the skin would protect him, but the person's arrow easily penetrated and killed Crow. Next the person flayed Crow and fastened the head and skin to his cap, that he might possess the spirit-power of Crow. Since then many hunters still use the crow for their talismans, while others use various birds and animals. [The hunters carefully study the manner in which these birds and animals kill their game, and imitate them. It often happens that, when a hunt has been particularly successful, the man, wearing his cap with the talisman, enters the village, giving a loud yell. In the men's house some old man puts on the cap with the supernatural power and shows the game to the people, game killed by the power of the talisman. Then the meat is divided amongst all.]

SQUIRREL'S SKIN BECOMES RED

A squirrel lived far away in the mountains. He had never seen the ocean, but had heard stories about it. Spring and summer heat bothered him so much that to keep cool he sat in snowbanks or mountain streams. One warm day he said to himself: "People have told me that the ocean is always cool. I shall go there."

He came down from the mountains and crossed the tundra, once sitting in a tundra pool; but the water was warm and brackish, affording no relief. He sang:

O, where is my place among the hills?
O, where is my place among the hills?
Where am I now?
Now I am in the hills again.

The air began to get cooler, and from a hilltop the ocean was visible. Squirrel enjoyed the cold water after the heat of the tundra. Once, while sitting on a rock, he saw below some blunt-headed fish. To them he sang derisively:

You big bullheads with long slim bodies, ha-ha-ha!
 You big bullheads with long slim bodies, ha-ha-ha!

They sang back:

You, the squirrel, mock us.
 You, the squirrel, mock us.
 You are very filthy.

Squirrel for the first time noticed how greasy and dirty he was. He scrubbed himself clean with moss, rubbing so hard that his skin became red. Squirrel returned to his mountains, but his skin is still red from the rubbing.

THE DISOBEDIENT FIELD-MOUSE

A field-mouse was at play, scampering back and forth across the smoke-hole of the house, whisking dangerously near the edge. As he frisked about, he sang,

Across, across, across shall I go.

His grandmother said to herself, "I shall feel very sad if my little mouse is hurt." She warned him not to play near the smoke-hole, but he paid no heed. At last a foot slipped and he fell to the floor, breaking some ribs and his neck. The grandmother skinned him, scraped the intestines, and made from them a waterproof parka. Then she carried the flesh to the men's house and asked the men to give her a song in return for the meat. When nobody could offer a song, she declared: "If some one will beat a drum, I shall sing and dance." Thus she sang:

Shall I ever dance?
 Now shall I dance and sing.
 Disobedient little mouse fell down the smoke-hole.
 Disobedient little mouse broke two ribs.
 Almost he broke a third rib.
 Disobedient little mouse is dead!

At the end of her song, which she repeated three times, she went to her own house, took off her boots, and sat on her bed, sorrowful, lamenting.

WHY LOON HAS A STIFF NECK

Wise Owl was enjoying his sport sliding down a mountain slope. For each slide he ascended higher. Each time on reaching the bottom he sang:

Up shall I tread.
 Up shall I tread.
 Farther shall I go.
 Why should I slide back?

After many slides, he sang:

Now I am stronger.
 The mountaintop shall I reach.
 The mountaintop must I reach.

Then he slid all the way from top to bottom, enjoying the sport immensely. From a lake near the bottom came a call, but Owl was unable to see from whom it came. Several times he ascended the mountain to see better; at the top he could neither see any one nor hear the call, but at the bottom the voice was plain. At last, after listening intently, he spied Loon far out on the water. Loon derided him in song:

O, stiff-winged one.
 O, stiff-winged one.
 O, stiff-winged one, trying to climb a mountain.
 With stiff wings he tries to climb a mountain.
 Ha! Ha! Ha!

Then Loon dived beneath the surface. When he reappeared, he sang his mocking song again. Owl felt so badly that he abandoned his climbing and sliding. He said to himself, "I shall wait for him to come up; then I shall have revenge for his mocking."

When Loon came up from his dive, Owl called: "I shall sing something about you. You must listen to me." Owl sang:

You lake-dweller with body above stiff legs.
You lake-dweller with body above stiff legs.
You stiff-legged one.
Ha! Ha! Ha!

At the finish, Owl flew upward, circling about until he disappeared. Loon watched, craning and stretching his neck as Owl rose in the air. After Owl was out of sight, Loon tried to draw in his neck, but discovered that he was unable to move it. Because of his mocking, Loon still has a stiff neck craning toward the sky.

AN EXCHANGE OF FAMILIES

A pair of Owls, with their five little ones, lived on a knoll and the father hunted mice for the children. One time the father made preparations for a journey. Said he, "I am going to seek my half-brother." He travelled toward the ocean until he arrived at the shore ice. He knew that beyond lay open water, so he sang:

Up in the air shall I travel.
Out in the sea shall I land.
Out on the ice shall I look.

At the end of his song, when he was at open water, ripples appeared. Closing his eyes, he sang:

Up in the air shall I fly.
Out in the sea shall I land.
As my kaiak travels, so shall I.

Opening his eyes, he again saw ripples, which soon disappeared. A third time he sang:

Up in the air shall I fly.
Out in the sea shall I go.
As my kaiak travels, so shall I.

Then, opening his eyes, he saw a person, clad in a fancy parka, sitting on an ice-floe. To him Owl said: "Let us exchange parkas. You visit my family and I shall visit yours."

After the exchange had been made, Owl directed, "When you see a knoll on land, you will know my family is there."

The person replied: "When you go below the water, you will find a mat. Lift that and you will find the entrance to my house."

Owl dived, and although he looked about carefully, he found no mat. He returned to the person, who said, "The mat will be made of seaweed."

Owl, who had taken the form of the person by the exchange of parkas, soon found the entrance to a large house where lived all manner of water animals. The person's wife gave him a bowl of fish, but Owl did not care much for fish.

The person, flying over land, saw smoke rising from a knoll and decided, "That is where Owl must live." The person found the family of Owl not to his liking. The home was filthy with dead mice strewn about. The mother and children had dirty feathers. The person refused to eat mice, pieces of which the mother Owl threw to the children, but he ate a trout which she cooked. Then she went out to hunt more mice.

When the person began to tell stories to the children, they yelled and cried, but they joyfully sang, and danced with a stamping of feet and flapping of wings. They swayed to the song:

Flap one wing toward the other.
 Flap one wing at a time.
 Look at your feet.
 Look at one and then the other.
 Sway and follow your nose around.
 Our mother is away.
 Soon will she be here.
 Mother, bring many mice for your children.

Soon the mother Owl returned, but she was very angry to see the dancing and hear the singing. She snapped her beak and ruffled her feathers. Vainly the person attempted to calm her anger. In disgust he flew to the water and stripped off the Owl parka which he placed on an ice-floe. Then he dived beneath the waves to his own home. Owl gave up the parka to his half-brother, who might have been the White Owl, and returned home after donning his parka. Neither ever after left his own family.

HOW SPOTTED SEAL BECAME HUMPBACKED

Tūbiyūbiyūb had travelled far along the beach before he came to a house, the home of a great hunter. Here, since he was a strong youth, he was made a servant. The hunter, before going out, always cautioned Tūbiyūbiyūb not to leave the house, but once when he had been gone a long time Tūbiyūbiyūb decided to run away. He walked far by the shore, and when tired he hid in a crevice in the rocks.

When he heard his name called, he knew that he was being trailed, but determined to remain in hiding. The hunter sang:

There are Tūbiyūbiyūb's tracks.
 There are Tūbiyūbiyūb's tracks.
 When Tūbiyūbiyūb hears me say "Oh! Oh!"
 He will answer "Oh!"

Before he knew it, Tūbiyūbiyūb had cried "Oh!" He said to himself, "Now if the hunter sings again, I shall not answer 'Oh!'" But unable to control his voice, a second time Tūbiyūbiyūb replied "Oh!" Now the hunter was much nearer, and again he called, and Tūbiyūbiyūb, through the folds of his parka which he stuffed in his mouth, mumbled "Oh!" This time the hunter heard him and soon discovered his hiding-place. He said, "I always told you to ask me before going away."

Several times Tūbiyūbiyūb ran away, but he was always trailed, found, and scolded, for though he stuffed his mouth with fur, sod, or grass, he was always compelled to reply "Oh!" The hunter finally told him, "If you ever run away again I shall punish you severely."

All winter the two hunted and killed many caribou, but when summer came Tūbiyūbiyūb ran away again and, finding himself pursued, hid under the water. The hunter followed the trail, singing:

There are Tūbiyūbiyūb's tracks.
 There are Tūbiyūbiyūb's tracks.
 When Tūbiyūbiyūb hears me say "Oh! Oh!"
 He will cry "Oh!"

Although under the water, Tūbiyūbiyūb answered "Oh!" and the sound bubbled to the surface. By the bubbles the hunter located Tūbiyūbiyūb and dragged him on shore, where he began to beat him with a club. Tūbiyūbiyūb broke away, and the man followed, all the while clubbing him about the head and shoulders. Tūbiyūbiyūb dived in the water and on coming to the surface had changed into a spotted seal, whose back was swollen from the severe drubbing. Since that time the spotted seal has borne a hump on his back, and if called to, always answers "Oh!"

MOUSE DECIDES TO REMAIN ON LAND

By the shore dwelled an old woman who had a Mouse grandchild. She made for him a *kaiak* with a frame of straw and wild-turnip stalks. His paddle was of dock-leaf. Inside she placed a wooden floor board and a grass mat. She made him a waterproof parka, mittens, and boots, and gave him a poke of food.

On a fine, calm day, as Mouse prepared to go hunting, the grandmother sang:

Get you ready for the hunt.
Where will you go?
Where will you go?
Distance will you cover.

As he pulled on his right boot, he declared, "If I go to the right, an evil spirit may get me." As he pulled on the left boot, he thought, "If I go to the left, an evil spirit may get me."

As the grandmother put him in the *kaiak*, he asked, "Grandmother, if I go to the right, will an evil spirit get me; or if I go to the left, will an evil spirit get me?"

She replied, "If you go to the left, an evil spirit will get you."

So he paddled a long distance to the right until he came to a point of land. There he saw many *kaiaks*, which headed toward him. In great fright he turned and paddled hard, singing:

When I go to the right, evil spirits will get me.
When I go to the left, evil spirits will get me.
Everywhere evil spirits will get me.
Home shall I go.

As the *kaiaks* drew nearer, he redoubled his efforts and sang all the harder. As he drew close to shore, he shoved his *kaiak* on the rocks, where it broke into many pieces. Safe on shore and looking back he saw that the pursuit was a school of trout. He told his grandmother that evil trout-spirits had chased him. She answered: "No more *kaiaks* shall I make you. Here you will stay."

Ever after the Mouse remained on land.

ADrift ON THE ICE-FLOE

There was a village on the mainland which had an island opposite it. The inhabitants customarily killed seals and cached them on the island for winter use, dragging meat, when needed, on sleds over the ice to the village. A wealthy hunter dwelled there, who always was the first to fill his caches with seal and then prepare for the summer caribou-hunt. Once, after overhauling his bow and arrows preparatory to the chase, his wife informed him that she was about to give birth to a boy. The hunter then killed two caribou, the carcasses of which, together with some seal, he carried to the men's house and traded for wood. A sweat-bath for the unborn child was given; afterward the wife brought in a large bowl of berries, and all the people were glad to have so much food. After the birth, the parents were so proud and happy that the man became a better hunter and brought in more game than ever.

In the following spring the women in the village took sleds to go to the island caches for meat. The hunter's mother tucked an adze in her belt, fastened the child on the sled, and set out after the others. On her way, she met the women returning, who warned her either to make haste or to turn back, before the ice was breaking up. The grandmother kept on, however, and loaded her sled, but on her return the ice broke up, isolating her with the boy on a large ice-floe. They drifted for many days, the floe gradually melting, until finally they approached land. When she could see bottom, she loaded the boy on the sled, jumped into the water, and quickly waded ashore.

There, with an adze for a tool, she built a house. The boy she taught to snare birds, and when old enough she hewed out a bow for him. Then she said, "You must go out, and when you see animals with bushes on their heads, be not afraid, but shoot them."

This he did, and thereafter became a great hunter of caribou, so that they never lacked meat and fat. Following the grandmother's instructions, he next made a *kaiak*, covered with caribou, flimsy and unhandy, and a rough paddle. But with his weapons he killed many seals,

so many that before the run was over he was able to quit hunting and build himself a new large kaiak with a very large paddle, and make new weapons.

One calm day, the young man started off alone, crossed the bay, and went beyond the cape. As the land behind him faded out of sight, new land appeared ahead, which proved to be an island. On this he set up a pole as a landmark and returned home. In the morning, the young man and his grandmother departed in the kaiak, laden heavily, and a tight fit for the two of them. They travelled at great speed, and soon reached the island with the pole marker. The youth said, "I set up that pole yesterday."

The grandmother looked about in bewilderment. Said she: "Why, this looks like the island beyond our village which I left years ago on an ice-floe. Yes, this is where you and I came for the meat your father had killed. Over there must be the village."

The villagers spied them, shouting, "Kaiak! Kaiak!" Soon the two were surrounded by kaiaks, and were invited to the men's house. On shore, instead of unloading as the others always did, the young man easily carried up kaiak and load in his arms. Putting the adze under his parka, he went inside and sat between two young men who were his brothers, born while he was away. Neither he nor his grandmother made known their identity.

The men challenged him to a kaiak race, and one man offered him the use of a small one to replace his large one with the huge paddle, but he refused. He was unaccustomed to races, and so was left behind at the start, his brothers leading all. Easily and leisurely he caught up. Then yelling and paddling with all his strength, he passed all the contestants, going so fast that his wake overturned the others. He came in first, and the rest, very wet, one by one straggled in.

Challenged next day to a caribou-hunt, he brought in his game first, followed by his two brothers, who were disheartened at being twice beaten. The father instructed the two sons: "If that young man keeps this up, our family will be shamed. You must kill him!"

The grandmother heard these words, and, leaning heavily on her stick, came to sit by her grandson. Then she addressed the father, her son, "How very foolish you are to do a stranger to death because he is a stranger!" She took the adze from her grandson and presented it to the astonished father, who recognized it. She said: "Years ago we drifted away from the island on an ice-floe, but safely reached the shore, far, far from here. Your son has been brought up alone and you have seen what he can do."

"Ah! Ah! I thought you two had died. I did not understand. I said what I said without knowing," responded the father.

Afterward grandmother and grandson went to live in the father's house, and all the brothers soon came to know and to love one another.

KING ISLAND

KÁHTA, THE MAGICIAN

Káhta, a medicine-man, had the power to animate anything. To show his ability, he often blew on a large stone lamp in the men's house, hands tied behind him, and caused it to rise in air and float to a bench. Káhta had a doll which would crawl, walk, or talk at his bidding. Often the doll pulled the parka hood over its head and disappeared from within it. Káhta then could tell where the doll had gone and all that it was doing. When he held up the empty parka and shook it, the doll would drop out.

Káhta cut stones, so that they bled. He swallowed knives, and rusty water drooled from his mouth. Káhta could slash himself in many places, shake his body, and cause the cuts to heal. He walked on water many times. Women besought him to tell them where lost articles were. Káhta lengthened or shortened seasons, and brought walrus and seal to the island. Many times he died and returned to life again, sometimes, when dead, flying over the world.

THE MOTHER-IN-LAW MEDICINE-WOMAN

A young man lived happily with his parents-in-law. They loved him as their own son. But soon the wife died mysteriously and they mourned for a long time. The following spring, as the young man was approaching the village from a hunting trip, he saw a lighted house which had never been there before. Investigating, and attempting to pull aside the skin door, he

found it held fast by some one inside. Angrily he pulled with all his strength, and then saw that the arm of his mother-in-law was holding the door. In fear he turned to run, but her hand clutched his ankle. Desperately he tore free, but soon afterward his leg rotted off.

THE WIFE-BEATER

A couple lived together happily for a long time, but then the husband began to treat his wife cruelly. Whenever she ran away, he pursued and brought her back, only to mistreat her more than ever.

In the fall the hunters went out for birds which sleep at night. These they killed by biting off the heads. One very windy night, when any noise they might make would be drowned, the couple went bird-hunting. As the wife lowered the husband over the cliff in a noose, a thought came to her: "My husband treats me very cruelly. I shall drop him."

She released the line and then crawled back along the trail to her son's house, where she said nothing of what had happened. The husband fell far, but was unhurt. By lassoing rocks about him, he climbed back, the strength of the wind holding him against the cliff and preventing swaying. He ran to his son's house. The wife was greatly frightened at his appearance, but for a long time he was very kind to her. Finally he reverted to his former habit and beat her often.

After he had finished making a drum and composing new songs, he commanded her to dress in her best clothing. Then at night the two went up the cliff, beating the drum and singing. On the very highest pinnacle of the island, where the slopes drop sheer to water, he turned and struck his wife with the drum-beater. At the end of each song he hit her, until at last the beater broke. Next he crashed her with the drum until she was dead, and then covered the body with stones. The stone mound on the pinnacle can be seen to this day. The husband jumped off the top, falling, spinning over and over, cleft the water far below, and disappeared forever.

THE FIRST FISH AT KING ISLAND

In early times the people saw no fish near King island. A young woman, walking along the shore, once saw a small fish near the bottom. She asked, "What is your name, O, Fish?" But the fish continued waving his fins slowly, making no answer. "O, Fish, all creatures have names. You should know your name."

Suddenly the fish turned into a handsome young man, who stepped on shore. He said: "While I was a fish, I was unable to speak. That is why I did not answer you. My name is Kúniyokómita."

He started to walk up the path with the young woman, repeating his name over and over; but in her presence he forgot himself and stopped saying his name. Then he turned back into a fish and flopped to water. Four times he made the attempt before reaching the men's house. There the people asked the girl why the man repeated continually the name Kúniyokómita. After hearing the reason, all went to the shore and fished. Since then there have been plenty of fish in the sea at King island.

LITTLE DIOMEDE ISLAND

STORY OF ÚŃROÁSIUK

A hunter, ÚŃroásiuk, the fleetest runner on Little Diomedé, was so thin that he wore leggings made from single caribou-legs. He was married, but bewailed the fact that he had no child. Hunting the polar bear, he found a mother carrying a cub behind her ear. In fright she dropped the cub and shambled off to safety. ÚŃroásiuk picked it up and ran home.

He told his mother that he would rear the bear to be his son. At first it refused all manner of food, but when the mother beat up oil and fish-eggs, the cub licked the mixture from her fingers. It grew rapidly to full size, learning the people's language, becoming a favorite with all, and playing with the children.

When ÚŃroásiuk hunted seal, the bear accompanied him. After the kill, the bear would swallow the hind-quarters and run home. Coming to the house and entering, the narrow door-

way would squeeze the distended stomach of the bear until the meat was disgorged. This the mother cleaned and cooked for Úproásiuk when he returned later, tired after cutting up the rest of the seal.

Úproásiuk marked the bear so that the men would not shoot it when it was out hunting alone. One time some hunters from Big Diomedé, although they recognized the mark, killed the bear. Úproásiuk mourned long, and his heart became filled with thoughts of revenge. When it became time for both villages to fish for tomcod through the ice between the islands, Úproásiuk arose before daylight and concealed himself behind an ice hummock close to the trail. When the people came out, he saw the man who had killed his son, the bear, accompanied by his seven brothers, a full boat crew in number. As these passed the ambush, Úproásiuk shot arrows at close range so rapidly that he killed them all. Then he ran home before relatives of the slain could organize to capture him. Thus was his son avenged.

Úproásiuk, the fleet runner, was so careless about fishing through the ice that his father repeatedly warned that some day the ice in the straits would break away from the shore ice and Úproásiuk would drift to sea. One day, while fishing far out in the straits, he heard the cracking and rumbling of ice breaking. Fast as he was, he could not make the shore. He ran far out over the ice to Cape Prince of Wales, but was unable to land there. With a tremendous burst of speed he sprinted across Bering strait to the Siberian shore, but there too the ice was free. In a last spurt he ran back by way of Sentinel rock to the west side of Little Diomedé and came home safely.

A while later, in spite of warnings that the Big Diomedé people sought to avenge themselves upon him, Úproásiuk set out with only fishing gear to fish near the larger island. There he met the other village people, but they offered him no harm. At the end of the day he packed his fish, slung them over his shoulder, adjusted the tumpline, and started home along the trail. Suddenly eight men sprang up behind ice hummocks and filled him with so many arrows that his body after falling rested above the ice on their shafts. Later his village sent out a sledge for the corpse.

At home his mother tried to pull out the shafts, but the body was frozen too hard. She thawed him out on a rack over the fire until soft, then easily pushed the arrows through. After being bathed and dried with a grass towel, saved as customary from babyhood, Úproásiuk came to life and his wounds healed.

A woman, a relative of the avengers on Big Diomedé, heard of this recovery. Eager to tell the news, she hurriedly crossed to the other village, where the men, in preparation for the celebration of the death of Úproásiuk, were shaving off their hair and making ready to dance. They greeted her, "Cousin, you are just in time to dance with us."

She stood, saying nothing, watching the boys playing in the house. They were racing fast around the room while some men sat about the walls holding out sharp knives. If a boy ran too close to the walls, he would cut himself on the knives, but the bleeding only made them healthy. Then the woman replied to the invitation: "There will be no dance. The man you killed yesterday, I saw alive today."

THE KILLERWHALE-SPIRIT

In olden times there was a gravel bar between Little and Big Diomedé islands from which the people fished with nets. If the wind was from the north, they cast their nets on the lee side, and vice versa. In the village lived a youth with his old grandmother. His only other relative was an uncle who, though he had a full boat crew, was a very poor whaler. In the same village was a powerful medicine-man, a great whaler, who killed four whales and no more each year.

One spring a whale, of a kind no one had ever seen before and with white stripes about its body, came to the village where it dived and swam offshore. All boats, the uncle's with the youth last, were quickly launched to go in pursuit. The medicine-man had caught his four whales, but desired greatly to get this strange whale which was so near the village. He summoned his crew and told his steerer: "That whale did not come here of its own accord. Let us go and kill it."

"You have killed four this season. If you kill more you will be working against your supernatural power and evil will befall us."

"That whale has been sent for us to kill. Let us go."

With a protesting crew the medicine-man then joined the other hunting boats. No one could harpoon, because the whale sounded when a boat came near. As soon as the medicine-man came up, the others withdrew, all but the youth's uncle's boat. The young man could see the whale when it sounded and could follow its movements under the water, but the uncle paid no attention to his directions. The youth finally persuaded his uncle to let him steer and then followed the whale. When it came up near the bow, it was harpooned; then other boats approached and the animal was soon dead. They towed it to the grandmother's home, where the youth cut off flukes and flippers. The remainder the uncle took.

In the fall, when the youth heard that the medicine-man was preparing to give his dance, he said: "Let my crew come here and practise songs. We shall give our dance first, because we killed a striped whale."

When the crew gathered, he put up his steering paddle outside the house as a sign that a dance was to be given. That night the medicine-man, who was resting, said to his two wives, "I see my power, my Killerwhale-spirit, coming to me from Big Diomedé."

Soon the Killerwhale-spirit, in human form, arrived in a *kaiak*. He went to the medicine-man and indignantly asked, "Why did you not kill that striped whale which I sent for you?"

"Because that poor young man who is even now holding a dance killed it first."

"Let us go to his house."

Before going in, the Killerwhale-spirit thrust a paddle through the entrance. All within saw on one side of the blade moving figures of all sea animals and on the other side all land animals. The Killerwhale-spirit and medicine-man sat on each side of the entrance hole. The drummers sat on a bench in the rear, the singers before them. On one side of the room was the youth, and on the other the uncle, while the grandmother remained in a corner. Near the entrance a lamp burned. At the finish of the songs the Killerwhale-spirit addressed the youth: "I like the songs you have sung. Let the singers repeat them."

"The last song has been sung. They can not sing again until tomorrow."

"Just sing one more song. I should like to hear it," urged the Killerwhale-spirit.

"No, we can not sing again. We are through until tomorrow."

Upon the continued insistence of the Killerwhale-spirit, the youth said to his grandmother, "O, my grandmother, have you a song?"

"Yes, I have a song."

"Sing it quietly and faintly so that it can just be heard."

While she sang, the Killerwhale-spirit cupped both hands behind his ears and moved his head from side to side trying to hear better. Twice was the song repeated, each time louder. These songs were vocables. Now, a fourth time, loudly, she sang words. Then the Killerwhale-spirit became very sleepy, so tired that he had to rest hands on the floor to keep from toppling over. To save himself, he grabbed his pictured paddle and rushed outside, followed by a medicine-man and the youth. There they found the Killerwhale-spirit dead, killed by the song. In despair over losing his power, the medicine-man wailed: "What shall I do? What shall I do?"

The youth answered: "Go home now. Nothing will happen to you."

From that time the youth was the greatest whale-hunter of the village, and the people made him headman. He became a powerful medicine-man, so that all stood in great awe of him.

CAPE PRINCE OF WALES

THE YOUTH WHO MARRIED A CRANE

A man living at the Point Hope village reared an orphan boy because he had no son of his own and needed some one to take care of him in his old age. The orphan, who slept on a bench above the entrance, worked hard carrying water and bringing in sled-loads of wood. One morning, dragging the sled, he set out for a load of wood. The wood-pile acted in a peculiar manner: each time the youth attempted to pick up a stick, the log would jump to one side. Every stick there eluded his grasp, try hard as he would. Late in the day he pulled the empty sled home, weary after his futile efforts. His foster-parents asked: "Are you safe? Why are you so late?"

"I worked hard all day getting a load of wood," he lied.

Then he took a bucket and went to the water-hole, but each time he dipped, the water receded beyond reach. Finally the perplexed young man gave up. He decided, after these happenings, to leave the village, so he went far up the creek. As he rounded a bend, he saw four naked girls in the water, splashing and playing with much laughter. The youth spied their clothing and sat on it. When the girls knew they were watched, they came up and demanded their parkas. The oldest girl and two other sisters, as they received theirs, turned into cranes and flew away. He refused the youngest her parka, but after long pleadings and promises to remain, it was returned.

The youth sought to return with her to his village, but he lost the way. His new wife, the Crane-woman, commanded, "Turn around!" He obeyed and saw behind him a new house where none had been before. Then she asked, "What shall we eat?"

"We have no food. I do not know what we can eat."

"You have caused me to stay here. You must find food for me."

Then she went out, soon entering with a bowl of cooked meat. In the morning, the youth, armed with a heavy club, went hunting. Stalking a herd of caribou, he ran up and killed many, so that they had skins and meat for a long time. In the fall was born a son whom the mother reared, teaching him to wade and swim in the creek. But even when quite large he wore no clothes. "Why," asked the orphan, her husband, "do you not make clothes for our son?"

"When the proper time comes I shall make him a parka."

When the son was able to accompany the father hunting, she made a parka for him from her own, which she had had before marriage. A second son was born and reared in the same manner. One day when her husband was very quiet, she asked, "Of what are you thinking?"

"I have been wishing to visit my village, but I do not know where it is."

"I have never mentioned my village, which is very far from here, but your home is near and we shall visit it. You must first build a sled and I shall load it."

The little family, dragging a loaded sled, followed the creek until they arrived at the village. The husband had to make himself known, because he had changed and also had been given up for lost. After living a long time with his foster-parents, his foster-father asked him to build a house of his own, for his was not large enough for all. Then the young man knew that something was wrong. Later in the day his wife said: "Some one is plotting against you in the men's house. Some one will come to you from there."

After a messenger had told him that the men would play games in the morning on the high cliff overlooking the sea, his wife predicted, "If you play you will be killed."

"If I lose my life, take the children and go to your village."

In the morning all the men, carrying a wide plank, climbed the cliff. The youth went along, carrying his weasel-skin talisman hidden. Arrived at the top, they set one end of the plank out over the cliff. Far below could be seen deep blue water and breakers creaming over rocks. Men stood on the cliff-end of the plank. Each in his turn, to show his bravery, ran to the end and back, some tottering and nearly falling or losing their balance. The last to run, the young man darted out. No sooner was the end reached than the men stepped off the plank. Plank and man hurtled downward. While spinning in the air, the young man put on his weasel-skin parka, so that he was a weasel. Though the speed of his fall was great, he slipped into the sea like a weasel, barely making a splash. He swam ashore, became human again, and entered the village where all were greatly amazed to see him.

When another messenger came to invite him on a whale-hunt, the thought came to him that his foster-father desired his wife. Disregarding his wife's warnings, he took his place in the boat as spear-thrower, while his foster-father steered. Unknown to him, the paddler immediately behind fastened the harpoon-line to the youth's foot. After passing up two small whales, they sighted a large one blowing on the surface. The youth rose and cast the harpoon accurately. The whale at once sounded and the line fairly smoked over the gunwale, dragging the young man into the sea.

As the boat returned, the foster-father saw three cranes fly out of the smoke-hole of his house. They were the wife and two sons of the youth who became cranes on wearing their bird-skin parkas.

In the meantime, the youth, whipped about on the end of the line as he was snaked under

water, pulled himself hand-over-hand until he reached the whale's head. Then the great sea beast broke water and the youth saw that they were near shore ice. He let go the whale, swam to ice, and clambered ashore. He knew his wife and sons had left the village, so he seized some weapons and followed the direction of their flight.

Some distance away he found them wading in a stream. The wife said: "You can follow us a long way, but you can not reach our country, because there is a wide stretch of water to cross. We are going to my village, but we shall never live together again."

"I am glad to have seen you. I shall follow as far as I can."

Day by day, for a great distance, they travelled, he overland, the wife and sons flying. They stopped many days by the edge of a great body of water. After much persuasion to let him accompany them, the mother and sons practised carrying him on their backs, changing their burden from one to another in mid-air when tired. When expert, they set out and arrived at the village in a day and a night, each crane carrying the man in turn until tired.

There they remained, dwelling with the aged parents and sisters of the wife. The old father gave the youth his bird parka, so that he too was able to fly. The couple had two more sons, and they sometimes flew to visit his village. Since then cranes fly in small families or groups.

THE STRONG YOUNG MAN

A headman, who lived in the southern end of the village, slew a wealthy man, who left an orphaned boy. The youth, with constant thought of revenge, grew up to be a strong man, but he kept his great strength secret, practising athletic exercises alone. One spring, after the ice broke up, the headman brought in a whale to the village where all the people began to help in the cutting. The strong youth, arms folded under a bird-skin parka, stood aloof, watching. When the headman sent his wife for food and water to offer to the whale-spirit, the youth followed.

As she came out of the house bearing the dishes, he blocked the entrance, refusing to let her pass. Angrily she exclaimed: "Move aside! You are keeping the people waiting for me!" When she attempted to push by, he grasped a wrist so tightly that it broke. He bound it up with hide, then forced her to bring a complete outfit of her husband's clothing, which he put on. By now the people were impatiently calling to the wife, and the young man walked to the shore. When near enough to be recognized, the headman shouted, "Who is that person wearing my clothes?"

In great rage he snatched up a spear and advanced to club the youth. As he struck, the young man grasped the spear and broke off the end with one powerful wrench. With each blow of the headman he broke off a portion till only a stump was left. The headman, alarmed by this resistance and unexpected display of strength, fled, hotly pursued. The youth soon overtook the headman, grasped an ankle, swung the helpless body in many circles about his head, and then crashed the skull against an ice hummock. So hard was the headman flung that a leg pulled off.

The strong young man called to the villagers who had scattered in fright, and they came back to help cut up the whale. The youth moved to the headman's house and married his wife. He became a mighty killer of whales and the headman of the village.

THE SPY

A man and wife lived in the east village. The woman was so jealous that she often trailed her husband and watched whatever he did. One night she followed him to the men's house. As she went in the entrance, a drumming informed her that medicine-men were conjuring inside. Before reaching the entrance hole, she saw the upper half only of a man standing in the dark. The woman was badly frightened, for she knew that strange medicine-men, spirits sent by medicine-men, or spirits, often tried to spy on medicine-men at work. She was more afraid because she knew that the medicine-men inside would know they were being spied on and would try to kill her, as well as the spy.

The woman planned a way to get inside and to let the stranger be killed alone. Cunningly she spoke to him: "Those inside know you are here and I have come to help you. We shall take turns in watching the medicine-men from the entrance hole, and that will destroy their power."

They heard some one inside say: "There are two people in the entranceway. One walks on the ground [a human]." The husband thought, "That must be my jealous wife who is spying on me."

By their power the medicine-men contracted the entrance walls, nearly crushing the woman, but the half-man spirit turned into something small, so that he could not be harmed. When the walls opened again, he was once more a half-man. According to the woman's plan, they took turns looking through the hole, but the half-man kept close to her side, so that she had no opportunity to jump through. At last she said: "The walls do not crush us so hard. Their power is weakening. I shall now watch; you hang back."

A man inside spoke: "One of those two in the entranceway is a woman. She walks on the ground."

Then her husband knew that his wife was there.

By their power the medicine-men inside blocked the entranceway. While the half-man spirit held back, the woman went forward. Slowly she crept at first; then, when under the entrance hole, she quickly sprang inside. A medicine-man, interrupting the husband who was beginning to scold his wife, directed: "This is all right. We shall let her sit in the middle of the floor where this strange spirit can see her. Then we shall gather about the hole, and when he peeks through, one of us will snare his head while the others make motions of spearing."

The half-man spirit, his way out blocked, peered through the entrance hole. When the medicine-men had killed him according to the agreed plan, they found that he was also a medicine-man, in spirit form, from the other village, who had come to spy upon them."

KOTZEBUE

KLĪNKÁLIK

Klĭnkálík was very successful in catching many birds on the cliffs by an inland lake, using snares made of whale whiskers. Then for a time all his snares were empty. This so puzzled him that he decided to lie in wait near by to see why there was no catch.

Klĭnkálík watched carefully from a place of concealment. He saw flocks of birds, and so many became entangled that he knew he could not carry the whole catch home. Then Klĭnkálík heard steps approaching very warily. Two huge men visited the snares and packed away all the birds. Klĭnkálík rose wrathfully, and shouted: "Now I have found out who has stolen my birds! I shall kill you!"

He pursued the fleeing thieves up a mountain trail to a great house. The men ran in, while Klĭnkálík climbed up to the smoke-hole and peered through. One of the thieves began to shout, "An evil spirit . . ." but fell dead before finishing. The second likewise died. An old man, the father of these two, astonished, hastily instructed a younger man: "Go to the medicine-woman. Tell her that our hunters came in and died suddenly. Ask her to find out why."

The youth soon returned with a leaf which he handed to the old man, saying, "The medicine-woman urges you to use your own supernatural powers."

He wet the leaf with his fingers and rubbed it, while singing, until it had become a large drum. The old man sang:

Who has been making sport of my hunters,
Of my only hunters?

The old man then drummed without singing, and walked about the room. He sang again, then suddenly pointed to the smoke-hole and cried, "There is the man who has made game of my hunters!"

Klĭnkálík, now thoroughly frightened, was unable to move. The old man called, "O, my spirit, come and kill this person who is looking through the smoke-hole!"

Klĭnkálík vainly tried to run. His legs were powerless. He suddenly put a bead in his mouth and found he could now escape. As he ran, he looked back and saw a great ball of fire rolling swiftly along his trail. In desperation Klĭnkálík threw behind him a dog-skin mitten, which fought and delayed the fire. Again he was forced to cast back the other mitten to gain a start. Klĭnkálík was now hot and spent. He tore off his loon-skin parka and hurled it at the fire. As he fled, he heard a great noise of loons, which he knew were then fighting for him.

His home was near by now, but the birds had been vanquished. As a last resort, Klínkálík hastily removed his dog-skin trousers and dropped them behind. They fought the fire as dogs, snapping and snarling fiercely. Klínkálík was now home and inside, but the fire rolled close. In despair he scattered urine before the door. The fire sizzled and went out. Klínkálík had won.

He then visited his snares and made a complete new outfit of clothing from duck-skins. From that time he became famous as a bird-hunter. Klínkálík became a noted medicine-man, because he had just killed a powerful shaman. Klínkálík was the first medicine-man to use talismanic beads.

THE YOUTH WHO KILLED THE WHALE-MAN

A wealthy and kind-hearted man often gave food to an orphan youth and his aged grandmother. It so happened that at this time many hunters failed to return to the village, among whom was the son of the wealthy man. The aged grandmother said to the orphan: "It would be good if you searched for the son of the wealthy man who has so often befriended us. You have no *kaik* or weapons, but he has many. He will supply all your needs."

Fully equipped, the youth set forth inland. While following a slough, he saw many leaves floating on the surface. He speared all, thinking, "These helped to prevent our hunters from returning." When he arrived at a stretch of seacoast, the orphan espied a seal which often popped its head out of water. This the orphan harpooned, saying, "You have helped in killing one of my friends."

The young man crossed tundra, lakes, mountains, and sloughs for many days. At last he found many *kaik*-frames on a wide stream. Looking about, he saw smoke rising from a house and thought to stop with the people living there. The orphan, concealing his *kaik*, approached the dwelling and when close by made much noise in the hope that those within might come out to welcome him. After a long, useless wait, he entered the house, only to find it empty. On a shelf he found a whale harpoon, and repaired it while awaiting the return of the occupants of the dwelling. Then he began to prepare the evening meal, which was to consist of the leaves and seal which he had speared.

Soon the orphan heard some one entering. The person demanded at once: "I am hungry. If you do not give me something to eat this instant, I shall break your neck and eat you whole!"

The orphan proffered a dish of geese and the succulent leaves, which the stranger snatched quickly, but only to throw down the entranceway with an air of disgust when he saw the contents. The stranger threatened, "If you do not give me food at once, I shall split open your stomach and eat you whole!"

The orphan handed him the hind-quarters of the seal, which the stranger treated as he had the geese. Again the man growled, "If I do not get food now, I shall break you in two and eat you alive!"

The stranger then took and devoured the front portions of the seal. While he was eating, the orphan harpooned him through the neck with the whale spear. With a great cry the strong man leaped to his feet and rushed through the door. The orphan saw him go down the trail in great bounds, the harpoon dangling from his neck. He followed as fast as he could, because the snow was deep, although the trail beneath was hard. He saw the stranger far ahead sinking to the trail, disappearing in the snow, arising and spouting blood, then travelling on again. The stranger, by his actions, showed that he was a Whale-man. The orphan followed over a high hill and came to a large village. He entered the first house, where two old women were bending over the cooking-pots. He clubbed both to death. One of the bodies he put in bed. He stripped the clothes from the other, disguised himself as an old woman, and buried the corpse in the firepit ashes. He completed the disguise by skinning one head and putting it over his own.

Two young men soon entered. The orphan complained querulously: "There is so much smoke in the house that we have been sick all day. My sister had to go to bed, and my head is still dizzy. If you young men will help me find out who entered the village a little while ago, I shall give you plenty of food."

The young men, suspecting nothing amiss, led the supposed woman, hobbling with a stick and panting from short breath, to the men's house. Inside, the medicine-men were vainly endeavoring to remove the spear from the neck of the Whale-man, who was rolling and writhing on the floor in great agony. The pseudo old woman piped in a shrill tone: "My power is great. Let all be in darkness. Let there be loud singing and drumming. I shall remove the spear."

All was done according to the proffered suggestion. Then, in the midst of a long song, the orphan withdrew the harpoon from the Whale-man's neck and thrust it through the heart instead. He climbed through the smoke-hole, threw off the woman's clothes, and ran hard toward his kaiak. Soon he heard a great shouting, and voices high in rage. He knew that his deed had been discovered. Looking back, he saw that he was pursued by the people who had changed into animal forms. The leader was a Bear. The orphan, knowing that he would soon be overtaken, hid in a ravine. The pursuers, coming to the end of his trail, began to cast about, sniffing the snow for a scent. Bear cried: "We have lost the scent! White Fox, you have the keenest nose. Circle about and find our enemy!"

The crafty Fox in a short time discovered the orphan, who pleaded: "White Fox, do not betray me. This winter I shall feed you as much oil and meat as you want."

White Fox returned to the waiting group and reported no success. They began to return to the village. The orphan jumped up and began to run to his kaiak. When near the stream, one of the animals, in looking back, spied him and cried out shrilly. The pursuit was again close, when the orphan clambered into his boat and shoved off into the water. The animals, very angry, followed along the banks. The orphan taunted: "O, Bear, I am watching you! You had better go back! You can not catch me now! I have killed your Whale-man who used to kill our hunters!"

Wrathful Bear, stung to reply, growled: "O, Youth, I wish I had you here! I should smash you like this!" He suited word to action and crushed a tree-stump with his paw.

The orphan picked up his spear and cast it into a floating log, splitting it into four pieces. He called, "Thus should I do, O, Bear, if I saw you swimming!"

The animals gave up the chase, and the orphan returned unmolested to his own village. He told the headman that henceforth the people could hunt whenever they chose; that the Whale-man who killed hunters was now dead. People, now, when they hunt, rarely leave the village for more than a few days, but they always return safely.

THE RAVENOUS BABY

In order to fish on the beach, a mother left her baby safe above high-water mark, but so engrossed was she in her work that she failed to hear its cries. All during the day the baby screamed in hunger. At dusk the mother pacified and fed the child. The woman gave her family a dish of berries, meat, and oil, all mixed together, but gave no solid food to the baby. While the household was sleeping, the woman awoke them with a shriek of pain. The baby had bitten off her right breast. The family was astounded and terrified to see the infant gulping meat from the big dish; the child now had two huge upper teeth and four lower ones. While some sent for the headman and others rushed to alarm the people, the baby crunched all the dishes in his teeth, then leaped on its mother and devoured her. The panic-stricken village fled to a stream and crossed on the foot-log to the other side, drawing the log after them. The baby shrieked and gnashed its teeth, because it could pursue no farther.

The headman thought of the good walrus knife that he had left behind, and asked several to return for it, but none dared to face the fierce baby. He ordered an orphan, a fleet runner, to get it or be killed on the spot. The youth made the attempt. By his speed he was able to out-distance the pursuing child and to snatch the knife from the headman's house. As the baby ran in the door, the youth leaped through the smoke-hole and ran for the stream, closely followed by the baby, who had its mouth wide open and disclosed huge teeth. In his fright, the runner cleared the water with one mighty bound and landed safely among the people, while the baby stalked up and down the opposite bank fuming with impotent rage.

The baby called: "I want to cross! How can I get over the water?"

A man reached a long spear across, and said, "Cross on this."

When the baby was part-way over, the man turned the spear so that the infant splashed into the water and sank. A few cries came bubbling to the surface. The song of a fish rose to the silent, waiting people:

Look toward the north.
Look toward the south.
Look toward the east.
Look toward the west.

As soon as the people returned to their homes, the relatives of the slain mother put her skeleton in a grave-box, burned the house, and built a new one for the bereaved husband and old parents. A house and weapons were given to the brave orphan. Since that time it has been found that a certain kind of fish has a breast-bone in the shape of a baby.

NOATAK

THE SHOUTER

On the bluff overlooking the Noatak village was the *avínik*, the shouting place. Here successful hunters loudly boasted that they were coming in with meat, or else called that a herd was in sight. One man, called Shouter, because of his loud voice, spent the greater part of his time at this place. Sometimes, leaving his sister in the *avínik*, he would go out to herd caribou into his corral. On one occasion, while chasing caribou, he chanced to look back. His sister was not in sight. Determined to investigate, he hurriedly returned to the shouting place, only to find the lifeless body.

In mingled sorrow and rage, Shouter went home and commanded his mother to make several pairs of boots because he was about to undertake a long journey. He followed the killer's tracks for days. On his way he stopped and was welcomed in two villages where the people were so kind that he knew they had not murdered his sister. In the last village he was told that across the mountains, near the head of the river, lay a settlement of evil Wolf-people.

At last Shouter saw a village from a bluff where the people were playing kickball. When they sighted him, two men and a girl, the best athletes and fastest runners, ran up, leading all the rest. These three grasped his arms and took him to their house so fast that his feet barely touched the ground.

After he had eaten, the while watched by his hosts, he was invited to the playground. There he saw a young man wearing snow-goggles. One of his hosts volunteered the information: "That is the fastest traveller in our village. He went downstream and killed a young woman recently."

Shouter then knew that this man had killed his sister. He felt so angry that the people asked him why he acted so strangely, but he took no step toward revenge. Shouter married the girl runner and had a child by her. He spent much of his time training his son. Because of this training of the boy he spent little time in games, hence when at last he repaired to the playground he was easily beaten. In anger Shouter killed several opponents.

He fled, hotly pursued into the steep mountains, where his trail was soon lost. He hid there and allowed the pursuers to rush by him. Then he followed and killed them one by one from the rear, the first being the slayer of his sister. In his last combat he was severely wounded and lost much blood. However, the two friendly villages gave him aid as he passed through them, and finally he was successful in reaching his own corral outside his village. There, too weak to go on, he lay amid some carcasses of caribou. Later, when some people came for meat, he frightened them away by shouting loudly: "Keep away! I shall shoot! I am a dangerous man!"

When stronger, Shouter descended the bluff into his village, now surrounded by a fence of willow withes. His mother, by careful treatment, soon nursed him back to health. Then the village appointed him one of their caribou-hunters; other men were fishermen and seal-hunters.

One night some of the Wolf-people, among whom were his wife and son, who had trailed him, endeavored to enter, but the fence kept them from the village. Shouter, hearing the noise, went out. He recognized his wife and son, and drew them quickly inside, barring the rest. The others soon went away, and after that time the Wolves never bothered his village.

KOBUK

FOX AND BEAR

Bear and Fox lived on a river, apart from each other. While they appeared friendly, great hatred existed between the two, and each had informants to spy on the other.

Winter set in. Ice formed on the sea, but the ice was overflowed with water. The thought

came to Fox how to trick Bear. Fox caught some river fish and invited Bear to dine with him. At the feast, Bear inquired: "O, Fox, these are fine fish! I should like to catch some for myself. Where did you get them?"

Crafty Fox replied: "I have a spot on the seashore where there are always plenty of fish. I have plenty, so I shall trade you this place for furs."

Bear agreed, and departed to fish. Fox waited at a distance. Bear walked out on the ice and fished vainly for a long while. The cold water on the ice soon froze him fast, though he did not yet know it. Fox decided to kill Bear now, so came down to the shore; but first he wanted to make sure that Bear could not escape. From the safety of shore he called, "O, Bear, how many fish have you caught?"

Bear merely growled, for he was angry at his ill success. Fox called again, "If you will stand up and come ashore, I shall take your place for a while."

Bear attempted to rise, but his feet were frozen fast. Fox knew that at last Bear was in his power. Just then, Crow, always prying into other people's affairs, flew down. "What is going on here?" he asked.

Crafty Fox replied: "I told Bear not to fish here. I warned him that he would be frozen in, but he would not heed, and now see the plight he is in!"

Crow knew the enmity of the two and was not so easily deceived. "Take my knife," he offered; "it is sharper than yours, and now is the chance to kill Bear."

Fox knew that Crow would tell every one if he killed Bear then, so he made no reply, but went home. Each morning Fox went to look at Bear still frozen in. Finally, Bear died of hunger, and Fox took the body home to feast on it. Fox owned Bear now, for he alone had killed him.

CROW FINDS A CARIBOU

Crow, in his perpetual flying about in search of carrion, suddenly developed a taste for caribou, a hunger that caused him to search assiduously for several days. At length he spied bloody caribou tracks, and after following the trail all day, came upon a carcass with an arrow still projecting from its side. Crow pecked the eyes out, revelling in this delicacy; but he was unable to satisfy his hunger, because the meat was frozen so hard that his beak could not penetrate it. While crow deliberated over the problem, Fox ambled along, attracted by the scent. Fox begged for a portion, but selfish Crow refused, saying to him lyingly:

"No, you can not have any. I had so much trouble trailing the caribou and killing it, that I am very tired. After all that work I shall keep the meat for myself."

Fox departed, but soon another Fox was drawn by the scent. He tried craftily to bluff Crow, saying, "Crow, get away from that caribou; it is mine!"

"No, it is mine! I killed it yesterday," lied Crow.

"I tell you it is mine! I shot it in the mountains yesterday. Stand back!" bluffed Fox.

Crow stood firmly, while Fox slunk away. The days became warmer and the carcass began to thaw. Just as Crow was cutting off a portion, Fox returned, famished, with foam dripping from his jaws. He eyed the meat hungrily and his eyes gleamed redly at Crow. Fox growled: "Crow, leave my meat! I shall kill you and strip all the feathers from your skin!"

Crow remained obdurate: "This is my kill. I shall eat it all by myself!"

Fox threatened: "I am going now, but I shall return with a larger knife than yours. Then I shall kill you!"

Crow wept after Fox left. He thought that Fox would surely drive him away and that he would go hungry after waiting so long. He thought long and hard. An idea came to him. He deposited feces and urine over the carcass. After that no other animal would touch the meat, and Crow satisfied his appetite whenever he felt hungry, so long as the meat lasted.

SELAWIK

THE WOMAN WHO BECAME A BEAR

Pisiksolik, a great hunter, lived alone with his wife and two children, none of whom had ever seen other people. Pisiksolik was such a killer of game that his caches and even the entranceway to his house were always filled with meat. He hunted only for large game, such

as bear and caribou, which he slew as easily as ordinary people caught rabbits and ptarmigan.

One time, after killing a female bear and her two cubs with his two-pronged spear tipped with horn, Pisíksolík sickened and soon died, despite the careful nursing of his wife. She sorrowfully bore the body, wrapped in bear-skins, to a grave, and erected poles closely about it to keep wild animals away. On the grave mound she placed all the weapons of Pisíksolík. All through the summer season the woman wept bitterly and mourned long for her husband.

One day, when the cold was intense and the snow lay deep, a bird hopped to her door and sang:

Pisíksolík in the far country is married now.

Pisíksolík in the far country is married now.

The woman heard, and hurried to the grave. It was open; the body wrappings of bear-skins were thrown aside, and the weapons were gone. Foot-tracks began at the grave and disappeared in the distance.

The puzzled woman returned home, determined to search for her husband. First she soaked a bear-skin to make it pliable. Next she placed some skinning boards along her sides and breasts, and then, slipping into the skin, laced it tightly in front. Thus no arrow or spear could injure her. To try out her power as a bear, she went into the forest. She found that with the strength in her paws, the strength of a full-grown bear, she could easily smash down trees and uproot stumps. As she went through the woods, a wide trail was marked by the broken trees. The woman returned home, confident of her ability and strength, and determined to set out after her husband; but first she dressed her two children in skins of bear cubs, left them plenty of food and water, and enjoined them not to leave the house before she returned.

For many days the wife followed the trail of Pisíksolík and ultimately arrived at a large house where the tracks ended. Just then a young woman came out of the door and stopped, startled to see a bear so close. She ran inside and told her new husband, Pisíksolík, that a bear was by the entrance. Pisíksolík, as well and strong as ever, snatched up his weapons and ran out, but the Bear-woman chased him to the roof of a cache before he could string his bow. From there he shot arrows and hurled his spear at Bear-woman, his former wife. None of the missiles took effect, but glanced off. Bear-woman began to climb the cache. Pisíksolík, now greatly frightened, jumped down, ran for the nearest tree, and climbed it. Bear-woman, with one full stroke of her paw, toppled the tree to the ground. With the other paw she crushed the skull of Pisíksolík. Next she hugged and squeezed the young woman until she was lifeless, and dropped the body beside that of the man.

Bear-woman journeyed home, and, when arrived, found that she could not get out of the bear-skin. It had grown to her own flesh, and she was now a real bear. The woman then led her children, who had become bear cubs, down the valley, where they lived on berries and rodents. Once she thought of returning to the house, but it smelled so strongly of humans that the mother and cubs soon departed. From that time they were true bears and lived in the open.

AN INDIAN RAID

A hunter, Kaiúksiyúk, lived with his wife and small son far up Selawik river. The family lived in plenty, for Kaiúksiyúk was a famous hunter. Each fall he killed many caribou, and stored away the meat and skins; his wife spread her nets for pickerel and gathered frozen berries, while before the snows came Kaiúksiyúk snared rabbits and shot muskrats with arrows.

One day, while his wife was alone with her small son, a wandering band of interior Indians came to the door and demanded admittance. In her fright the woman wrapped the boy in a caribou-skin, which she thrust hastily beneath a pile of skins. The Indians, angry because the door still remained closed to them, battered it down and stamped into the room. They paid no attention to the woman, but snatched up all the best utensils and weapons, and departed, leaving the pile of skins untouched, because they were already heavily laden with furs. The woman rescued her son from the skins, and from the smoke-hole watched the Indians go upstream.

When he returned home, Kaiúksiyúk was very glad that his wife and son were unharmed.

He exclaimed: "I shall train my son to be a warrior! Some day he will slay these Indians and thus avenge us!"

The family abandoned their house, taking with them their few remaining possessions. Back from the river, amongst a thick growth of trees, they built a new sod-covered home and surrounded it with a high palisade, leaving loop-holes for arrows.

On a cold winter night, the barking of the dog, the dog which could not be harmed by arrows, and his mad running about the palisade, awoke Kaiúksiyúk. He peered out. Indians! Kaiúksiyúk and his wife and son hastily ran to the palisade and poured volley after volley of arrows into the invaders. The dog ran out and killed several of them. Soon the enemy withdrew. In the morning the family dragged the bodies to a hilltop and covered them with sod, sticking up the bows of the fallen as markers.

For the remainder of the winter Kaiúksiyúk taught his son to hunt fox, mink, ptarmigan, rabbit, and wolf. In the spring they made a boat-frame of willow and covered it with caribou-skins. They took their furs and many parkas of muskrat-skin, and set out down the river for Kotzebue sound. Kaiúksiyúk wished his son to see and learn about other peoples who came to trade at Kotzebue. Only the best hunters with much to barter could go down the river.

VOCABULARIES

ANATOMICAL TERMS

<i>English</i>	<i>Nunivak</i>	<i>Little Diomede</i>	<i>Kotzebue</i>
ankle	chín-nih-núk	sin-yéh-nít	sin-yŭn-yŭk
ankle-joint	dúh-hl-ŭh	tě-glí-a	tá-lŭk
arm	ôk	ôk	ôk
blood	nŭn-nŭh	shó-nŭk	só-nŭk
bone	á-tá-gŭt	sá-gít	ká-ti-gak
chest	dám-luh	tá-b'łŭh	tá-blô
chin	jí-un	sí-u; <i>pl.</i> sí-u-tuk	sí-tik
ear		i-u-sí-g-a	
elbow			ná-bi-ôt
elbow-joint	í-gú-ih		í-lík
eye	í-loŋ	f-zhŭ	
face	jó-mŭ-slŭh	ki-nŭk	kín-yŭk
finger	ú-nun	tí-kún (forefinger)	á-hlu-gech
finger-nail	stun	ku-wít	ku-géch
foot	du-gŭhl-hut	i-ti-gét	f-shi-gech
hair	ge-ók-hlŭt	nu-ét	nú-yŭt
hand	u-ná-dít	ag-zhét	á-hlu-gech
head	í-gna-rhŭt	ni-a-kón-a	
heart	uŋ-ú-gŭn	u-má-ti-gá	ú-mŭn
knee	jí-shoh	sit-kó-a	sít-kok
leg	f-pi	ni-u-guá	ní-u
lips	ká-slŭ	kók-slu-ká	káh-luk
lungs	íl-lu-glhá-vhrit	ku-mŭn-né-it	súl-hŭt
mouth	kŭn-nŭh	ká-nŭ-ga	ká-nŭk
neck	u-yá-gŭt	k'ó-ua-sít-ká	kón-u-sín-ŭk
nose	úŋ-ŭk	kók-slŭk	kín-ók
nostrils	jŭk-klut	kún-a-ga	só-lŭt
toe	úŋ-gnŭn-kú-zŭk	pú-tu-kŭk (great toe)	po-tú-hlŭk
toe-nail	úŋ-gnŭn-kú-zum-s'to-a	kúg-wi-a	kú-gech
	ú-lŭ	a-lú-ta	
tongue			ó-kók
tooth	kun; <i>pl.</i> kú-dít	ki-tét (teeth)	ki-ú-tít

ANIMALS ¹

albatross	tŭn-mfh-shŭt	
auk *	ŭsh-pŭk	
auklet *	chu-gfh-pŭk, or ta-túi-rít	te-yŭk ²

¹ The names of animals used for food are indicated by stars.

² A small auklet is *ák-pa-lit*.

<i>English</i>	<i>Nunivak</i>	<i>Little Diomede</i>	<i>Kotzebue</i>
bear, black *			ih-yá-rùh
bear, brown *			áh-lùh
bear, polar *	a-g'hí-mít	na-núk	ná-nùh
beaver	pa-lóh-tùh		pa-lók-túk
blackfish *	chün-uié-hlīt, or I-ká-slu-nüt		
bullhead *	kai-yóh-bit		
caribou *	tún-tút	tu-tú ¹	tú-tu-pèh
caribou, bull *	an-úk-fük		
caribou, cow *	á-gu-na-ká-túk		
caribou, fawn *	tún-tu-yá-güt		
caribou, yearling *	nu-gùh-pia-kluk		
cod *	at-hí-yat		
cod, rock- *	nga-hó-fit	kaí-lo-ak-púk	
cod, tom- *	i-ka-slú-ít	kái-lo-ak	ú-rúk
cormorant	u-yá-luh	pa-rúk-súk	
crab *		ka-kút	
crane			ta-tíl-yúk
crow			tu-lú-úk
dog	ke-múh-ta	kít-mík	ke-úk-mi-úk
dogfish *	kuh-hat-núh-bit		
dolphin	mun-úk-cho-at		
duck *			kú-lu-yúk (generic)
duck, broad-billed *	h-schlú-tut		
duck, crow-billed *		at-pá	
duck, eider- *	mút-hút		
duck, eider- *	aṅ-gník-fük		
whitebacked			
duck, mallard *	yú-kùh-pùh		
duck, pintail *	áh-hùṅ-ih		
duck, sawbill *	pái-yit		
duck, sprig *	na-pá-kùh		
eagle, black			tùṅ-mi-úk-púk
eel *	ki-líg-gi-nùh		
fish *			i-ká-lúk (generic)
flounder *	nút-a-h'mík-a-nüt		na-tá-núk
fox, blue	ké-yih-hlùh	kí-ag-na-tók	
fox, red	kú-fe-a	kái-ok-túk	kai-yúk-tók
fox, white	ka-tùh-le-a-gu	pí-zu-ká-rök	kùh-p-hök
geese *			lsh-lík (generic)
goose, brant *	lúk-schlùh-a-nùh		
goose, Canadian *	tú-tùṅ-ai-yúk		
goose, emperor *	nù-cho-slúk		
goose, yellow-legged *	lúk-schlú-pík		
gull		kai-yút-pí (generic)	
gull, bluff	tṛṇ-óh-ta		
gull, sea-	a-lú-gih		
gull, small	na-shú-ya-cho-a		
halibut *	chuḥ-ít		
hare, arctic *	kai-yók-slit	u-wág-lit	
hawk, bird-	chuṇ-ák-fük		
hawk, fish-	ki-lùh-hrīt		
hawk, salmon-	ùṅ-schlo-wái-yu-li		
helldiver *	dú-schlik		

¹ Not native to the Diomedes.

<i>English</i>	<i>Nunivak</i>	<i>Little Diomedé</i>	<i>Kotzebue</i>
heron, blue *	küt-chh-ko-yük		
herring *	ka-slóh-püh ¹		oh-shlôh-to
loon *	kók-k		
loon, arctic *			tút-lík
loon, broadnecked *	tu-nú-klík		
mink	i-má-go-mi-u-tút	ké-re-ak-pük	ti-e-ák-pük
muskrat *	ka-núk-klit	kug-ma-lók ²	kí-va-lük
otter			pa-nu-úk-to
otter, sea-	áh-núh		
owl, arctic	an-í-püh	ok-pük	úk-pík
owl, barn-	un-pá-hrüt		
owl, night-			ni-pe-lúk-tók
pickerel			sí-u-lík
ptarmigan *	a-kú-i-gýt	ag-zhét	a-ká-li-úk
puffin *	gel-lán-üh	tu-nu-át (generic)	
rabbit, cottontail *			u-ka-lé-chi-úk
rabbit, snowshoe *			u-ká-lích
salmon *			í-ka-lú-rük
salmon, dog *	müt-chú-tút		
salmon, king *	ta-i-yák-wit		
salmon, silver *	ji-ai-yó-hoi-út		
salmon, sockeye *	chús-sit		
salmon trout *	i-ká-slu-yá-güt		í-ka-lúk-pík
sardine, freshwater *	úsh-múh-hüt		
sculpin *		i-rí-ak	
sea-horse	a-pük-chük		
sea-lion *	múk-lük		ú-grük
seal *		núk-si-uk	
seal, fur- *	á-tah		
seal, hair- *	naí-yih		ná-chük
seal, saddle-backed *	ká-zu-gú-lüh		
seal, spotted *	i-só-wih		
smelt *	chí-guh		il-hál-ník
snipe *			tú-lík
snipe, lake *	a-yún-na-hüt		
snipe, red *	óh-tu-a-hüt		
snipe, sand- *	chín-nah		
snipe, Wilson's *	tú-yih		
snipe, yellow-legged *	chá-vi-hrá-gü		
sparrow	nu-chá-ko-pá-hrüt		
squirrel, ground- *	kuñ-á-nüt	shík-shúk ²	sík-sík-pük
swan	ko-gói-ya		kú-gluk
tern	k'-e-ya		
trout, brook- *	i-hlú-nüt		
walrus *	kúh-püh	u-yo-hó-ak	é-vi-úk
weasel	tuñ-hé-yah	ké-re-ók	ti-hlé-rók
whale, beluga *	ch't-tó-ít		si-shák
whale, black *	chí-kañ-tóh-tík	áh-ba-ló-ók	
whale, bowhead *		áh-whit	
whale, jumping *	tüñ-ó-yu-lík		
whale, killer- *		áh-lok	
whale, kitten *	áh-slut		
whale, sperm *	a-gün-vu-rít		

¹ A small herring is *ká-shó*.² Not native to the Diomedes.

<i>English</i>	<i>Nunivak</i>	<i>Little Diomedé</i>	<i>Kotzebue</i>
whitefish *	ná-pu-tút		
wolf	k-lún-nũh	a-ma-góh	a-mó-ok
wolverene	kúf-jih	ka-pík	kíh-vik

CARDINAL POINTS

east	a-gũ-ní-nũh ¹	yũk-nũk	ún-a-lũk
nadir	chũm-na	sũm-na	u-nuñ-ũt-mũn
north	nu-gũh-fũh ²	ní-ũk	ke-ik-nũk
south	uñ-á-lũh ³	ún-a-lũk	ók-nũk
west	nũh-kíh	pũk-pa-lũk	ní-yũk
zenith	gé-lũk	si-lá	klí-yũk

COLORS

black	tun-uñ-ũl-le	tak-tú-ak	ták-tak
blue	ke-uh-ũl-le	su-añ-li-tú-ak	
gray	i-chó-k'le	kaí-u-uñ-zát	
green	chun-áh-chi-kl'hle-a	kô-me-tú-ak	
red	ka-wíh-pũh	kô-ak-tú-ak	ka-víh-sah
white	ka-tũh-pũh		ka-tíh-tak
yellow	kô-wíh-ch' chu-wa- gl'lu-ni-chun-áh- chi-li-ga	sú-ak-tú-ak	sun-óh-tak

PRIMITIVE FOODS ⁴

anemone	á-roz-i-gut		
anemone, sea-	f-tũh		
blackberry	bón-hlũt		pó-nu-ót
blubber strips	tũn-rít	ai-bi-ník	
blueberry	chó-hlũt		a-sé-víh
cabbage, wild	in-ũ-ket		
clam			í-vi-lú-rũt
clam, large	á-tuf-tat		
clam, razor	uí-lut		
clam, small	bi-lũh-to-a-hó-tít		
cowslip	wí-v'lut		
crab	í-wol-a-hli-yũt		
cranberry	du-mũ-g'lit		kip-mín-yũt
cucumber, sea	u-sũn-u-lut		
dock-leaves	chi-wá-sat		
eggs, bird-	kai-yáñ-ũt	ma-ník	
fish, dried			pa-ník-tok
flippers, front, seal		ta-glí-a	
flippers, hind, seal		sit-kók	
flippers, front, walrus		ag-zhẽt	
flippers, hind, walrus		sit-kók	

¹ Translated as "womanly," because from that direction comes "soft, tender" weather.

² From the north comes the "far away" wind.

³ The south and the south wind are bringers of plenty: "nursers" of plants, animals, and fish.

⁴ See also under the head of Animals.

<i>English</i>	<i>Nunivak</i>	<i>Little Diomede</i>	<i>Kotzebue</i>
huckleberry	kúv-lit		
ice-plant	ku-gi-yú-qat		
kelp		klit-ku-rút ¹	
lichen, clustered	ák-súk-ké-nút		
lichen, red-tipped	s'kún-nút		
marrow	bá-túh	pa-túk	
mossberry	chúk-la-gú-tút		
mussels	ka-bí-lat		
oil, sea-lion		úg-zi-núk	
oil, seal ²	o-k'	nə-sí-núk	óh-slok
oil, walrus		mi-zhi-rók	
parsnip, wild	i-kí-tuk		pík-núk
potato, wild	úsh-skot		mús-u
roots, fern-	stóh-ka-gút		
roots, grass-			ní-vi
salmonberry	á-chüb		ák-pík
seal, intestinal flesh of	ge-á-hút		
seaweed, shredded	s'l-qát		
sedge	puk-núk-hút		
shellfish, large, brown	na-gú-nút		
shellfish, small, white	wi-luí-yút		
shrimp	mú-s'skó-li-gút		
snail, saltwater	a-lú-mi-yút		
stomach lining, caribou	óh-ji-hlúl-gnuit		
strawberry	pu-yo-wá-lút		
tallow, caribou	tún-úh		
tallow, intestinal	kún-i-yá-tait		
tea, Hudson's Bay	mu-chún-yui-lun-út		
wandering Jew	du-gó-shlu-gút		
willow, fuzzy-coated	nún-hré-ŋ'-wóf		
willow, pussy, bud of	kik-núh-wat		
willow-leaves	chú-yút		

HANDICRAFT

adze	ká-bun	ú-li-mod	
bag, sewing	tú-kí-wih		
basket	kúl-lit-mih		é-múk (generic)
basket, bark			kai-yú-túk (for berries)
beads, nose-	ín-i-chút		
belt	na-kú-gun	tup-sí-úk	
belt-hook	núh-túk-kah		
boat, kaiak	kaí-yuh	kai-yáh	kaí-yak
kaiak equipment: ³			
arrow	k'-hoi	ka-zhók	káh-rut
arrow, blunt ⁴	kút-fit		
arrow, flint-headed ⁵	chín-i-lúk		
arrow, pronged	nú-yút		
arrow, sharp ⁵	chín-ih-tóh-hút		

¹ Cooked with bird's flesh.

² All oils are kept in separate pokes or containers.

³ The equipment of weapons varies according to the game hunted. Weapons may be used on shore as well as in kaiaks and umiaks.

⁴ For birds or small game.

⁵ For large game.

English	Nunivak	Little Diomede	Kotzebue
arrow-point		nu-yák	sí-kâ
arrow-shaft		ú-bo-a	kah-rúk-súk
bag, air-, or float	k'-ui-nuh	á-wa-túk	
bow	ú-go-ló-wüh ¹	shút-kok	pi-sík-sík
bow-string	ka-lú-ti		
hook, boat- ²	luh-chíh-puh		
hook, meat- ³	lúh-chí-ki-chó-a		
hook, paddle and harpoon ⁴	a-kúg-i-yüh-kú-ta		
knife, ice	chi-ku-tá-kün		
line, harpoon ⁵	ú-shah	mük-shú-ak ⁶	
line, toggle	choh		
line, walrus-skin		a-lúk-púk	
line platform or tray	a-chá-luh		
manhole thong ⁷	a-gá-hün		
mat, woven grass ⁸	i-ká-ha-sí-tít		
paddle	aṇ-ú	aṇ-ú	
paddle, double-bladed	baṇ-hót-tuh		pá-u-tít
paddle, single-bladed	ün-ua-hun		ün-un
paddle, short ⁹	ün-ua-hó-gah		
seat ¹⁰	a-küm-u-qó-tüt		
shoe, ivory ¹¹	pí-gu-lüh		
spear ¹²	kóh-ch'tah	ú-nak	
spear ¹³	tá-gu-tít		
spear ¹⁴	nuh-hí-a-qí-yüt		
spear, bird-	nui-yáh-pit	nú-gwit	nó-li-küt
spear, bird- ¹⁵	nui-gít		
spear, fish-	nü-la-yáh-shu-tít		kak-í-hlrüt
spear, seal- ¹⁶	a-só-kok	u-gi-ah-sí-ük	ú-nak
sled ¹⁷	ká-mo-ká-tüh		
sled-line	ta-póh-ta		

¹ The sinew lashing of a bow is *túh-k'ha*.

² The ice-pick lashed to the other end of the boat-hook is termed *du-gúa*.

³ This short hook is used to shove and withdraw cut-up seal meat in and from beneath the fore- and after-decking. A small hand-hook used in handling carcasses or pieces of meat is called *klo-míh-ji-un*.

⁴ The handles of paddles and hafts of harpoons rest on these hooks, which are attached to each side of the kaiak.

⁵ Usually of sealskin. For other lines see pages 28-29.

⁶ Sealskin line.

⁷ To lash the paddler's waterproof parka to the manhole rim to keep out water.

⁸ Placed in the bottom to sit on.

⁹ When used with a short sculling movement, there is no apparent motion to the kaiak.

¹⁰ Of wooden slats covered with the mat.

¹¹ Thin ivory strips running up bow and stern respectively for protection to the skin covering, especially when paddling through thin ice or ice scum.

¹² A heavy lance hurled from the hand; it may be withdrawn from the larger seal or walrus for the insertion of new points, or may be used as a club to stun and kill the wounded animal.

¹³ A heavy harpoon used when hunting on the ice or from the shore.

¹⁴ A light javelin with feathered shaft, thrown with a throwing-stick.

¹⁵ A long, pointed spear hurled with a throwing-stick.

¹⁶ A true harpoon to which is attached a line and an air float.

¹⁷ A small sled carried on the after-deck, used to haul the kaiak over ice to water.

<i>English</i>	<i>Nunivak</i>	<i>Little Diomed</i>	<i>Kotzebue</i>
kaiak equipment:			
thongs ¹	tá-pha		
thongs ²	a-chí-hu-ta		
boat, small sealing		ú-mi-e-yu-wá-rúk	
boat, umiak	úñ-i-yüh	ú-mi-ak	u-mi-ák
umiak, parts of:			
beams, cross-	núhl-u-mit		
beams, fore and aft	ja-gún-a-rit		
covering, skin	a-míh		
cover-lashing	nu-múh-hüt		
edge, bottom	chún-u-gi-as-kú-ti		
edge, top	tu-ú-tuh		
gunwales	á-pa-múk		
oar	já-wün	i-wúm	
oar-lashing	cha-u-chik-á-wit		
post, bow-	tún-i-ya		
post, stern-	chún-u-yés-kú-ti		
posts, side-	na-pó-gi-yüt		
sail		tí-glá-nán-yúk	
sail, mat-	tu-pi-yá-gü-nüt		
seats	in-ú-tai		
thwarts	a-kóm-u-wě		
boots		kú-múk ³	tu-tú-lich ³
boots, grass inner liners	tún-i-mi		
for			
boots, grass socks for	a-lík-süh		
boots, men's	á-chih-slú-hüh ⁴		
boots, men's travelling	án-giu-tih		
boots, men's waterproof	i-va-hó-chih		
boots, short ankle	kú-múk-sih		
boots, soles of	a-tún-i		
boots, thongs of	chín-i-a		
boots, top drawstrings of	tañ-püh-ha		
boots, waterproof		kú-túk ⁵	káh-lík ⁵
boots, women's	yú-ni-klu-ga		
boots, women's water-	á-ta-yüh-slu-ga		
proof			
box, sewing, wooden		ai-yüp-kút	
box, tool-, wooden	kli-lú-ka-wih	ai-yüp-kút	
cache, dry, in ground	a-kúm-tět	i-tak-súk	
cache, dugout	chüh-slu-wüt		
cache, dugout, grass	kún-i-jí-hai		
wall-mats for			
cache, on stilts	küh-üt		
cache, water-filled in	knga-níh-hüt		
ground			
cap, children's	nüt-chet		
cap, squirrel-skin ⁶	wíf-koh		

¹ Passing around kaiak, under which may be shoved paddles and spears whose shafts rest on hooks.

² To hold two kaiaks together in a seaway, or to tow carcasses or to lash them to the kaiak.

³ Generic term for all except the waterproof boots.

⁴ This term is applied to men's boots decorated for wear indoors.

⁵ Generic term for both men's and women's waterproof boots.

⁶ Worn by men and boys in either summer or winter. Women do not wear caps.

<i>English</i>	<i>Nunivak</i>	<i>Little Diomedé</i>	<i>Kotzebue</i>
cape, waterproof ¹	ũk-hô-tet		
chisel	k'-hia		
cord-straightener	tũl-lun		
costumes:			
parka			ã-tĩ-yit ²
parka, bird-skin	tũn-ôh-tĩt ³		
parka, bird-skin	tu-nũn-ũt ⁴		
parka, bird-skin, medium weight	mũt-hũt		
parka, bird-skin, very light weight	chĩ-bĩ-lit ⁴		
parka, bird-skin	ãs-pũt ⁵		
parka, bird-skin	kĩ-lãn-ũt ⁶		
parka, caribou-skin	kã-li-luh ⁷		
parka, inner	ũv-wũ-tẽl ⁸		
parka, men's		ã-ti-gũ (generic)	
parka, mink	f-mũg-i-mi-ũ-tẽl		
parka, outer	ât-kut		
parka, squirrel	kũn-ã-nũt		
parka, waterproof	f-ma-gi-nĩ-tuh	kũ-tũk	si-lãn-õt
parka, women's		ág-ni-nũ	
trousers	kõ-slĩh	nã-lũ-kok	
crimper	tũh-qa-sun ⁹		
dipper, water-	mũ-ha-u-ĩh		
dish, blubber-	u-kẽ-wĩh		
dish, stone, for paint	a-wĩzh-g'ra-u-wĩh		
drill, bow-	pã-tũh		nĩh-ũ-tĩk
drill, bow-, for fire	chũ-ki-chũ-ki	ũ-ka-hô-tĩt	
drill, string of	kai-i-ũ-tũh		
ear-rings, beaded	chĩ-u-jĩ-tĩt		
ear-rings, plain	ã-gũt		
goggles, wooden	ĩh-hô-ak	u-zhák	ĩ-li-gak
goggles, wooden eye- shades	ĩh-skẽ-a ¹⁰		
hone	kĩ-kã-hũ	kĩ-nẽg-zon	
house, family		ĩ-nũ	
house, men's	gĩ-yã	kũ-zu-gi	
house, summer			pa-nũp-kak
house, winter			túp-kĩch
house, women's	n'-na		
ivory	dũh-ga-hũt	tu-wák	
knife	chõ-wĩh (generic)		
knife, chopping, large	ũh-schĩã-ti-gũ-tĩ-luh		
knife, chopping, small	u-lu-gũh-wũh		
knife, for sewing	ã-lu-gũh-wũh		

¹ Used either as a cape or as a ground blanket in hunting.

² Generic term for all except the waterproof parkas.

³ Of gull-skins; worn in warfare and hunting.

⁴ Light weight, for indoor wear.

⁵ An outdoor parka.

⁶ An outdoor waterproof parka.

⁷ Worn when travelling.

⁸ Usually of light fawn-skin, without a hood; worn in winter beneath a heavier parka.

⁹ Used in making boot-soles.

¹⁰ Worn in kiaiak for protection against sun glare on the water.

<i>English</i>	<i>Nunivak</i>	<i>Little Diomedé</i>	<i>Kotzebue</i>
knife, men's		só-wik	
knife, women's		bi-lón (generic)	
labrets	tú-tét (generic)	tu-ták	
labrets, men's	un-ún-a-kun		
lamp	kú-mún	nún-ik	
lamp-stand	nun-íg-lú		
mask	a-gái-yút	ki-nó-ok	
matting, grass	a-slí-i-kat		
mittens	a-rít-fit (generic)	á-ka-tík	
mittens	á-ri-kúh-hút ¹		
mittens	pi-nfv-yét ²		
mittens, waterproof	á-ri-slú-gút		
needle-case	chí-kf-wíh	tú-bi-at	
needles	chí-kút	si-yók	
net	kú-bi-ya (generic)		
net, bird-	h-ká-kun		
net, gill-	chá-ku-tó-wúh		kú-râ-rúk
net, seal-	ta-kú-ga-sún	kub-zhá	
paint, charcoal	a-wízh-g'ra		
paint, copper oxide	ksu-h'rá-rút		
paint, iron oxide	wí-tuh-ah	i-ták	
pick, ice-	du-gú-a	tu-ok-púk	
pitch, animal-oil	ún-na-gú-núh ³		
poke (container)		ó-wa-tá-wúk	a-va-tók-púk
pot, urine	kún	ko-wík	
pots, cooking-	ut-hút-chit	i-gún	
rack, kaiak	tát-a-git		
racks	f-kí-ú-tút ⁴		
racks	i-ní-tút ⁵		
ring, nasal		ká-qi-yá-rok	
roots (for lashings)	tá-lu-tú-hú-tút		
saw	kílit-nó-wúh ⁶		
sieve		mi-tup-ní-ut ⁷	
sinew	i-wá-lu	i-lúk-súk	
sled, large	i-kúm-a-rúh	ka-mót	ké-lu-ích
sled, small			u-nét
smoothing stone	ká-la-gún ⁸		
snare			ni-wá-chi-úk
snowshoes	púp-shuh-ss'-tút		túg-lúk
thimble	ku-níú-tút		
wedge	ó-pún	ko-plú-túk	
wooden utensils:			
dippers	i-lú-lúh	shá-ko-á-ra	
dishes	kún-dút	pú-gu-tah	a-lú-yúk
ladle	ka-lú-tít		
spoon	ka-sú-chi-ét	ká-bi-a	kai-yú-túk
water-bucket	kas-stá-wút		

¹ For use in kaiak.² With thumb and forefinger.³ For pitching seams of kaiaks and umiaks.⁴ For stretching and drying walrus- and seal-lines.⁵ For drying and curing blubber, fish, and meat.⁶ The primitive form consisted of a sharpened stone worked back and forth.⁷ To skim slush-ice from holes in ice.⁸ An igneous stone used for smoothing wood.

NATURAL PHENOMENA

English	Nunivak	Little Diomedé	Kotzebue
ashes	áh-hút	ag-zhót	áh-rút
aurora	gi-yo-hoi-yét	kí-o-rí-ét	
charcoal	á-múh-ho-it	ô-múk	ô-mút
cloud	ge-lúk-slút	ka-lík	nú-vi-ya
darkness	tá-lúh	ták-si-a	dá-si-rúk
day	ũ-gu-núh	ú-bru-a	rí-glúk
earth	lú-na	nú-na	nú-na
fire	kún-núh	úk-núk	í-úk-ník
fog	tá-túh	taí-tuk	ták-túk
ice	chí-ku	shí-gu	sí-ku
lake	nún-nu-wah	núb-zók	ná-ri-vúk
light	dũn-kíh		kó-ma
lightning	ku-núk-ka-ta	kah-lúk	kat-lúk-tok
moon	u-núk-sun	ta-kík	tát-kíh
mountain	ín-hrí	ír-rík	íh-rích
night	ú-núh	u-mík	dáh-tok
ocean	í-múh		
rain	klá-sluh	ya-mík	sé-lúk
rainbow	á-gu-lóh-go-ya	nú-úk	ní-yúk
river	qih	kuk	kuk
rock	ki-yó-hut	ú-ya-ók	u-yí-a-ók
sky	ll'-a	klí-lúk	kíl-yúk
smoke	púi-yoh	í-zhúk	í-si-úk
snow	ka-ník-i-cha	á-wun	á-pun
star	a-gú-yét	ú-blú-i-ak	u-blú-e-ak
sun	a-kíh-ta ¹	ma-zók	sí-a-kí-núk
thunder	kúh-slu		kat-lú-la-rúk
tundra	mu-níh-púh		
water, fresh	ní-múh	í-múk	í-múk
water, salt	tá-gí-yoh		
wind	a-nó-ka ²	á-no-wer ³	á-nu-we (generic)
wind, east	a-gú-ní-núh=a-nó-ka		ún-a-lúk-súk
wind, north	nu-gúh-fúh=a-nó-ka		ke-ík-núk-lúk
wind, south	un-á-lúh=a-nó-ka		un-a-láh-luh-grok
wind, west	núh-kíh=a-nó-ka		ni-yúk-pú-u-wa

NUMERALS ⁴

	Nunivak	Little Diomedé	Kotzebue
1	a-tó-jíh	a-dó-si-úk	a-tó-súk
2	á-pa	ma-glúk	ma-lók
3	bín-ai-yua	pín-a-sút	pín-a-yok
4	stá-mí	shi-ta-mút	si-sú-mút
5	túh-shlí-mi	ta-gli-mút	tá-li-mút
6	a-ho-í-gríl-glín	a-mi-ni-glít	i-chúh-hrút
7	má-l'gú-níh-glín	mág-no-nún=a-mí-ni-glít	tá-li-mút-má-o-ník
8	bín-ai-yu-níh-glín	pí-a-su-nún=a-mí-ni-glít	tá-li-mút-pín-a-sú-ník

¹ The term for warmth of the sun's rays is *po-klán-a*.

² Terms for winds are compounds of those for the cardinal points plus the term for wind.

³ Generic term. Specific winds are named after the directions from which they blow.

⁴ See the note following the numerals.

<i>Nunivak</i>	<i>Little Diomed</i>	<i>Kotzebue</i>
9 kûl-luṇ-u-uṇ=ri-tá-rût	ku-liṇ-u-té-lît	ko-lîṇ-o-o-té-lît
10 kû-lá	kû-lît	kó-lît
11 kûlá=a-tó-jîh	át-ka-nug-lît	kó-lît=a-tó-chîm-îk
12	ma-glo-nûn=át-ka-nug-lît	kó-lît=má-o-nîk
13	pîṇ-a-su-nîk=át-ka-nug-lît	kó-lît=pîṇ-a-sú-nîk
14 a-kí-mi-ah=ro-n'ri-tá-rût	á-gi-mi-a-tú-lûk	a-ki-mé-o-té-lûk
15 a-kí-mi-ah	á-gi-mi-ûk	a-ki-mé-ok
16 a-kí-mi-ah=a-tó-jîh	í-núi-na-go-té-luk	a-ki-mé-ok=a-tó-chîm-îk
17	má-glo-nûn	a-ki-mé-ok=má-o-nîk
18	pi-a-sú-nûn	a-ki-mé-ok=pîṇ-a-sú-nîk
19 ju-í-nûh=ri-tá-rût	si-to-má-nûn	í-nú-in-ya-ó-te-yûk
20 ju-í-nûh	í-núi-nûk	í-nú-in-yûk
21 ju-í-nûh=a-tó-jîh	í-núi-nûk=a-dó-si-ûk	í-nú-in-yûk=a-tó-chîm-îk
24		í-nú-in-yûk=si-sa-má-nîk
25	í-núi-nûk=tûd-li-mûn-nûk	í-nú-in-yûk=ta-li-má-nîk
26	í-núi-nûk=ah-mí-ni-gli-nîṇ	í-nú-in-yûk=i-cha-shra-nîk
27	í-núi-nûk=má-glo-nûn	í-nú-in-yûk=tá-li-mût-má-o-nîk
28	í-núi-nûk=pi-a-sú-nûn	í-nú-in-yûk=tá-li-mût-pîṇ-a-sú-nîk
29 ju-í-nûh=ri-tá-rût	í-núi-nûk=ku-liṇ-u-té-lît	í-nú-in-yûk=tá-li-mût=si-sa-má-nîk
30 ju-í-nûh=kû-lá	í-núi-nûk=ko-lín-û	í-nú-in-yûk=ko-lí-nîk
31 ju-í-nûh=kû-lá=a-tó-jîh	í-núi-nûk=at-ko-lí-li-nuṇ	
32	í-núi-nûk=ma-gló-nûn	
33	í-núi-nûk=kû-lît=ma-gló-nûn	
34	í-núi-nûk=kû-lît=si-tá-ma-nûn	
35	í-núi-nûk=kû-lît=a-gli-mí-ûk	
36	í-núi-nûk=a-tó-sí-maṇ	
37	í-núi-nûk=a-gli-mi-ûk=ma-gló-nûn	
38	í-núi-nûk=a-gli-mi-ûk=pi-a-sú-nûn	
39 mûlh-rûk=ní-pia-rût	í-núi-nûk=a-gli-mi-ûk=a-tó-sí-maṇ	
40 mûlh-rûk=ní-pia	í-núi-nûk=ma-gló	ma-ḥló-ki-pé-ak
41 mûlh-rûk=ní-pia=a-tó-jîh	í-núi-nûk=si-pá	
42	í-núi-nûk=ma-gló=a-tó-sí-maṇ	
43	í-núi-nûk=ma-gló=pi-a-sú-nûn	
44	í-núi-nûk=ma-gló=si-tá-ma-nûn	
45	í-núi-nûk=ma-gló=ta-gli-má-nûn	
46	í-núi-nûk=ma-gló=ta-gli-mût=si-pa-ák-tut	
47	í-núi-nûk=ma-gló=ta-gli-mût=si-pa-ák-tut=ma-gló-nûn	
48	í-núi-nûk=ma-gló=ta-gli-mût=pi-a-sú-nûn	
49	í-núi-nûk=ma-gló=ta-gli-mût=si-tá-ma-nûn	
50 mûlh-rûk=ní-pia=kû-lá	í-núi-nûk=ma-gló=kû-lît	ma-ḥló-ki-pé-ak=ko-lí-nîk
51	í-núi-nûk=ma-gló=kû-lît=si-pá	
52	í-núi-nûk=ma-gló=kû-lît=ma-gló	
53	í-núi-nûk=ma-gló=kû-lît=pi-a-sú-nûn	
54	í-núi-nûk=ma-gló=kû-lît=si-tá-ma-nûn	
55	í-núi-nûk=ma-gló=a-gi-mí-ak	ma-ḥló-ki-pé-ak=ko-lí-nîk=a-gi-mé-ak

<i>Nunivak</i>	<i>Little Diomede</i>	<i>Kotzebue</i>
56	i-núi-nük=ma-gló=a-gi-mí-ak=a-tô-sí-măn	ma-hlô-ki-pé-ak=ko-lí-ník=a-tô-chím-ík
57	i-núi-nük=ma-gló=a-gi-mí-ak=ma-gló-năn	
58	i-núi-nük=ma-gló=a-gi-mí-ak=pi-a-sú-năn	
59	bĩn-ái-yua=ní-pia=ri-tá-rút	pĩn-a-sú-ki-pé-u-té-hlúk
60	bĩn-ái-yua=ní-pia	pĩn-a-sú-ki-pé-ak
61	bĩn-ái-yua=ní-pia=a-tô-jũh	
62	pĩn-ái-sut=i-núi-nük=ma-gló-năn	
63	pĩn-ái-sut=i-núi-nük=pi-a-sú-năn	
64	pĩn-ái-sut=i-núi-nük=sí-ta-má-năn	
65	pĩn-ái-sut=i-núi-nük=ta-gli-má-năn	
66	pĩn-ái-sut=i-núi-nük=a-mí-ni-glít	
67	pĩn-ái-sut=i-núi-nük=sí-pa-ét=ma-gló-năn=a-mí-ni-glít	
68	pĩn-ái-sut=i-núi-nük=pi-a-sú-năn=a-mí-ni-glít	
69	pĩn-ái-sut=i-núi-nük=ku-liñ-u-té-lít	
70	pĩn-ái-sut=i-núi-nük=sí-pa-ét=kú-lít	pĩn-a-sú-ki-pé-ak=ko-lí-ník
71	pĩn-ái-sut=i-núi-nük=sí-pa-ét=kú-lít=sí-pá	
72	pĩn-ái-sut=i-núi-nük=sí-pa-ét=ma-gló-năn	
73	pĩn-ái-sut=i-núi-nük=sí-pa-ét=pi-a-sú-năn	
74	pĩn-ái-sut=i-núi-nük=sí-pa-ét=sí-ta-má-năn	
75	pĩn-ái-sut=i-núi-nük=sí-pa-ét=ta-glí-mút	pĩn-a-sú-ki-pé-ak=ko-lí-ník=a-gi-mé-a-mík
76	pĩn-ái-sut=i-núi-nük=sí-pa-ét=a-mí-ni-glít	pĩn-a-sú-ki-pé-ak=ko-lí-ník=a-tô-chím-ík
77	pĩn-ái-sut=i-núi-nük=sí-pa-ét=ma-gló-năn=a-mí-ni-glít	
78	pĩn-ái-sut=i-núi-nük=sí-pa-ét=pi-a-sú-năn=a-mí-ni-glít	
79	pĩn-ái-sut=i-núi-nük=sí-pa-ét=ku-liñ-u-té-lít=a-mí-ni-glít	
80	stá-măn=ní-pia	si-sa-mũ-ki-pé-ak
81	i-núi-nük=shi-ta-mút	
82	i-núi-nük=shi-ta-mút=sí-pá	
83	i-núi-nük=shi-ta-mút=ma-glúk	
84	i-núi-nük=shi-ta-mút=pĩn-a-sút	
85	i-núi-nük=shi-ta-mút=shi-ta-mút	
86	i-núi-nük=shi-ta-mút=ta-gli-mút	
87	i-núi-nük=shi-ta-mút=at-ka-nũ-glít	
88	i-núi-nük=shi-ta-mút=pi-a-sú-năn=at-ka-nũ-glít	
89	i-núi-nük=shi-ta-mút=sí-tá-ma-năn=at-ka-nũ-glít	
90	stá-măn=ní-pia=kú-lá	si-sa-mũ-ki-pé-ak=kó-lít
91	i-núi-nük=shi-ta-mút=kú-lít=sí-pé-it=a-to-si-măn	

	<i>Nunivak</i>	<i>Little Diomede</i>	<i>Kotzebue</i>
92		i-núi-núk=shi-ta-mút=kú-lít=si-pé-it=ma-gló	
93		i-núi-núk=shi-ta-mút=kú-lít=si-pé-it=piṇ-a-sút	
94		i-núi-núk=shi-ta-mút=kú-lít=si-pé-it=shi-ta-mút	
95		i-núi-núk=shi-ta-mút=kú-lít=si-pé-it=ta-gli-mút	si-sa-mũ-ki-pé-ak=kó-lít=a-gi-mé-a-mík
96		i-núi-núk=shi-ta-mút=kú-lít=si-pé-it=a-mí-ni-glít	si-sa-mũ-ki-pé-ak=kó-lít=a-tó-chím-ík
97		i-núi-núk=shi-ta-mút=kú-lít=si-pé-it=ma-gló-nún=a-mí-ni-glít	
98		i-núi-núk=shi-ta-mút=kú-lít=si-pé-it=pi-a-sún=nún=a-mí-ni-glít	
99	tũh-sílí-mũn-ni-pí-a-ruk=ri-tá-rút	i-núi-núk=shi-ta-mút=kú-lít=si-pé-it=si-ta-má-nún=a-mí-ni-glít	
100	tũh-sílí-mũn-ní-pia	ta-gli-mút=i-núi-núk	tá-li-mút-ki-pé-ak

Nunivak numeration is based on the ten fingers and ten toes, the twenty digits forming "one complete," *ní-pia*. From forty upward the system is simple. For instance, forty is "two completes," *mũlh-rúk=ní-pia*. Up to fifty it runs forty-one, etc. Fifty is forty-ten, and so on to sixty, which is "three completes." But ninety-nine is five completes less one, rather than the expected eighty-nineteen, and formed in the same manner as fourteen, nineteen, twenty-nine, and fifty-nine, which consist of the succeeding numbers with the suffix "less-one," *ri-tá-rút*. Thirty-nine differs in that it has an abbreviated form of the suffix *-rút*.

PERSONAL TERMS

<i>English</i>	<i>Nunivak</i>	<i>Little Diomede</i>	<i>Kotzebue</i>
aunt	a-chũk-slú-ga ¹		á-chũk
aunt, aged	un-ná-na-slu-ga		
aunt, maternal		á-ya-gá	
aunt, paternal		a-si-yá	
baby	tũn-u-wai-yũh-huh	mí-ya-kli-a	i-lí-lyak
boy	nu-gũs-pi-a-gũ-nũh-huh	nu-át-pi-ra	nú-kat-pé-yak
brother	un-ll'-i-gú-ti	nú-wa-a	
brother, elder	ún-nĩn-a		á-bi-yũk
brother, younger	u-yũ-huah		nuh-gá-lík
enemy	ũṇ-ú-yit ²	u-mi-yí-a	kĩn-ú-ti-ga
father	á-ti	án-a	á-pũ
girl	á-guh-nũh-slú-ga	ní-ák-si-rah	ní-ně-sě-yak
headman	ũṇ-ái-yũ-kah	ú-me-a-luk	sí-vu-lik
man	juh	í-nuk	án-un
medicine-man	aṇ-ás-koh ³	án-a-kok	án-a-kok
mother	á-ni	á-kua	á-gũ
people	nu-ni-wáh-mi-ut (Nunivak)	i-mík-pi-ut (Diomedes)	kík-ík-ta-ru-mit (Kotzebue)
people			ín-yu-pet (Eskimo)
people, white	ká-sút ⁴	ná-du-aṇ-mí-o	na-lá-nut

¹ The term is the same for both maternal and paternal aunt.

² The term "enemy" implies an enemy settlement or village, not a personal enemy.

³ The same term is used for sorcerer.

⁴ Literally, "humans rushed in."

<i>English</i>	<i>Nunivak</i>	<i>Little Diomede</i>	<i>Kotzebue</i>
person	chún-gnin-ah		kin-yá-pa-lak
sister	ú-yu-hlá-kl'-ü-kit	né-ya-ga	
sister, elder	ás-ka		á-gor-rük
sister, younger	u-yü-wa		á-gi-yak
uncle			un-á-luk
uncle, maternal	a-táh-tah-slu-ga	an-a-gá	
uncle, paternal	úñ-üh-slú-ha	á-ti-a	
woman	á-ga-nüh	ag-nük	áh-nüh

MISCELLANEOUS

food	nük-küt	nü-rük-sák	ní-a-kít
forest			up-sík-so-it
ghost			a-lé-ih-to
grave		küñ-üt	
large	án-oh	ák-tu-rük	an-í-rák
small	mík-koh	mük-shú-ak	mí-ki-rák
spirit	ú-ji-üt		
spirit, animal		u-lít-ku-zít	
spirit, human	í-luh	u-lít-ku-zít	i-nú-sük
spirits, land of	pük-ku-mín-a ¹	tu-ún-u-lí-at	
tobacco	chúi-yüt	ti-bák ²	to-rá-kík ²
tobacco, Russian		tó-wa-kík ²	
tree, spruce			na-pák-tüt
tree, willow	ók-fi-güt		ók-pík
wood		ú-nuk-sí-uk	
wood, fire-	chí-kuh		
wood, for bowls	t-hü-hlüt		
wood, for kaiaks	jóh-pih-güt		

¹ Vaguely, "land above."

² Borrowed terms.

INDEX

INDEX

- Abduction* in myth, 93-94, 128, 183, 190, 198-199, 222, 229, 232-235, 237
 See WIFE-STEALER
- Adaptability* of the Eskimo, xvi
- Adolescents*, treatment of, 93
 See BOYS; GIRLS; PUBERTY CUSTOMS
- Adoption* in myth, 88, 107, 230
 of captives, 54
- Adornment.* *See* DECORATION; ORNAMENTS
- Adultery*, how regarded, 49, 104, 121, 148, 166, 210, 228
- Adzes* for woodworking, 40-41
 in myth, 126, 127, 132, 218, 250-251
 See AXE
- Afterworld*, beliefs regarding, 50, 122, 149, 210, 245
 in myth, 88
 See LAND OF LIGHT; LAND OF SPIRITS
- Age* considered in ceremony, 64-66, 73
 See LONGEVITY
- Aged*, gifts to the, 148, 168, 170-171, 175, 181, 185, 190, 209, 239, 258
 how regarded, 123
 how treated in myth, 108
- Air-bags.* *See* FLOATS
- Aiyāk*, portrait, 148 pl.
- Akiñoh*, Nunivak village, 6
- Aksigyökük*, legendary character, 228-229
- Aleutian islands*, Eskimo on, xv, 3
- Āmūktūlīk*, a spirit chief, 124
- Amusements* during ceremonies, 50
 See GAMES
- Anatomical terms*, Eskimo, 264
- Anchor-stones* for nets, 29
 See NET-SINKERS; SINKERS
- Anemone*, sea, in myth, 245-246
- Āngasuk*, mythic character, 131
- Animal-ears* tied to paddle, 140
 See CARIBOU-EARS; TALISMANS
- Animal-heads* used in decoration, 69-70, 173, 175, 183
- Animal ornaments* for Messenger feast, 69
- Animals*, ceremony for abundance of, 122
 first killed, customs regarding, 30, 47, 56, 63, 73, 104, 113, 120, 148, 164, 166, 168, 178, 209, 213, 227
 imitated by hunters, 246
 mythically created, 75
 native names of, 264-267
 represented by talismans, 16, 59, 152
 represented on objects, 39, 42
 See ARCTIC HARE; BEAR; BEAVER; BELUGA; BIRDS; FIELD-MOUSE; FISH; HAIR SEAL; HARE; HUNTING; KILLERWHALE; LYNX; MEAT; MINK; MONSTER; MOUNTAIN-SHEEP SKINS; MOUSE; MUSKRATS; POLAR BEAR; PORCUPINE; RABBITS; RAT; SEAL; SKUNK; TALISMANS; WEASEL; WHALE; WOLF; WOLVERENE
- Animal-skins* in Bladder feast, 61, 64
 See SKINS
- Archery* in myth, 95
 See ARROWS; BOWS
- Arctic hare* snared by Kobuk, 207
 See HARE
- Armlets*, bear-claw, in myth, 81
- Arrow-points*, bone, of the Noatak, 194
 gift of, in Messenger feast, 177
 in myth, 75
- Arrows* in myth, 75, 90, 91, 95, 159, 169, 184, 190-191, 202-205, 217, 235, 238, 246, 253, 261
 of the Nunivak, 27
 used as challenge, 54
 used by boys, 148
 used in hunting, 177, 207, 226, 227, 231, 262

- Arrows* used in warfare, 263
 See BOWS; WEAPONS
- Art.* *See* BEADS; CARVING; DECORATION;
 ETCHING; IVORY; ORNAMENTS;
 PAINTING; WOODWORKING
- Arts* of the Eskimo, 244
 See HANDICRAFT; INDUSTRIES
- Ashes*, bone, in Whale ceremony, 115
 evil expelled with, 140, 142, 149, 151
 whale-spouts represented with, 152
- Athapascans*, trade with, 226
 See INDIANS
- Auk*, hunting of, 29, 36, 47, 53, 113
 See BIRDS; FOOD
- Auklet* as a talisman, 16
 hunting of, 36, 113
- Auklet-skins*, mythic parka of, 132
- Awls* of ivory, 244
 of Nunivak men, 40
 used in etching, 41
- Axe* in myth, 87
 See ADZES
- Babies*, moss used for, 47-48
 See CHILDBIRTH; CHILDREN
- Bags*, bird, of King islanders, 102
 for birds' eggs, 113
 for burial clothes, 104
 for containing food, 138, 147
 for drum in myth, 156
 for weapon points, 24, 31
 of woven grass in myth, 80
 parchment, for containing blood, 142
 sealskin, for hunting, 128
 water, of Nunivak, 18
 See FLOATS; HANDICRAFT; PACK-SACK;
 POKES; POUCHES; SAND-BAG; SEW-
 ING BAG
- Bait*, how obtained, in myth, 184
 used for crabs, 143
 See FISHING
- Ball* in myth, 204, 219
 of light in myth, 216-217, 257
- Ball game* at Nunivak, 51
 in myth, 157
 See KICKBALL
- Báinagûh*, portrait, 20 pl.
- Bark* burned in myth, 80
- Bark*, canoes of, 214, 218, 226
 eaten by beaver in myth, 219
 nets of, 208, 216
 shelters covered with, 208-209, 243
 talismans wrapped in, 16
 utensils of, 162, 164, 208, 208 pl.
 See BIRCH-BARK; SPRUCE-BARK; WIL-
 LOW-BARK
- Baskets*, bark, 164, 208
 berries stored in, 226-227
 of the Nunivak, 37-38, 78 pl.
 trade in, 227
 woven by women, 244
 See FISH-BASKETS
- Bathing* at Nunivak, 43-44
 by hunters, 165
 by mourners, 121, 149
 in myth, 89, 90, 95, 182, 187
 of adolescents, 93, 166
 of newborn child, 119
 with urine, 72, 82, 180, 181, 202
 See PURIFICATION
- Beads* deposited with dead, 104
 effigy eyes of, 24
 in myth, 92, 182-183, 191, 220-222, 229,
 258
 sacred character of, 138, 159, 167, 213
 trade in, 227
 used in decoration, 10, 66 pl., 68 pl., 173,
 175, 180, 214, folio pls. 691, 693,
 697
 used in magic, 126
 See NOSE-BEADS; ORNAMENTS
- Bear*, hunting of, 101, 103, 117-119, 262
 in myth, 191, 230-231, 259-261
 stomach of, used as pot, 208
 talisman of, on kaiak, 16
 See POLAR BEAR
- Bear-claws*, armlets of, in myth, 81
- Bear-skins*, beds of, 185
 corpse wrapped in, 262
 See SKINS
- Bear-spirit.* *See* POLAR BEAR
- Bear-woman*, myth of, 261-262
- Beating.* *See* FLOGGING; WIFE-BEATER
- Beaver* in myth, 219
 maskette representing, 39
- Beaver-skins*, costumes of, 209

- Beaver-skins*, trade in, 102, 145, 162, 167, 214
See SKINS
- Beds* of skins, 180, 185
See SLEEPING
- Belt-ornament* in myth, 106-107
- Belts*, decorated, in Messenger feast, 174
 how used on dead, 121
 in myth, 233, 234
 made of sinew, 138
 of the Nunivak, 10
 worn by mourners, 104
See CLOTHING
- Beluga*, ceremony regarding, 212, 244
 how divided, 28
 hunting of, 4, 27-28, 137, 145, 163-164,
 194-195, 214
 illustrated, 168 pl., 172 pl.
 in myth, 152, 184, 188
 traded at Kotzebue, 163
 used as food, 97
- Berries* as food, 15, 34, 36, 99, 102, 113, 259
 at Cape Mendenhall, 53
 at Hooper bay, 97
 first, custom regarding, 148
 gathered at Kotzebue, 162 pl., 164
 gifts of, 49, 53, 189
 in Bladder feast, 59-62
 in myth, 76, 199, 221, 224, 231, 250
 offered to the sea, 72
 used in exchange, 66, 102
 when gathered, 47, 164, 167-168, 226
See BLACKBERRIES; BLUEBERRIES;
 CRANBERRIES; FOOD; MOSSBER-
 RIES; SALMONBERRIES
- Beverage* of dock-leaves, 36
- Big Diomedé island*, view of, 122 pl.
See DIOMEDE ISLANDS
- Big lake* in myth, 203
 Noatak hunting on, 205
- Birch-bark* traded by Kobuk, 193
 vessels of, 208, 226, 244
See BARK
- Bird-bladders* in ceremony, 57
- Bird-droppings* feared by spirits, 125
- Bird-eggs*. *See* EGGS
- Bird-heads* on maskettes, 39
 used in decoration, 173
- Bird-man* in myth, 183-184
- Bird ornaments* for Messenger feast, 69
- Birds* etched on crimpers, 42
 first killed, custom regarding, 30, 47, 56,
 63, 73, 104, 113, 120, 148, 164, 166,
 168, 178, 209, 213, 227
 how hunted, 26-30, 99, 102, 106, 113, 120,
 137, 164, 252, 257
 imitated by hunters, 246
 of King island, 99
 represented by talismans, 16, 59, 152
 represented on objects, 16, 40, 42
 song of, in myth, 262
 used as food, 5, 34, 36, 53, 100, 243
See AUK; AUKLET; CORMORANT; CRANE;
 CROW; DUCKS; EAGLE; EIDER
 DUCK; FOOD; FOWL; GEESE; GULL;
 HAWKS; HELLDIVER; LOON; NETS;
 OWL; PINTAIL DUCK; PTARMIGAN;
 PUFFINS; QUAIL; RAVEN; SEA-
 FOWL; SEA-GULL; SEA-PARROTS;
 SNIPE; SNOWBIRD; SPRUCE-HEN;
 SWALLOW; WATERFOWL
- Bird-skins* assembled at Bladder feast, 61, 64
 caps made of, 43, 58
 in cache, 138
 parkas of, 9-10, 53, 255, 256
 talismans of, 235-236
See SKINS
- Bird Woman* in myth, 107-109
- Birth* customs, Nunivak, 49
 miraculous, in myth, 78, 80
See CHILDBIRTH; NATAL CUSTOMS
- Birth songs* in ceremony, 73, 74
- Blackberries* used as food, 36, 208, 226
See BERRIES; PLANTS
- Blackfish* used as food, 35
- Black whale* in myth, 105
- Bladder feast* in myth, 80, 85
 of Nunivak, 7, 16, 36, 46, 53, 55-66, 244
- Bladders* for seal-net floats, 102
 gathered for Bladder feast, 73
See BIRD-BLADDERS; FLOATS; GALL-
 BLADDER; PARCHMENT; SEAL-BLAD-
 DERS; SEA-LION BLADDER; WALRUS-
 BLADDER
- Blankets*, waterproof, how made, 46
- Blanket-tossing*. *See* GAMES
- Blood*, face painted with, in myth, 170

- Blood* in myth, 90
 of animals saved, 142, 181
See SEAL-BLOOD
- Blood-sucking* in myth, 125
- Blubber*, how prepared, 34-35
 how used by hunter, 140
 important as food, 34
 in myth, 112, 127, 157, 229
 trade in, 227, 244
See FAT; FOOD; OIL
- Blueberries* used as food, 36, 113, 208, 226
See BERRIES; PLANTS
- Boat-covers*, caches protected with, 162
 dead wrapped in, 166
 of skins, 45, 103, 162
See KAIK-COVERS
- Boat-frames* of willow, 263
See BOATS; FRAMEWORK; KAIKs;
 UMIKs; WOODWORKING
- Boat-hooks* used with kaikaks, 17, 72
- Boats* improvised from sleds, 144
 in myth, 131, 180
 kept on racks, 151
 of Diomed islands, 113, 114 pl., folio pls.
 704, 705
 of King islanders, 101
 of Kotzebue, folio pls. 711, 712
 of Noatak, folio pl. 715
 of Selawik, 227, 228
 remains of, on mountains, 214
 repair of, 101-102, 191
 talismans attached to, 138, 152
 towed by dogs, 179
 used in hunting, 122 pl., 137-138, 140-
 141, 143, 144
 used in trading, 227
See CANOES; KAIKs; PADDLE; RACKs;
 UMIKs; WHALE-BOAT
- Bodkins* of bone, 42
 of ivory, 244
See NEEDLES; SEWING
- Bolas*, birds taken with, 113, 143
 used by boys, 120
- Bone*, objects of, 17, 18, 23, 24, 29, 40-42,
 102, 139, 143, 165, 169, 194
See HANDICRAFT; IMPLEMENTs; IVORY;
 LOON-BONE; WALRUS-BONE; WEAP-
 ONs; WHALEBONE; WHALE-BONE
- Boot-crimpers* of Nunivak, 42
- Boots* described, 243, 270
 for travelling, 232
 in myth, 83, 91, 106, 108, 134, 170, 187,
 191-192, 247, 250, 260
 not put on dead, 121
 of the Kobuk, 209
 of the Nunivak, 10-11, 45
 of the Selawik, 226
 padded with moss, 48
 water carried in, 179
 worn at Messenger feast, 174
- Bow. See* Bows
- Bow-drill* in myth, 184
 of King island, 110 pl., 112 pl.
See DRILLS
- Bowls* made in Bladder feast, 58-61
 of Kotzebue, 162
 of Nunivak, 36-37
 used as drums, 197
See DISHES; EARTHENWARE; UTENSILs;
 WOODWORKING
- Bows* as grave-markers, 263
 in myth, 75, 95, 159, 169, 180, 190-191,
 199, 205-206, 250
 of early Kobuk, 214
 of Nunivak, 27
 used as walking-sticks, 186
 used by boys, 148
 used in hunting, 32, 142, 167, 177, 196,
 227
 used in welcoming visitors, 175
 use of, taught in myth, 184
See ARROWS; WEAPONS
- Bow-sheath* in myth, 93
- Bow-string* in myth, 77-78
 significance of cutting, 104
- Boxes* for talismans, 138
 for tools, 40
 used as drums, 170
See WOODWORKING
- Boys* at Messenger feast, 146
 ceremony for, 73-74
 customs regarding, 104, 120, 146, 148,
 166
 faces of, painted, 66
 in Bladder feast, 61, 63, 65
 in hunting ceremony, 137-138, 140

- Boys* in Walrus ceremony, 74
 kaiaks of, 14-15
 live in men's house, 244
 lost, legend of, 179-181
 participate in hunting, 143, 179, 263
 pastimes of, 143, 155
 prayers for, 49
 songs taught to, 15
 See ADOLESCENTS; CHILDREN
- Bracelets* presented to bride, 181
 worn at Bladder feast, 64
 See ORNAMENTS
- Bug* in myth, 203
- Bullheads* in myth, 105, 246-247
 used as food, 35
- Burial.* *See* MORTUARY CUSTOMS
- Burning* by magic in myth, 87-88, 90
- Butchering* of game, 30-31, 164, 168, 195
 See ANIMALS; DIVISION; MEAT
- Butterfly* in myth, 235
- Cabbage*, wild, used as food, 36, 53
- Caches*, contents of, 34, 47, 52, 138
 in myth, 75, 80, 83, 87, 88, 90, 127, 128,
 150-151, 169, 170, 179, 181, 184, 186,
 188, 197, 201-202, 231-232, 239, 240,
 246, 250, 261-262
 of Hooper bay, 96 pl.
 of King islanders, 102
 of Kobuk, 208
 of Kotzebue, 162
 of Little Diomedé island, 112
 of Noatak, 193, 196
 of Nunivak, 34
 of Selawik, 225
 varieties of, 270
 when filled, 145
 See FOOD; STORAGE; STOREROOMS
- Camp*, winter, of Nunivak, 12 pl.
- Cannibal dwarfs*, legend of, 83-85
- Cannibalism*, ceremonial, 210-211
 in myth, 76, 88, 259
- Canoes*, bark, of early Kobuk, 214
 in myth, 215, 218, 220
 of the Selawik, 226
 See BOATS; KAIAKS; UMIAKS
- Cape Blossom* as a harbor, 161
- Cape Corwin*, Nunivak village at, 6
- Cape Etolin*, attack on village at, 55
 graves at, 50
 mortuary customs at, 245
 Nunivak of, 6, 9
 occupancy of, in myth, 74-77
 talismans at, 16
- Cape Manning* in myth, 78
 Nunivak village at, 6
- Cape Mendenhall*, Nunivak village at, 6
 seal-nets invented at, 28
 vegetal products at, 53
- Cape Mohican*, bird-nets used at, 29
 ceremony originated at, 66
 Eskimo visit to, 53
- Cape Prince of Wales Eskimo*, account of, xv,
 135-150
 dialect of, 3
 food of, 4
 houses of, 136 pl., 243
 myths of, 150-160, 254-257
 portraits, 148 pl., 152 pl., 158 pl., folio pl.
 708
 trade with, 161-162, 167, 195
 visited by King islanders, 102
 whale-boats of, folio pls. 707, 709
 Whale ceremony of, 244-245
 whale-hunt of, 140 pl., 144 pl.
- Cape Romanzof* in myth, 78
- Cape Smith*, dialect of, 3
- Caps*, animal-head, in Messenger feast, 69-70
 bird-skin, 58
 ceremonial, in Bladder feast, 63-64
 fur, of men and boys, 243
 Nunivak, 10, 270
 of hunters, 30, 246
 worn in myth, 79-80
 worn in sweat-bath, 43, 165
- Cardinal points* in ceremony, 60
 native names of, 267
 See DIRECTION; ORIENTATION
- Caribou* as food, folio pl. 689
 crossed with reindeer, 32
 driven into corrals, 227, 260
 extinct on Nunivak, 32
 hearts of, in cache, 138
 hunted, in myth, 95, 176, 181, 186, 197,
 203-204, 218-219, 223, 231, 240,
 249-251, 262

- Caribou*, hunting of, 4, 27, 32-33, 143, 144, 164, 168, 179, 184, 194, 196, 205, 207, 227
 importance of, 194
 in myth, 75, 76, 79, 83, 86-87, 91, 93, 188, 235, 261
 trade in products of, 162
See FOOD; MEAT; SKINS
- Caribou-ears*, receptacle formed of, 42
See ANIMAL-EARS
- Caribou-fat*, how prepared, 53
- Caribou-horn*, arrow-points of, 207, 226
- Caribou-legs*, leggings made of, 209, 252
- Caribou-sinew*, bird-nets of, 29
 bows wrapped with, 27
 how prepared, 42-43
- Caribou-skin*, beds of, 180
 boats covered with, 204, 250, 263
 clothing of, 10, 226, 243
 dead wrapped in, 166
 drums made of, 173
 enclosure fenced with, 214
 given to aged, 175
 given to hosts, 176
 houses covered with, 136, 162
 how tanned, 44
 in myth, 92-93, 170, 184, 221, 233
 trade in, 145, 167, 193-194, 214
 used at childbirth, 165
- Caribou-toes*, decoration with, 170, 173-174
- Caribou-tongues* in myth, 199
- Carving* by Alaskan Eskimo, 244
 in ivory, 86 pl., 102
 of grave-posts, 97, 98 pl., 104
 of sacred staff, 67
 of wood and ivory, 165
 season for, 48
See ETCHING; IVORY; ORNAMENTS; WOOD; WOODWORKING
- Cave* in myth, 105, 190, 203
 King island caches in, 102
- Ceremonies* at Cape Prince of Wales, 146-148
 at kaiak-making, 12-13, 15
 for beluga-hunting, 163-164
 for first game catch, 30, 47, 56, 63, 73, 104, 113, 120, 148, 164, 166, 168, 178, 209, 213, 227
 in myth, 189
 masks worn in, 38
- Ceremonies* of Alaskan Eskimo, 244
 of King islanders, 103
 of Kobuk, 213
 of Kotzebue, 164-166
 of Little Diomedé, 112-116
 of Nunivak, 55-74
 whale, in myth, 151
See BLADDER FEAST; DANCE; FIRST BIRD-CATCH CEREMONY; MESSENGER FEAST; NEW KAIK CEREMONY; SEAL CEREMONY; WHALE CEREMONY
- Châhali*, portrait, 60 pl.
- Charcoal*, face-painting with, 146, 170, 210
 for tattooing, 12
 used in fire-making, 41
- Charms*. *See* TALISMANS
- Chiefs* absent on Little Diomedé, 123
See HEADMAN
- Child*, miraculous, 199
- Childbirth* among Selawik, 227
 in myth, 217-220, 223, 250, 255
 song of, 15
See BIRTH; NATAL CUSTOMS
- Children*, dance by, in ceremony, 63, 67
 diversions of, 50
 how carried by mothers, 190
 how trained, 119-120
 influenced by spirits, 60
 in Kaiak ceremony, 72
 in Whale ceremony, 115
 naming of, 109, 110, 113, 119, 167
 Noatak, 204 pl., folio pl. 717
 Nunivak, 51, folio pls. 688, 690, 694, 696
 spirits of, 177, 244
 treatment of, in war, 54-55
 unborn, gifts to, 66
 whale-hunt imitated by, 142
See BOYS; GIRLS; NATAL CUSTOMS
- Chisels* of Nunivak, 40, 41
- Civilization*, effects of, xvi, 136
See FIREARMS
- Clams*, food of sea-animals, 80, 112, 126-127, 154
 gathered in myth, 150
 used as food, 35
 when gathered, 145
- Clam-shells*, parchment scraped with, 46
- Claws*. *See* BEAR-CLAWS; WOLF-CLAW

- Clay*, vessels of, 145, 162
 See EARTHENWARE; UTENSILS
- Cleanliness*, how regarded, 71, 80, 152, 165
 See BATHING; SWEAT-BATH
- Cliff-dwellers* in myth, 219
 See KING ISLANDERS
- Clothing*, dance, worn after hunt, 168
 for travelling, 232
 given after first kill, 209
 given to bride, 120, 148, 228
 given to poor, 123
 how cleaned, 44
 in Messenger feast, 173-174
 in myth, 75, 76, 88, 108, 170, 180, 183-185, 200
 new, worn at puberty, 166
 new, worn by hunters, 114, 138
 new, worn by mothers, 166
 of Alaskan Eskimo, 243
 of infants, 167
 of mourners burned, 210, 228
 of the dead, 50, 52, 104, 121, 148-149, 166, 210, 244
 of the Kobuk, 209
 of the Nunivak, 9-11, 32
 of the Selawik, 226
 of visitors in Messenger feast, 175
 season for making, 196
 sewing of, taught in myth, 184
 trade in, 214, 227
 waterproof, 9-11, 13, 18, 29, 31, 46, 50, 58, 73-74, 142, 143, 243
 waterproof, in myth, 90, 124-127, 133, 153, 156, 181, 247, 250
 worn in butchering, 144
 See BELTS; BOOTS; CAPS; COSTUME; HOODS; MITTENS; PARKAS; SHIRTS; SKINS; SOCKS; TROUSERS
- Clubs*, blubber pounded with, 157
 implements used as, 24, 30, 143
 in myth, 84, 106, 184, 235
 used in hunting, 31, 57, 142, 143, 164, 168, 255
- Cod* caught by Kobuk, 208
 caught by Nunivak, 35-36
 season for fishing, 47
 See FISH; ROCK COD; TOMCOD
- Colors*, native names of, 267
- Colors* of boots, 11
 of parkas, 10
 of squirrels in myth, 246
 See FACE-PAINTING; PAINTING
- Combat* in myth, 76-77, 81, 94, 105
 See CONTEST; WARFARE
- Conjuring* in myth, 132-133
 See MEDICINE-MEN; MEDICINE-WOMEN; SPIRIT-POWER; TRANSFORMATION
- Consecration* of kaiaks, 71-73
 See NEW KAIKAK CEREMONY
- Contest* among carvers, 165
 in myth, 83, 95, 124, 159-160, 185-189, 221, 229, 233-234, 251
 of agility, 69, 70
 of strength, 65
 See COMBAT; FOOD-EATING CONTEST; FOOT-RACE; GAMES; KICKBALL; TUG-OF-WAR
- Continence* during bowl-making, 58
 during ceremony, 57, 71
 in myth, 187
 of line-makers, 28
- Cook* in myth, 107
- Cooking* by the Kobuk, 208
 by the Kotzebue, 162
 by the Noatak, 196
 by the Nunivak, 9, 35-36
 by the Selawik, 226
 in Bladder feast, 59
 in myth, 75, 86, 179, 184, 218
 objects used in, 36
 See FOOD; UTENSILS
- Copper*, objects of, in myth, 218
- Cormorant* as a talisman, 16
 caught with nets, 29, 53
 taken on Little Diomede, 113
 used as food, 36
- Cormorant-spirit* in myth, 131
- Corpse* in mythic cache, 87
 mythic marriage with, 88-89
 See DEAD; MORTUARY CUSTOMS
- Corrals* for dogs, 193
 for hunting, 196, 227, 260
- Costume*, Cape Prince of Wales, 148 pl., 152 pl., 158 pl.
 Diomede, 128 pl., 132 pl., 134 pl.
 Hooper Bay, 90 pl., 92 pl., folio pl. 698

- Costume* in Bladder feast, 59, 64
 in Kaiak ceremony, 72
 King island, 110 pl., 112 pl., folio pl. 703
 Kobuk, folio pls. 721, 722
 Kotzebue, 162 pl., folio pls. 710, 713, 714
 Noatak, 202 pl., 204 pl., folio pls. 716, 717
 Nunivak, 20 pl., 24 pl., 28 pl., 30 pl.,
 32 pl., 56 pl., 60 pl., 64 pl., 66 pl.,
 68 pl., 72 pl., 86 pl., folio pls. 690-695
 Selawik, 230 pl.-238 pl., folio pl. 720
See CLOTHING
- Courtesy.* *See* HOSPITALITY
- Courtship* in myth, 109
See MARRIAGE
- Cousins*, requests made of, in ceremony, 66
 ridiculed at Bladder feast, 64
- Cowslips* used as food, 35
- Crabs* used as food, 35, 100, 143
- Cranberries* used as food, 36, 208, 226
See BERRIES
- Crane* as a talisman, 16
 in myth, 106, 130, 223, 254-256
- Cremation* of dead in war, 55
 of the drowned, 52
See MORTUARY CUSTOMS
- Crimpers.* *See* BOOT-CRIMPERS
- Crosses* in basket decoration, 37
- Crow* as a talisman, 16
 in myth, 190, 224, 245-246, 261
- Cruelty* in myth, 90, 229-230, 233, 237-239,
 252
- Crying* stopped with snow, 94
- Culture* of Alaskan Eskimo, 3-4
- Curing* of fish, 35, 47-48
 of meat, 34, 52, 97, 144, 188
 of meat in myth, 75
See DRYING; FISH-DRYING RACKS; FOOD;
 MEAT; RACKS
- Dahçhñitok*, portrait, 68 pl.
- Dance* after Bladder feast, 66
 after hunting, 101
 as a diversion, 244
 at Messenger feast, 120, 146
 dedicated to food, 175
 during hunt preparation, 138, 163
 during trading, 161
 family, of Cape Prince of Wales, 146
- Dance* following betrothal, 227
 following hunt, 113, 163-164, 168, 254
 for visitors, 213
 in Bladder feast, 57, 61-64
 in ceremony, 50, 66-67, 141
 in myth, 124, 126, 133, 153, 155, 173, 189,
 197, 198, 224, 232, 247, 249, 253
 mark in legend, 170
 not given at marriage, 166
 of King islanders, 103
 ornaments worn in, 12
 powers exhibited in, 156-158
 season for, 191
 taught in legend, 170-172, 174, 183
See CEREMONIES
- Darkness*, fear of, conquered, 109
- Day*, mythic origin of, 79
- Dead*, children named after, 103, 119, 148, 227
 human, cached in myth, 202
 races in honor of, 47
See CORPSE; DROWNED; MORTUARY
 CUSTOMS; SPIRITS
- Deadfalls* used in hunting, 177, 207
See HUNTING
- Deafness*, belief regarding, 121
- Death* threatened in myth, 180, 184
See MORTUARY CUSTOMS; MURDER
- Decapitation* in myth, 125
- Decoration*, facial, of Eskimo, 243
 of basketry, 37, 78 pl.
 of boot-crimpers, 42
 of clothing, 125-126, 209
 of clothing in myth, 180, 183, 185, 233
 of men's house, 173, 175
 of sewing kits, 42
See BEADS; CARVING; CHARCOAL; ETCH-
 ING; FACE-PAINTING; ORNAMENTA-
 TION; PAINTING; TATTOOING;
 WOODWORKING
- Decoys* for catching birds, 30
- Deerskin* as gifts, 192
 caps of, in ceremony, 69
 socks of, worn by dead, 121
 trade in, 102, 145
- Deluge* in myth, 214, 228
- Descent* of songs and dances, 114, 146
 of spirit-powers, 123
See INHERITANCE

- Dialects of Coast Eskimo*, 3, map
See VOCABULARIES
- Diomedé islanders*, portraits, 128 pl., 132 pl., 134 pl.
 trade with, 144, 161-162, 167, 195
 Whale ceremony of, 244
- Diomedé islands*, bird-netting on, 30
 visited by King islanders, 102
See BIG DIOMEDE ISLAND; LITTLE DIOMEDE ISLAND
- Dip-nets*, birds caught with, 29-30
 crabs caught with, 143
 fish caught with, 35
See FISHING; NETS
- Dipper*, wooden, in myth, 90
See LADLE
- Direction* followed in Kaiak ceremony, 72
 of racers in Bladder feast, 65
 taken by visitors, 70
See CARDINAL POINTS; SUN
- Diseases* caused by spirits, 122
 introduced by whites, xvi, 136
See EPIDEMIC; INFLUENZA; PARALYSIS; TUBERCULOSIS
- Dishes*, bark, 208 pl.
 deposited with dead, 50
 distributed in myth, 182
 legendary, of eagle-quills, 171, 176
 of Kotzebue, 162
 of Nunivak, 74 pl.
 season for making, 48
 use of, following death, 228
 wooden, food served in, 35
 wooden, in myth, 87
 wooden, of Little Diomedé, 119
See BOWLS; UTENSILS; WOOD; WOOD-WORKING
- Disobedience* a cause for divorce, 49
- Division* of bones by hunter, 169
 of fat in Whale ceremony, 115
 of food during stress, 51
 of meat by hunters, 28, 30-31, 101, 113, 116-118, 141, 144, 151, 164, 209, 246, 254
 of property of dead, 228
- Division of Men and Women feast*, Nunivak, 48, 56, 66-67
- Divorce* among Kobuk, 209-210
 VOL. XX-37
- Divorce* among Kotzebue, 166
 among Little Diomedé islanders, 121
 among Nunivak, 49
 among Selawik, 228
 at Cape Prince of Wales, 148
 how effected, 244
See MARRIAGE
- Dock-leaves* gathered in myth, 82
 mythic paddle of, 250
 soup of, in myth, 93
 used as food, 34-37
 when gathered, 47
See FOOD; PLANTS
- Dogfish* used as food, 35
- Dog-heads*, headgear formed of, 183
- Dogs*, caches protected from, 225
 Eskimo, illustrated, 226 pl.
 in myth, 78, 84-85, 88-89, 125-127, 159, 179, 186, 220, 237-239
 in warfare, 263
 kept in corrals, 193
 of King islanders, 100
 of Nunivak, 64 pl.
 sleds drawn by, 22-23, 58 pl., 179, 181
 used in hunting, 141-143
- Dog-skin*, garments of, in myth, 257-258
 in Messenger feast, 67
- Dog-teams*, boats drawn by, 195-196
 in myth, 184, 201-202
 meat carried by, 196
 travel by, 172, 193-194
See SLEDS
- Doll*, magic, in myth, 251
- Dolls* of Nunivak children, 50
- Drag-nets* used in fishing, 35
See FISHING; NETS; SEINES
- Dreams* in myth, 203, 220, 222
- Dress*. *See* CLOTHING; COSTUME
- Driftwood* for use and trade, 102
 gathering of, 17, 47, 48, 167-168, 179
 in myth, 84, 88
See FIREWOOD; WOOD
- Drills*, ivory, 244
 of King island, 110 pl., 112 pl.
 of Nunivak, 40, 41
See BOW-DRILL; FIRE-DRILL
- Drowned*, bodies of, how treated, 52
 spirits of the, 50

- Drum, Drums*, as a spirit-power, 236
 hung in men's house, 65
 in Bladder feast, 57, 60, 63-64
 in ceremony, 66
 in Messenger feast, 69, 71, 170-177
 in Whale ceremony, 114
 magic, in myth, 257
 of medicine-men, 123-124, 129
 of Nunivak, 39-40, folio pl. 692
 used at Kotzebue, 165
- Drumhead* of walrus stomach, 126
- Drumming* for visitors, 213
 in myth, 125, 126, 130-132, 134, 153, 156-157, 179, 183, 189, 190, 197, 247, 252, 254, 256
- Drying* of walrus-hide, 124 pl.
 of whale meat, 94 pl., 118 pl.
See CURING; RACKS
- Ducks*, hunting of, 113, 164, 194
 in myth, 106, 228-229
 used as food, 36, 97
See EIDER DUCK; FOOD; PINTAIL DUCK
- Duck-skins*, clothing of, in myth, 258
 parkas of, 32 pl., 243
 sweat-bath caps of, 165
- Dumbness* inflicted in myth, 222
- Dwarfs*, legend of, 83-85
- Eagle* in Messenger feast, 177
 in myth, 169-171, 174, 176, 197, 215, 222
- Eagle-fat* used in paint, 173
- Eagle-feathers* in Messenger feast, 175-177
 on arrows, 169-172
 on kaiak, 14
 worn in hair, 174
- Eagle-quills*, legendary dishes of, 171, 176
- Eagle-skins* in legend, 170, 197-198, 235
- Eagle-woman*, legend of, 185-188
- Ear-beads* in myth, 92
- Ear-ornaments*, Nunivak, 11, 12
- Ear-rings* of Alaskan Eskimo, 243
 talisman consisting of, 165
 worn at Bladder feast, 64
- Earth. See* SPIRIT OF THE UNIVERSE
- Earthenware*, lamps of, 193
 of the Noatak, 197
See CLAY; POTS
- East Cape*, dialect of, 3
- Eastwood, Stewart C.*, acknowledgments, xvi
- Eating*, mode of, 37
See COOKING; FOOD
- Eels*, monster, in myth, 216
- Effigy* as grave-marker, 97, 98 pl.
 bird, in cache, 138-139
 of ivory in myth, 107
 seal, of snow, 122
 whale, of fat, 114-115
See TALISMANS
- Eggs* used as food, 36, 53, 100, 113, 208
 when gathered, 47
See FISH-EGGS
- Eider duck* as a talisman, 16
 how killed, 143
 in myth, 130
See DUCKS
- Endicott mountains*, hunting in, 207
- Epidemic* at Cape Prince of Wales, 136, 138, 140
 in myth, 134
See DISEASES
- Equipment* of kaiaks, 15-17
See IMPLEMENTS; UTENSILS
- Etching*, awls used for, 41
 of tools, 42
See CARVING; DECORATION; ORNAMENTS
- Evil* exorcized, 15, 29, 52, 60, 65, 70, 104, 122, 138, 140, 142, 149, 185, 210
 spirit of, in myth, 155-156
See SPIRITS
- Exchange* of families in myth, 248-249
 of gifts in ceremony, 58, 63
 of goods at marriage, 48
 of wives, 49, 108, 166, 244
See TRADE
- Exorcism* of evil, 15, 29, 52, 60, 65, 70, 104, 122, 138, 140, 142, 149, 185, 210
See SPIRITS
- Eye*, magic, in myth, 125
- Eyebrows* lacking, in myth, 110
- Eye-shades* of Nunivak, 19
See GOGGLES
- Face-painting* after Bladder feast, 66
 by medicine-man's son, 210
 in ceremony, 67
 in legend, 58, 170, 173

- Face-painting* of guests, 146
with soot, 59, 68-70
See PAINTING
- Facial decoration*, Nunivak, 11-12
See LABRETS; NOSE-BEADS; TATTOOING
- Families*, composition of, 244
exchange of, in myth, 248-249
See SOCIAL CUSTOMS
- Famine* foreseen in myth, 231
See STARVATION
- Fasting* at Bladder feast, 61-63
by women during hunt, 140
during bowl-making, 58
during ceremony, 71
See TABOO
- Fat*, eagle, used in paint, 173
exchanged in ceremony, 66
in myth, 245
reindeer, in Whale ceremony, 114-115
See BLUBBER; CARIBOU-FAT; OIL;
REINDEER-FAT
- Feast* after childbirth, 227
after first catch, 120, 148, 213
after hunt, 101, 113, 116, 168
after kaiak-making, 13, 15
after Whale ceremony, 115
as a diversion, 244
at Cape Prince of Wales, 146
at Kotzebue, 214
before hunt, 138, 163
before marriage, 209, 227
by hunters, 151, 165, 182
by King islanders, 103
by the Noatak, 195
during ceremonies, 50
during trading, 161, 167, 214
for visitors, 172, 192, 213-214
in myth, 128, 183, 184, 188-189, 224, 232, 235
mortuary, 149, 210, 227
not given at marriage, 166
season for, 191
See BLADDER FEAST; DIVISION OF MEN
AND WOMEN FEAST; MESSENGER
FEAST
- Feathers* as pottery binder, 197
in myth, 216
on mask, 38-39
- Feathers*, spirit-power represented by, 204
used in decoration, 173, 198
used on javelins, 25
See BIRDS; EAGLE-FEATHERS; EAGLE-
QUILLS; PTARMIGAN-FEATHERS
- Feces* consumed in myth, 218
- Fern-roots* used as food, 36, 51
- Field-mouse* in myth, 247
- Fighting* in myth, 260
See COMBAT; CONTEST; WARFARE
- Fire*, ball of, in myth, 257
breathed by dead in myth, 132
in Whale ceremony, 114-115
made in myth, 80, 125, 184
made with bow-drill, 41
magically produced, 221, 223
origin of, in myth, 75
spirit guided by, 134
See BURNING; TINDER
- Firearms*, effect of, 113, 117, 140, 164, 226-227
- Fire-drill* in myth, 80, 125
- Firepit*. *See* HOUSES
- Firewood* exchanged at birth, 49
gathered in myth, 94, 223
traded in myth, 74, 250
See DRIFTWOOD; WOOD
- First Bird-catch ceremony*, when held, 47
See BIRDS
- Fish* appear at King island, 252
as food, 34, 35, 93, 173, 243
ceremony following first catch, 103, 227
eaten after kaiak-making, 15
food, in myth, 76, 235, 248
food of seals, 80
magically created, 92, 125
of Hooper Bay Eskimo, 97
power of, in myth, 109-110
song of, in myth, 259
talismans representing, 15, 16, 39, 42, 59
tied to sticks, in rite, 62
used in trade, 102, 112
when dried and stored, 47-48
See BLACKFISH; BULLHEADS; CLAMS;
COD; CRABS; DOGFISH; FISH-EGGS;
FISHING; FISH-OIL; FLOUNDER;
HALIBUT; HERRING; MUSSELS;
PICKEREL; ROCK COD; SALMON;
SARDINES; SEA FOOD; SEA-HORSE;

- SHRIMP; SMELT; SNAILS; SOLE; *Flint*, magic, in myth, 237-239
 TOMCOD; TROUT; WHITEFISH
Fish-baskets for snaring mink, 33
See BASKETS
Fish-drying racks, Nunivak, 34 pl., 64 pl.
Fish-eggs as food, 33-36, 226
 as food in myth, 252
 body rubbed with, in myth, 95, 229
 how gathered, 52
 used in tanning, 44
Fisherman, legend of the, 200-201
Fishhooks in myth, 201
 Nunivak, 29
 tomcod caught with, 143
See HOOKS
Fishing affected by death, 149
 at Cape Prince of Wales, 137
 by King islanders, 102
 by Kobuk, 207-208, 214
 by Kotzebue, 163
 by Noatak, 194
 by Selawik, 226
 from kaiaks, 12
 in myth, 83, 105, 184, 231, 253, 259
 methods of, 25-26
 sea, unknown, in myth, 235
 season for, 47, 168, 179, 191, 196
 through ice-holes, 29, 48, 53, 200-201
Fish-lines, tomcod caught with, 143
See HAND-LINES
Fish-nets, durability of, 226
 of sinew, 168
See NETS
Fish-oil used as food, 226
See OIL
Fish-power in myth, 222
Fish-skin, parka of, in myth, 74, 87-88
Fish-spear, Nunivak, 25-26
See SPEAR
Fish-traps of the Kobuk, 207
Flame magically produced, 125
See FIRE
Flesh, human, as food in myth, 84
See MEAT
Flint, drill-points of, 41
 house of, in myth, 223-224
 implements of, 163, 195, 207, 216
 knife of, in legend, 169, 200, 206, 208
 mythic serpent scales of, 202
 talismanic knife of, 16
Flint-man in myth, 223-224, 236
Flippers, net-floats made of, 145
Floats attached to boats, 139
 attached to bolas, 143
 attached to harpoons, 140, 143-144
 attached to nets, 28-29, 145
 bladders used as, 102
 how made, 45
 in myth, 153
 pokes used as, 115
 used as seats, 142
 used in hunting, 18, 24, 30-31, 116, 138
See BLADDERS; POKES
Flogging in myth, 128
Flood. See DELUGE
Flounder as a talisman, 16
 caught by Kobuk, 208
 in myth, 89
 used as food, 35, 97
Flounder-spirit in myth, 80-82
Flying in myth, 133, 188, 190, 216, 236, 238, 251
Fog caused by medicine-men, 136
 in myth, 236
Food at Messenger feast, 69, 146
 brought by women, 62, 146, 165, 168, 174,
 230, 234, 244
 brought to sweat-bath, 165
 deposited for dead, 50, 94, 149, 245
 divided during stress, 51
 game symbolized by, 62
 gifts of, for luck, 53
 gifts of, in ceremonies, 61, 67, 68
 given at marriage, 49
 given in myth, 171-173, 191, 218, 248
 given to hosts, 176
 given to medicine-men, 109, 129
 given to the aged, 72-74, 258
 given to the poor, 123
 given to visitors, 70, 204, 220-221, 230,
 233-234
 given to workmen, 141, 146
 how served, 35, 158
 how stored, 48, 112, 162, 173, 184
 insured through ceremony, 56
 mythic origin of, 75

Food of adolescent, 93

- of Alaskan Eskimo, 243-244, 264-268
- of Hooper Bay Eskimo, 97
- of King islanders, 4, 101-102
- of Kobuk, 207-208
- of Kotzebue, 4, 162-164
- of Little Diomedé, 4, 112-113
- of mothers, 103, 148, 166
- of Nunivak, 4-6, 34-36
- preparation of, in myth, 85, 184
- prepared by women, 244
- stored, in myth, 188
- traded, in myth, 150
- used by hunters, 201

See ANIMALS; BERRIES; BIRDS; BLUBBER; BUTCHERING; CACHES; COOKING; CURING; DRYING; EGGS; FASTING; FAT; FEAST; FISH; HOSPITALITY; HUNGER; HUNTING; MARROW; MEAT; PLANTS; SEA-ANIMALS; SEA FOOD; SEAL; SEAL-OIL; SHELLFISH; SOUP; STARVATION; STORAGE; WALRUS; WHALE MEAT; WHALE-OIL

Food containers at Kotzebue, 178

See BOWLS; DISHES; POKES; UTENSILS

Food-eating contest in ceremony, 62

Food-offering in ceremony, 74

- in kaiak-making, 15
- to spirits, 56, 60-61, 209

Food-quest of the Eskimo, xv, 4, 136

See FISHING; HUNTING

Foot-race in Bladder feast, 50, 61, 62, 65

- in legend, 58, 77
- in Messenger feast, 70
- of Nunivak, 46

See GAMES

Footwear. See BOOTS; MOCCASINS; SOCKS

Forehead-band, bead worn in, 159

See HEADBANDS

Four, a sacred number, 104, 106, 110, 121, 125,

- 130-131, 134, 149, 151-152, 156,
- 159, 166, 167, 182, 188, 198, 199, 202,
- 210-212, 245, 253-254, 259

Fowl, a talisman on kaiak, 14, 15

See BIRDS; SEA-FOWL; WATERFOWL

Fox as a talisman, 14, 16, 152

feast for first kill, 209

Fox hunted in myth, 177-179, 184, 232

- hunting of, 33, 48, 97, 137, 164, 165, 168,
- 194, 227, 263
- in myth, 76, 91-92, 94, 169, 188, 202, 203,
- 224, 246, 259-261
- on Nunivak island, 5

Fox-heads, headgear of, 183

Fox-skin, a measure of value, 143, 192

- attached to sacred pole, 70
- beds of, 185
- caps of, in ceremony, 69
- costumes of, 209
- drum covered with, 170, 198
- in myth, 177
- trade in, 102, 112, 145, 162, 167, 194, 214

Fox-skull in cache, 138

Framework of boats, 44 pl., 182 pl.

See BOATS; KAIAKS; UMIACS

Friendship between villages maintained, 56

necessary at sweat-bath, 49

Frost, mythic power of, 237-239

Fur, boots decorated with, 11

- from Siberia, 112
- given in Messenger feast, 175
- of Hooper Bay Eskimo, 97
- trade in, 161, 162, 167, 195, 263
- used at childbirth, 223

See CLOTHING; COSTUME; SKINS

Furnishings of Nunivak houses, 7

See HOUSES; UTENSILS

Gall-bladder in walrus feast, 18

Game. See ANIMALS; BIRDS; DIVISION; FISH; HUNTING; MEAT

Games at Cape Prince of Wales, 146

- before beluga-hunt, 163
- during trading, 161
- during whaling season, 142
- following Bladder feast, 65
- following hunting, 169
- hunting, played by boys, 143
- in myth, 82, 93, 180, 181, 202, 216, 219,
- 221, 223, 232, 255, 260
- of Alaskan Eskimo, 244
- of Nunivak, 50-51, 62

See BALL GAME; FOOT-RACE; HIDE-AND-SEEK; KICKBALL; TOP-SPINNING; TOYS; TUG-OF-WAR

- Gauge* for line-making, 43, 46
- Geese* hunted at Kotzebue, 164
 in myth, 106, 258
 used as food, 36
 See BIRDS; FOOD; GOOSE
- Genesis* of King islanders, 105
 of Kobuk, 214-216
 of Little Diomedé islanders, 126
- Genitals* painted on kaiak, 15
- Giant* in myth, 233-234, 236
 See MONSTER
- Gifts*, an indication of ability, 64
 an indication of betrothal, 227
 at Bladder feast, 61, 63-66
 at ceremonies, 56, 58, 67, 73-74, 153, 227
 at first catch, 120, 166, 227
 at foot-races, 46-47
 at marriage, 49, 148, 228
 at Messenger feast, 53, 68, 146, 176, 244
 exchanged in myth, 189
 of food for luck, 53
 to infants, 103
 to medicine-men, 129
 to medicine-woman, in myth, 180
 to the aged, 72-74, 148, 168, 170-171, 175, 185, 186, 190, 209, 239, 258
 to the poor, 123
 to visitors, 53, 71, 189, 229
 See DIVISION; FOOD; HOSPITALITY
- Gihleayuh*, mythic medicine-man, 89
- Gill-nets*, fishing with, 163, 195
 used at Cape Prince of Wales, 144
 used by Nunivak, 29
 used by Selawik, 226
 See NETS
- Girls* at Bladder feast, 60-61
 customs regarding, 120, 148, 166, 209, 227
 how reared, 120
 prayers for, 49
 See ADOLESCENTS; CHILDREN; PUBERTY CUSTOMS
- Gloves*, magic, in myth, 202-203
 See MITTENS
- Glue* for bowl-making, 59
 javelin feathers fastened with, 25
 of seal-blood, 36-37
- Goggles* in myth, 260
- Goggles* of Nunivak, 19
 See EYE-SHADES
- Goose* as a talisman, 16
 See GEESE
- Grantley Harbor*, mythic origin of, 105
- Grass*, articles made of, 47
 bags made of, 113
 boots padded with, 243
 clothing of, in myth, 183-185, 200
 from Cape Mendenhall, 53
 gift of, to messengers, 189
 house of, on King island, 105
 houses covered with, 225, 243
 in Bladder feast, 64
 mats of, 8, 9, 17, 34 pl., 47, 60, 62, 65, 71, 72, 75, 93, 97, 115, 208-209, 244, 269
 mats of, in myth, 79, 91, 95, 125, 248, 250
 placed in whale-boats, 152
 socks made of, 11, 47, 124, 243
 storage pits lined with, 35-36
 thrown in ceremony, 57-58
 towel of, 253
 transformation into, 130
 used for toy lines, 74
 used in basketry, 37
 See SEDGE; SOD; STRAW
- Grass-seeds* as food in myth, 106
- Grass stalk*, magic, in myth, 237-239
- Grave-boards* at Cape Prince of Wales, 245
 how placed, 149
 in myth, 132
 of Little Diomedé, 121
- Grave-boxes*, burial in, 89
 in myth, 191
 of Nunivak, 50
- Grave-markers* at Hooper bay, 97, 98 pl., 245
 bows used as, 263
 Selawik, 228
- Graves* of the Nunivak, 6
 See MORTUARY CUSTOMS
- Grease-pots* in myth, 92-93
- Greenland*, Eskimo in, xv, 3
- Gull* in myth, 82, 130
 See SEA-GULL
- Gull-skins*, parkas of, 9-10, 243
- Gut*, smoke-hole covered with, 8
 See INTESTINE; PARCHMENT

- Habitat* of Alaskan Eskimo, xv, 3, 5, 97, 99, 161, 193, 207, 225
- Hair*, caps ornamented with, 10
ceremonially shaved, 44-45, 61, 104, 120, 148, 204, 253
eagle-feathers worn in, 174
from parka given to whale, 141
from parka in mortuary rite, 210
See FUR; WHISKERS; WOLF-HAIR; WOLVERENE-HAIR
- Hairdress* of Diomedé islanders, 134 pl.
- Hairiness* in myth, 131
- Hair-seal*, first bird-skin covered with, 73
hunting of, 30, 47, 142
in myth, 77, 95, 130, 132, 160
migration of, 74
parchment of, 16
prayers for, 72
skins, how treated, 45-46
skins, uses for, 13, 50
symbolism of, in ceremony, 68
See SEAL
- Hair Seal ceremony*, Nunivak, 56, 73
- Halibut* used as food, 35
- Hand*, human, as a talisman, 16, 38
- Handicraft*, native names for, 268-272
See ARTS; INDUSTRIES; UTENSILS
- Hand-lines*, fishing with, 29, 35, 163, 207
See FISH-LINES; LINES
- Hardihood* of the Eskimo, xv-xvi
- Hare* in myth, 246
See ARCTIC HARE
- Harpoon*, form and use, 23-24
in myth, 76, 79-80, 85, 108, 110, 132, 258-259
mythic power of, 132
used as club, 30, 143
used in hunting, 17, 30-31, 117, 133, 142-144, 194, 254-255
See SPEAR
- Harpoon-points*, bird container for, 139
how made, 139
of ivory, 244
- Harpoon-rest* used in boat, 138
- Hawks* in myth, 85-86, 131
worn on hoods, 83
- Hawk-skin* attached to talisman, 198
- Hawk-spirit* in myth, 133
- Head. See* ANIMAL-HEADS; BIRD-HEADS
- Headbands* as talismans, 235-236
metal, in myth, 189
of beads, 180
worn by dancers, 198
See FOREHEAD-BAND
- Head-dress* in Nunivak ceremony, 16
of wolf-skulls, 176
worn in myth, 183
See CAPS; CLOTHING; COSTUME; HOODS
- Headman* in Messenger feast, 67, 71
in myth, 83, 106, 109, 131, 146, 154-155, 159-160, 181, 188, 189, 202, 205, 215, 218, 220, 229, 230-231, 254, 256, 259
of Alaskan Eskimo, 244, 245
of Kotzebue, 165
of Little Diomedé, 123
of Nunivak, 48
- Head-rests* sprinkled in Bladder feast, 64
- Healing* by medicine-men, 126, 165, 212
in myth, 219, 222-223, 251
- Helldiver* as a talisman, 16
used as food, 36
- Hematite. See* IRON OXIDE
- Herring* caught with nets, 52
in myth, 246
racks for, 64 pl.
See FISH; FISHING
- Hide* deposited with dead, 210
See RAWHIDE; SKINS
- Hide-and-seek* in myth, 82
- Home life* at Cape Prince of Wales, 146
See SOCIAL CUSTOMS
- Hoods* in myth, 105, 108
of mourners, 104, 121
of parkas, 9-10
of wolverene-fur, 180
See HEAD-DRESS; PARKAS
- Hooks* employed in fishing, 102
ivory, in myth, 128-129
used in kaiaks, 14, 17, 19
uses of, 14, 17, 19, 269
See BOAT-HOOKS; FISHHOOKS
- Hooper Bay Eskimo*, account of, 97-98
costume of, 90 pl., 92 pl.
food caches of, 96 pl.
grave-markers of, 97, 98 pl., 245

- Hooper Bay Eskimo*, houses of, 88 pl., 97-98,
 folio pl. 699
 portraits, 90 pl., 92 pl., folio pl. 698
 whale meat of, 94 pl.
- Horn*, adze-blades of, 40-41
 bodkins of, 42
 dip-net hoops of, 143
 drum-beater of, 198
 knife-handles of, 41, 43
 rattles of, 198
 rings of, in skin-dressing, 46
 sinkers of, 207
 spear-points of, 262
 spoons of, 194
 See CARIBOU-HORN
- Hospitality* in myth, 184, 189, 191, 192, 220,
 230, 233, 258
 lack of, in myth, 229
 of the Kobuk, 213-214
 of the Kotzebue, 168
 to visitors, 173, 175, 260
 See FOOD; GIFTS; MESSENGER FEAST
- Hotham inlet*, Kotzebue village on, 161
 Noatak near, 193
 Selawik reached through, 225
- House-building* in myth, 78, 184
- House-cleaning* in Bladder feast, 61
 See SWEEPING
- Houses* at Cape Prince of Wales, 136, 136 pl.
 covered with sod, 217, 263
 destroyed after death, 228
 framed with willows, 217
 in myth, 105, 200, 223-224, 231, 237
 of Alaskan Eskimo, 243, 271
 of Diomedé islanders, 111-112, 114 pl.,
 116 pl., 118 pl., folio pl. 706
 of Hooper bay, 88 pl., 97-98, folio pl. 699
 of King islanders, 22, 99-100, 100 pl.,
 102 pl., 103, 104 pl., 106 pl., 243,
 folio pls. 700-702
 of Kobuk, 208-209
 of Kotzebue, 162
 of Noatak, 193, 194 pl., 196, 196 pl.
 of Nunivak, 6, 6 pl., 7-9, 12 pl., 16 pl.
 of Selawik, 225, 226 pl., 227, 228 pl.
 of willow and grass, 237
 padded with moss, 48
 refurnished after death, 167
- Houses*, season for building, 145
 when repaired, 47
 See ICE-HOUSES; MEN'S HOUSE; VILLAGE;
 WOMEN'S HOUSE
- Hudson's Bay tea* used as food, 36
- Hunger*, hunting during, 103
 See FAMINE; STARVATION
- Hunters*, costume of, in Bladder feast, 64
 customs of, 108
 in myth, 81, 83, 94, 124-126, 129, 132,
 156-157, 188, 198, 220, 221, 230-
 232, 235-237, 249, 260-262
 mortuary customs regarding, 149
 not mentioned in stories, 65
- Hunting* affected by death, 149
 affected by spirits, 122, 133
 a sign of ability, 120, 123
 at Cape Prince of Wales, 137-146
 by King islanders, 99-101
 by Kobuk, 207
 by Kotzebue, 168
 by newly-married man, 120
 by Noatak, 194-196, 205
 by Nunivak, 23-34
 by Selawik, 226, 227, 262
 ceremonies pertaining to, 56, 73, 103-
 104
 customs for boys, 103, 148, 209, 263
 dangers of, 51-52
 gear deposited with dead, 50
 implements for, 23-25
 in myth, 76-77, 79, 83, 85-87, 90-93, 95,
 105-106, 108, 154, 159, 177, 180, 181,
 184-185, 201, 218, 228, 231, 235,
 250-252, 259
 kaiaks used in, 12, 17-19, 26, 30, 101, 117,
 142, 144, 163, 168, 194, 203, 207
 methods of, 24
 mythic origin of, 75-76
 not done during games, 160
 of birds on Little Diomedé, 113
 parkas used in, 10
 rewarded, 48
 sleds used in, 22
 success in, invoked, 74
 tabooed by mourners, 122
 talismans to promote, 16
 winning racer successful in, 61, 62

- See* ANIMALS; BEAR; BELUGA; BIRD-HUNTING; CARIBOU; CLUBS; FOX-HUNTING; GEESE; HAIR SEAL CEREMONY; IMPLEMENTS; PTARMIGAN; PUFFINS; RABBITS; SEAL-HUNTING; SEA-LION; SPRING HUNT CEREMONY; SUMMER HUNTING CEREMONY; WALRUS-HUNTING; WHALE-HUNTING; WOLF-HUNTING; WOLVERENE
- Hunting territory*, Kobuk, 207
of Coast Eskimo, map, 3
- Ice*, animals caught through, 102, 108, 146, 163, 168
balls of, in myth, 159
drum rubbed with, in myth, 156
fishing through, 29, 48, 53, 200-201
knives for cutting, 19
smoke-holes covered with, 225
- Ice-floe*, adrift on, a myth, 250-251
- Ice-houses*, when used, 168
- Ice-pick* in myth, 92, 127-129
kaiak fastened to, 72
of Nunivak, 17, 41
- Ice-scoop* in myth, 127
- Images. See* TALISMANS
- Implements*, bone, of the Noatak, 194
for hunting, 23-25, 113-117, 138-140, 151, 207, 250
for sealing, 23, 27, 52 pl., 54 pl., folio pl. 695
for woodworking, 40-41
kept in caches, 138
season for repairing, 146
stone, in myth, 75
taboo concerning, 212-213
varieties of, 244, 268-270
- See* ADZES; AWLS; AXE; BOAT-HOOKS; BOLAS; BOOT-CRIMPERS; CHISELS; CLUBS; DRILLS; EQUIPMENT; FISH-SPEAR; FISH-TRAPS; FLINT; HANDICRAFT; HARPOON; HOOKS; HORN; ICE-PICK; ICE-SCOOP; JAVELINS; KNIVES; LAMPS; LANCE; LINES; METAL; NEEDLES; NETS; PADDLE; PUNCHES; RATTLES; ROOT-PICKS; SCRAPERS; SCRATCHER; SHOVELS; SHREDDERS; SINKERS; SKIMMERS;
- SLINGS; SNARES; SNOWSHOES; SPEAR; SPEAR-POINTS; SPEAR-SHAFTS; SPOONS; TALLY-STICKS; THIMBLES; THROWING-SPEAR; TONGUES; TONGS; TOOLS; TRAYS; WALKING-STICK; WEAPONS
- Incense* made at graves, 149
- Indians* and Eskimo compared, xvi
raid by, 262-263
See ATHAPASCANS
- Industries* of Alaskan Eskimo, 244
of the Noatak, 196-197
of the Nunivak, 7
See ARTS; CARVING; FISHING; HANDICRAFT; HUNTING; WOODWORKING
- Influenza* at Cape Prince of Wales, 136, 138, 140
- Inheritance* in myth, 109
of certain knowledge, 138
of property, 167
of spirit-power, 165, 210
of talismans, 16, 59
See DESCENT
- Insanity* through disobedience, 211
- Insects* in myth, 90, 239
See BUG; BUTTERFLY; LOUSE; MOSQUITOES; SPIDER
- Intestine*, ashes contained in, 115
division of, by hunters, 31-33
head-wrapping of, 63
parchment made of, 46, 112
parkas made of, 243
used in windows, 100
See GUT; PARCHMENT; SEAL-INTESTINE; WALRUS-INTESTINE
- Invitation-sticks* for Messenger feast, 67-69, 189
See STAFF
- Iron*, gifts of, in myth, 182
traded with Siberians, 145
- Iron oxide*, a paint ingredient, 37, 59, 66, 67
- Ivanoff, Paul*, informant, map, 3
- Ivory*, adze of, for chipping, 40
arrow crosspiece of, 27
belt toggles of, 10
bodkins of, 42
bolas of, 143
boot-crimpers of, 42

- Ivory*, carving of, 7, 86 pl., 98, 102, 165, 244
 divided by hunters, 31, 101
 drilling on King island, 110 pl.
 effigies of, 92, 107
 finger-pegs of, 24
 float tubes of, 18
 gauges of, 43, 46
 harpoon-point protectors of, 24
 hooks of, 14, 19, 29, 128-129, 132
 implement heads of, 23-27, 139, 244
 kaiak shoes of, 269
 knife-handles of, 41, 43
 knives of, 19
 labrets of, 11-12
 mask eyes represented in, 39
 needle-cases of, 42
 ornaments of, 12, 243
 pot inlaid with, 92-93
 sinew shredders of, 42
 sticks of, in walrus-hunting, 101
 talismans of, 16
 tattoo needle of, 12
 throwing-stick parts of, 25
 tools of, 41
 trade in, 162, 167
See CARVING; WALRUS-TUSKS
- Jackson*, portrait, folio pl. 713
- Jade*, arrow-points of, 169
 dust of, used for paint, 173
 gift of, in Messenger feast, 177
 in myth, 238
 knife of, in legend, 172
- Jájuk*, portrait, folio pl. 720
- Javelins*, hunting with, 23-25, 30
See SPEAR
- Jawbone*, human, as a talisman, 215-216
- Jealousy* in myth, 256-257
- Joker*. *See* TRICKSTERS
- Júkük*, portrait, 42 pl., 72 pl.
- Káhta*, the magician, 251
- Kaiak ceremony*. *See* NEW KAIKAK CEREMONY
- Kaiak-covers*, how sewn, 43
 skins prepared for, 44-45
 uses for, 42, 71
See BOAT-COVERS
- Kaiaks*, consecration of, in ceremony, 71-73
- Kaiaks* deposited with dead, 50, 52, 149
 equipment of, 268-270
 frames of, when made, 48, 196
 in myth, 74-75, 77, 79-83, 85-88, 94-96,
 105, 107, 110, 132, 133, 188, 204-205,
 228, 245, 250-251, 258, 259
 kept in houses, 136
 mittens worn in, 11
 mythic origin of, 75-76
 of Hooper Bay Eskimo, 98, folio pl. 699
 of King islanders, 189
 of Kotzebue, 163-164, folio pl. 714
 of Noatak, 194, 198 pl., 200 pl., folio pl.
 718
 of Nunivak, 12-19, 44 pl., 48 pl., 52 pl.,
 54 pl., folio pls. 690, 695
 of Selawik, 226
 parkas used in, 10
 transportation by, 194
 used in hunting, 12, 17-19, 26, 30, 101,
 117, 142, 144, 163, 168, 194, 203, 207
 used in trade, 227
See BOATS; CANOES; FRAMEWORK;
 HANDICRAFT; UMIACS
- Kaiúga*, mythic hunter, 92
- Kaiúksiyúk*, Selawik hunter, 262
- Kaiyónanli*, story of, 188-190
- Kaiyórük*, a locality in myth, 197
- Kangina*, a spirit, 125
- Kelp* used as food, 113
- Kenöwün*, portrait, 66 pl., folio pl. 691
- Khugúyúk*, a spirit, 58
- Kickball* in myth, 159, 202, 203, 232-234, 260
See BALL GAME; GAMES
- Kthsük*, portrait, 230 pl.
- Killerwhale* in myth, 129, 252-253
- Kingegán*, a village, xv, 135-136, 159
- King island* in myth, 105, 124
- King islanders*, account of, 99-104
 bird-netting by, 30
 costume of, folio pl. 703
 dialect of, 3
 food of, 4, 101-102
 houses of, 22, 99-100, 100 pl., 102 pl.,
 103, 104 pl., 106 pl., 243, folio pls.
 700-702
 ivory drilling of, 110 pl.
 kaiaks of, 16, 189

- King islanders*, Manína myth of, 38
 marriage custom of, 244
 myths of, 105-110, 251-252
 portrait, 108 pl.
- Kissing* in myth, 125
- Kltnkátk*, mythic hunter, 257-258
- Knife-spirit* in myth, 131
- Knives*, bone, of Noatak, 194
 flint, as talismans, 16
 flint, of Kobuk, 207-208
 flint, used in beluga-hunt, 163
 for flensing skins, 43-44
 for ice, 19
 in myth, 80, 84, 105, 110, 133, 152, 169,
 172, 178-179, 182-184, 204-206, 218,
 251, 259
 of Nunivak, 41, 43
 placed with dead, 210
 presented to brides, 181
 stone, magic power of, 109
 used in mortuary rite, 104
 value of, 192
 varieties of, 271-272
 women's, use of, restricted, 212
- Koáinók*, portrait, 152 pl.
- Kobuk*, account of the, 207-214
 and Noatak relations, 193, 205-206
 bark dishes of, 208 pl.
 costume of, folio pls. 721, 722
 kaiaks of, 194
 massacre, story of, 205
 myths of, 214-224, 260-261
 shelters of, 243
- Kobuk river*, a Noatak boundary, 193
 trade on, 161
- Kógrüglük*, legendary personage, 228-229
- Kotzebue Eskimo*, account of, 161-177
 Beluga ceremony of, 244-245
 beluga-hunting by, 168 pl., 172 pl.
 berry-pickers of, 162 pl.
 boats of, frontspiece, 20, 182 pl., 186 pl.,
 190 pl., 194, folio pls. 711, 712
 costume of, 162 pl.
 food of, 4, 162-164
 Messenger feast of, 244
 myths of, 177-192, 220, 257-260
 pokes of, 178 pl.
 portraits, folio pls. 710, 713
- Kotzebue Eskimo*, sails of, 21
 trade with, 144, 195, 227, 263
 visits to, 102, 212, 214
 vocabulary of, 264-277
- Kúma*, Big Diomedé village, 132
- Kúngiéhslú*, Nunivak village, 6
- Kúniyókómita*, mythic personage, 252
- Kuskokwin river*, dialect spoken on, 3
- Kúvrúvúk*, mythic character, 203
- Kuyuguk river*, hunting boundary, 207
 mythic journey on, 218-219
- Labrets* in myth, 180, 202
 Nunivak, 11-12, 20 pl., 42 pl., 56 pl., 66 pl.,
 68 pl., 72 pl., folio pls. 691, 693, 697
 represented on masks, 38-39
 worn at Bladder feast, 64
 worn by Alaskan Eskimo, 243
 worn for marriage, 168
- Ladder* in myth, 75, 129
- Ladle*, wooden, in cache, 138
 See DIPPER
- Lake weed* used as food, 36
- Lamp cleaner*, magic power of, 109
- Lamp oil*, how obtained, 157-158
- Lamps*, clay, made at Tin City, 145
 in ceremony, 60, 62-64, 66-68, 70-73
 in kaiak-making, 15
 in myth, 58, 76, 80, 93, 125, 133, 156-157,
 184, 202, 251, 254
 of King islanders, 100
 of Kotzebue, 162
 of Little Diomedé, 112
 of Noatak, 193
 of Nunivak, 7
 place for, in house, 8, 9, 146, 147
- Lance*, form and use, 23, 24, 31
 See SPEAR
- Land* created in myth, 77
 See HUNTING TERRITORY
- Land of Light*, the spirit land, 190
- Land of Spirits*, belief in, 177, 244
 in myth, 190
- Land of Whales*, myth of, 151-152
- Language* of Hooper Bay Eskimo, 98
 See DIALECTS; VOCABULARIES
- Lashing*, roots used for, 27
 See LINES; SINEW; THONGS

- Laughter* created in myth, 223-224
- Lava* used in tanning, 44
- Leaves* as food in myth, 258
storage-pits lined with, 36
See DOCK-LEAVES; PLANTS; WILLOW-LEAVES
- Lectures* after Bladder feast, 65-66
- Legend* of Bladder feast, 56-58
of Messenger feast, 168-177
See MYTHS
- Leggings* of caribou-legs, 209, 252
- Lice*. See LOUSE
- Light*, mythically obtained, 216-217
mythic origin of, 79
- Lines* for fishing and hunting, 18-19, 28-29, 124-125, 143-144, 151
for floats, 18
for harpoons, 24-25, 27, 31, 116, 117, 133
for snares, 33
for stringing smelt, 35
how dried, 141
how made, 42-43, 45-46, 62 pl.
in myth, 132, 153
of King islanders, 101
of sealing stones, 30
rawhide, on kaiaks, 14
season for making, 144
trade in, 162
used for carrying dead, 121
used with sleds, 93
See HAND-LINES; THONGS; TUMPLINE
- Lip-ornaments*. See LABRETS
- Little Diomedé Eskimo*, account of, 111-123
dialect of, 3
food of, 4, 112-113
Manína myth of, 38
Messenger feast of, 244
mortuary customs of, 244-245
myths of, 124-134, 252-254
village of, 114 pl.
vocabulary of, 264-277
- Little Diomedé island*. See DIOMEDE ISLANDS
- Longevity* foretold in ceremony, 176
how promoted, 74, 167
signified by hair-cut, 61
- Loon* as a talisman, 16
in myth, 130, 247-248
used for food, 36
- Loon-bone*, needles of, 42
- Loon-skins*, parkas of, 243, 257
- Lopp lagoon*, Cape Prince of Wales, 135
- Louse* in myth, 200
- Luck*, gifts of food for, 53
prayers for, 15, 73
- Lying* in myth, 130
- Lynx* in myth, 218
- Magic* in myth, 125, 127, 128, 153, 156-157, 180, 182
See SLEIGHT-OF-HAND; TRANSFORMATION
- Magician*, legend of, 251
- Manína*, story of, 38, 124-126
- Marriage* among Alaskan Eskimo, 244
among King islanders, 104
among Kobuk, 209-210
among Kotzebue, 166, 168
among Nunivak, 48-49, 63
among Selawik, 227-228
at Cape Prince of Wales, 136, 148
at Little Diomedé, 120-121
in myth, 77, 78, 80-85, 88-93, 105, 108, 110, 129, 133, 157, 181, 185, 200, 204, 217-219, 221, 223, 231, 235, 240, 256, 260
of youth and crane in myth, 254-256
- Marrow* as food in myth, 230
- Marten-skins*, parkas of, 90
- Maskettes* of Nunivak, 39, 82 pl.
- Masks* in Messenger feast, 69, 70, 174
in myth, 125, 133
of Nunivak, 38-39, 52, 80 pl.
talismans on, 16
See WOODWORKING
- Massacre*, Kobuk, story of, 205
- Mats*, grass, 8, 9, 17, 34 pl., 47, 60, 62, 65, 71, 72, 75, 93, 97, 115, 208-209, 244, 269
grass, in myth, 79, 91, 95, 125, 248, 250
- Matting*, sails of, 21
- Meade river*, Noatak hunting on, 194
- Measurement*, standards of, 13, 71
- Meat*, butchering of, 172 pl.
distributed at betrothal, 227
gift of, to messengers, 189
given at dances, 153
hauled on sleds, 186, 250
how cured, 34, 52, 97, 144, 188

- Meat*, how divided, 28, 30-31, 101, 113, 116-118,
141, 144, 151, 164, 209, 246, 254
in myth, 105, 184
of caribou-reindeer, 32
trade in, 102, 244
varieties of, 244
See ANIMALS; BIRDS; BUTCHERING;
CARIBOU; DIVISION; FISH; FOOD;
GAME; HUNTING; SEAL; WALRUS;
WHALE MEAT
- Medicine* placed on cache in myth, 80
See HEALING; SWEAT-BATH
- Medicine-men* advise in child-naming, 166
beads provided by, 213
burial conducted by, 210
fog caused by, 136
functions of, 122-124, 245
implement material chosen by, 139
in Messenger feast, 177
in myth, 89, 109, 110, 129-131, 133-134,
154, 156-157, 179-180, 183, 185,
199, 201, 204, 215-216, 220, 221,
223-224, 229, 235-237, 240, 251, 253,
256
in Whale ceremony, 115
masks of, 38
meat given to, 209
of Kotzebue, 164-165
of Selawik, 227
spirit-powers of, 210-212
- Medicine-women* among the Kobuk, 212
in Messenger feast, 70
in myth, 153, 156-157, 180, 229, 251-252,
257-258
mask of, 38
powerful, legend of, 239-240
- Men's house*, a community center, 244
ceremonies in, 12-13, 58-67, 71, 73, 137,
175, 177
importance of, 7-9
in myth, 75, 80-81, 83-89, 91-92, 95,
107-109, 124-125, 130-134, 153-155,
157-158, 160, 171-173, 180, 189, 191,
229-230, 235, 252, 255-256, 258
masks kept in, 38
of Alaskan Eskimo, 243
of Cape Prince of Wales, 140, 146
of Diomed islands, 112
- Men's house* of Kingegán, 136
of King islanders, 101, 103, 104
of Kotzebue, 165, 168
of Nunivak, 6, 7-9, 12 pl.
skin-dressing in, 45
tools kept in, 40
used for sweat-bath, 43
use of urine from, 43
women possess, in ceremony, 66
- Menstruation*, moss used during, 48
taboo during, 80
See ADOLESCENTS; GIRLS
- Messenger feast* at Cape Prince of Wales, 136,
146-147
in myth, 189, 190
mythic origin of, 197-198
of Alaskan Eskimo, 244
of Kobuk, 213
of Kotzebue, 164, 168-177
of Nunivak, 47, 52-53, 56, 67-73
- Metal*, headbands of, 189
implements of, 23, 24, 40-43
used with objects, 189
See COPPER; IRON
- Midwives* of Selawik, 227
- Migration* and food quest, 4, 6, 7
between villages, 47
from Cape Prince of Wales, 136
hunting, folio pl. 695
of animals, 34, 47, 74, 99, 111, 127, 137,
142, 143, 152, 154, 155
of birds, 47, 100, 194
- Mihkóyak*, Nunivak village, 6, 6 pl., 12 pl.
- Mink*, how caught, 33, 97, 263
in myth, 83, 219, 246
painted on kaiak, 14-16
- Mink-skins*, parkas of, 10, 243
trade in, 112, 214
- Miracles. See* MAGIC; TRANSFORMATION
- Mirök*, mythic character, 92-93
- Mittens* for travelling, 232
made by women, 139
of Alaskan Eskimo, 243
of Nunivak, 11
trade in, 214
waterproof, 11
worn by dancers, 198
worn by hunters, 114, 124, 142, 153

- Mittens* worn by menstruant, 93
 worn by messenger, 189
 worn by mourners, 104, 121
 worn in Messenger feast, 174, 176
 worn in myth, 90, 133, 183, 233, 250, 257
 worn when netting, 29
See CLOTHING; GLOVES
- Mnemonics.* *See* PICTOGRAPHS
- Moccasins*, trade in, 214, 226, 227
- Monster* in myth, 89, 90, 105, 130, 155-156, 169, 197, 202-203, 216, 218, 222-224, 238
See DWARFS; GIANT; SEA-MONSTERS; SERPENT
- Monster serpent*, myth of, 86-87
See SERPENT
- Moon* in myth, 186-187, 235-237
 time reckoned by, 189
See SPIRIT OF THE UNIVERSE
- Moon-man*, myth of, 127-129
- Moon-woman* in myth, 235-237
- Moose*, an object of trade, 102
 hunted by Kobuk, 207
- Moose-skin*, boots of, 209
 not used by Kobuk, 207
 trade in, 227
- Morgan, J. Pierpont*, acknowledgments to, xvi-xvii
- Mortuary customs* at Cape Prince of Wales, 148-149
 at Hooper bay, 97
 in myth, 152, 190, 260, 262
 of Alaskan Eskimo, 244-245
 of King islanders, 104
 of Kobuk, 210
 of Kotzebue, 166-167
 of Little Diomedé, 121
 of Nunivak, 50, 52
 of Selawik, 228
See DEAD; INHERITANCE; PROPERTY
- Mortuary feast* of Selawik, 227
- Mosquitoes* at Hooper bay, 97
 mythically created, 238
- Moss*, caches covered with, 34, 162
 food covered with, 208
 from Cape Mendenhall, 53
 placed on grave, 189
- Moss*, scrubbing with, in myth, 247
 shelters covered with, 209, 243
 used as tinder, 41
 used in house-building, 100, 225, 231
 used in shaping utensils, 27, 36, 58
 various uses for, 47-48
- Mossberries* used as food, 36
- Mother-in-law*, legend of, 251-252
- Mothers*, food of, 103, 148, 166
See CHILDBIRTH; WOMEN
- Mountain* magically created, 75
 mythic boat found on, 229
 sacred, in myth, 216
- Mountain-sheep skins*, trade in, 214
- Mourning* on Little Diomedé, 121-122
- Mouse* in myth, 129, 130, 203-204, 246, 250
See FIELD-MOUSE
- Moustache* in myth, 88
 represented on masks, 38
- Mud*, houses covered with, 225
- Murder*, how avenged, 55
 in Messenger feast, 177
 in myth, 79, 84-85, 90-91, 106-107, 124, 183, 185, 204, 216, 220, 229, 233, 237, 251-253, 256-258, 260
 of adulterers, 104, 121, 148, 166, 228
 of medicine-men, 211-212
See DEATH
- Musical instruments.* *See* DRUM
- Muskrats*, hunting of, 97, 194, 207, 226, 262, folio pl. 714
 in myth, 219, 246
- Muskrat-skins*, clothing of, 209, 243, 263
 Selawik uses for, 226
 trade in, 112, 145, 162, 227
- Mussels*, food of seals, 80
 used as food, 35
- Mussel-shells*, parchment scraped with, 46
- Myths* of Cape Prince of Wales, 150-160, 254-257
 of King island, 105-110, 251-252
 of Kobuk, 214-224, 260-261
 of Kotzebue, 177-192, 257-260
 of Little Diomedé, 124-134, 252-254
 of Noatak, 197-206, 260
 of Nunivak, 74-96, 245-251
 of Selawik, 228-240, 261-263
See LEGEND

- Náhkroaluk*, mythic hunter, 199
- Names*, family, at Point Barrow, 136
family, inherited, 59
family, originated by spirits, 60
- Naming* of children, 49-50, 110, 113, 119, 148,
166, 167, 209, 227
of children in myth, 109
ritual connected with, 103
- Nash Harbor*, Eskimo visit to, 53
mortuary customs at, 50, 245
origin myth related at, 77
peopling of, in myth, 78
talismans at, 16
village at, 16 pl.
- Natal customs*, Cape Prince of Wales, 148
King island, 103
Kotzebue, 165-167
Little Diomedé, 119
See BIRTH; CHILDBIRTH
- Natural phenomena*, native terms for, 273
- Necklaces* of squirrel-skins, 173
See ORNAMENTS
- Needle-cases* of ivory, 244
of Nunivak, 42
- Needles* deposited with dead, 210
for tattooing, 12
of ivory, 244
See BODKINS
- Nelson island* in myth, 78
iron oxide from, 37
- Nelson islanders*, allies of Nunivak, 54
at Messenger feast, 52-53
dialect of, 3
- Nets*, Alaskan Eskimo, 244
animals taken with, 27-30, 83, 102-103,
127, 137, 168, 196, 227
at Cape Prince of Wales, 145-146
birds caught with, 53, 102, 113, 196
durability of, 208
fishing with, 163, 194, 253, 262
given to hosts, 176
made of sinew, 196
of willow-bark, 216
tug-lines on, 46
when repaired, 47, 51
See DIP-NETS; DRAG-NETS; FISH-NETS;
GILL-NETS; SEAL-NETS; SEINES
- Net-sinkers*, use of, 29, 145
- Net-sinkers*. *See* SINKERS
- New Kaiak ceremony*, Nunivak, 30, 47, 56
- Nickname* in myth, 95-96
- Night*, mythic origin of, 79
- Niliga*, a dance, in myth, 197
- Noatak Eskimo*, account of, 193-197
and Kotzebue, 167
boat of, folio pl. 715
costume, folio pls. 716, 717, 719
houses of, 194 pl., 196 pl.
kaiaks of, folio pl. 718
myths of, 197-207, 260
portraits, 202 pl., 204 pl., folio pls. 716,
717
village of, in myth, 214-215
- Noatak river*, trade on, 161
- Nome*, King islanders at, 100, 102
- Norton sound*, dialect spoken on, 3
- Nose-beads* in myth, 92
Nunivak, 11-12, 66 pl., 68 pl., folio
pls. 691, 693, 697
of Alaskan Eskimo, 243
worn at Bladder feast, 64
See BEADS; ORNAMENTS
- Núktayq*, portrait, 108 pl.
- Numerals*, native terms for, 273-276
See FOUR
- Nungóktök*, portrait, folio pl. 719
- Nunivak*, account of the, 5-74
baskets of, 78 pl.
Bladder feast at, 244
children, folio pls. 688, 690, 694, 696
costume, 20 pl., 24 pl., 28 pl., 30 pl., 32 pl.,
56 pl., 60 pl., 64 pl., 66 pl., 68 pl.,
72 pl., 86 pl., folio pls. 690-696
dialect, 3
dishes, 74 pl.
drummer, folio pl. 692
fish-drying racks, 34 pl.
food of, 4-6, 34-36
ivory carver, 86 pl.
kaiaks, 44 pl., 48 pl., 52 pl., 54 pl., folio
pls. 690, 695
labrets, 42 pl., 56 pl., folio pls. 691, 693,
697
line-stretching, 62 pl.
masks, 80 pl., 82 pl.
mortuary customs, 245

- Nunivak* mythology, 74-96, 245-251
 ornaments, 66 pl., 68 pl., 72 pl.
 portraits, 20 pl., 38 pl., 42 pl., 56 pl.,
 60 pl., 66 pl., 68 pl., 72 pl.
 seal-hunting equipment, 52 pl., 54 pl.
 sled, 58 pl.
 villages, 6 pl., 12 pl., 16 pl.
 vocabulary, 264-277
- Nunivak* island described, 5
 Eskimo of, xvi
 mythic origin of, 74, 77
- Nut* plant used as food, 36
- Nútáhqnúh*, the Flounder-spirit, 81-82
- Núzsíhyö*, mythic medicine-man, 89
- Oars*, umiaks propelled with, 21-22
 See PADDLE
- Offering* of berries to the sea, 72
 to drum, 174-176
 to spirits, 170, 209, 256
 See FOOD-OFFERING; GIFTS
- Óglazhúna*, mythic character, 150-151
- Oil* as food, 35-37, 51, 95, 113, 164, 259
 as food in myth, 132, 252
 fern-bulbs eaten with, 51
 fish preserved in, 53
 for lamps, 73, 157-158
 gift of, to messengers, 189
 given to the aged, 73
 how preserved, in myth, 184
 how stored, 34, 52, 162, 268
 prepared at Bladder feast, 59
 trade in, 102, 244
 used on hides, 44
 used on kaiaks, 81
 used on torch, 174
 used on umiaks, 20
 used with tinder, 41
 See BLUBBER; FAT; FISH-OIL; SEAL-OIL; WHALE-OIL
- Óksiwik*, portrait, 158 pl.
- Okûpiq*, a coast dialect, map, 3
- Óla*, portrait, folio pl. 716
- Old Tongue*, Noatak village, 205
- Ordeal* of King islanders, 104
 See TORTURE
- Orientation* of dead, 50, 104, 121, 149, 166, 210,
 228, 245
- Orientation* of kaiaks, 16, 47, 72
 See CARDINAL POINTS; DIRECTION
- Ornamentation*, facial, of Nunivak, 11-12
 of harpoon-points, 24
 of kaiaks, 14
 of parkas, 10
 See DECORATION; FACE-PAINTING; PAINTING; PAINTS; TATTOOING
- Ornaments*, Alaskan Eskimo, 243
 for Messenger feast, 69, 71
 Nunivak, 28 pl.
 worn at Bladder feast, 64
 See BEADS; BEAR-CLAWS; BIRDS; CARIBOU-TOES; EAR-ORNAMENTS; EAR-RINGS; FACE-PAINTING; FUR; IRON OXIDE; IVORY; LABRETS; NECKLACES; NOSE-BEADS; PORCUPINE-QUILLS; SOOT; TAILS; WALRUS-TEETH; WEASEL-TAILS; WOLVERENE-SKIN
- Orphan* in myth, 131-133
 powerful, story of, 230-232
- Otter-fur* traded from Siberia, 145
- Owérqrok*, mythic hunter, 199
- Owl* as a talisman, 16
 in myth, 58, 247-248
- Ownership*. See DIVISION; PROPERTY
- Pack-sack* in myth, 108
 See BAGS
- Padding*, moss used for, 48
- Paddle* ceremonially used by whaler, 151
 in hunting ceremony, 140-141
 in myth, 128, 228-229, 250
 made for Kaiak ceremony, 71
 of the Noatak, 194
 sacrificed in myth, 151
 used as signal, 254
 used with kaiaks, 17, 30-31
 used with umiaks, 22
- Painting* by runners, 175
 of bladders in ceremony, 57, 63, 80
 of boxes, 40
 of ceremonial staff, 67
 of drumhead, 198
 of food vessels, 37, 59
 of masks, 38-39
 of ornaments for Messenger feast, 69

- Painting* of talismans on kaiaks, 14-16
 on house in myth, 155-156
See DECORATION; FACE-PAINTING; ORNAMENTATION
- Paints*, ingredients of, 59, 66, 71, 173
- Palisade*, house protected by, 263
- Paralysis*, belief regarding, 121
 inflicted in myth, 222
- Parchment*, how prepared, 46
 parkas of, 10, 243, folio pl. 693
 smoke-hole covered with, 112, 162, 193, 225
 talisman roll of, 16
 used for wrappings, 138
See CLOTHING; GUT; INTESTINE; PARKAS; STOMACH
- Parkas*, bird-skin, 32 pl., 53
 caribou, used in dance, 173
 described, 243
 for kaiak use, 18
 for travelling, 232
 given to infant, 119, 120
 hair from, in mortuary rite, 210
 hairless, in legend, 170
 infants carried under, 167, 190
 in myth, 74, 77, 79, 80, 82, 83, 87-88, 90, 105, 108, 132, 157, 179-181, 183, 187, 190, 200, 216, 218, 221, 223, 229, 233-235, 248-249, 255-257
 new, in Bladder feast, 62
 new, of hunter's wife, 72
 of hunters, 30-32, 114, 124-125, 152
 of mourners, 104, 121
 of the dead, 50
 of the Eskimo, 9-10
 of the Selawik, 226
 ornamented with wolvenene-fur, 162
 trade in, 214, 263
 used by medicine-men, 122
 varieties of, 271
 waterproof, 9-10, 13, 18, 24 pl., 31, 46, 50, 58, 73-74, 142, 143, 243
 waterproof, in myth, 90, 124-127, 133, 153, 156, 181, 247, 250
 white, worn by sealers, 71
 worn in kaiak-making, 13
 worn in Messenger feast, 70
 worn when netting, 29
See CLOTHING; COSTUME
- Parrots*. *See* SEA-PARROTS
- Parsnips*, wild, in Bladder feast, 57, 63, 64
 in myth, 92
 tied to spear in ceremony, 62
 used as food, 36
See FOOD; PLANTS
- Personal terms* in Eskimo, 276-277
- Pickerel* caught by Kobuk, 208
 caught by Selawik, 226
 how taken, 262
 speared in myth, 218-219
See FISH
- Picks*. *See* ICE-PICK; ROOT-PICKS
- Pictographs* on staffs, 67-68, 173, 174, 186, 189
- Pimiult*, a coast dialect, map, 3
- Pintail duck* as a talisman, 16
 in myth, 76-77
See DUCKS
- Piracy* of Cape Prince of Wales people, 136
- Pisiksoltik*, mythic hunter, 261-262
- Pitfalls* for game, 33
See HUNTING
- Pits* used for storage, 35
See CACHES; STORAGE
- Plants* gathered by women, 244
 mythically created, 75
 used as food, 34-36, 243-244
See COWSLIPS; DOCK-LEAVES; FERN-ROOTS; FOOD; GRASS; KELP; LAKE WEED; LEAVES; MOSS; NUT PLANT; PARSNIPS; POTATO; SEAWEED; SEDGE; WEEDS; WILLOW-LEAVES
- Platform-burial*, Selawik, 228
See MORTUARY CUSTOMS; SCAFFOLD-BURIAL
- Point Barrow*, Eskimo at, xv
 migration to, 136
- Point Hope*, hunters from, killed, 205
- Pokes*, food stored in, 52, 53, 164, 178 pl., 208, 226
 how made, 45
 in whale ceremony, 115
 of Nunivak, 34
 of walrus-skin, 102
 oil kept in, 268
 seal-skin, in myth, 78, 184, 250
 used in whaling, 151
See FLOATS; UTENSILS

- Polar bear* as a talisman, 16
 head-shaving following killing of, 120
 heads of, placed on grave, 149
 hunting of, 137, 142, 144, 184
 in myth, 81, 84, 105, 129, 156-160, 185,
 205, 252-253
 skins used by hunters, in myth, 235
See BEAR
- Political organization* of Eskimo, 244
 of Little Diomedé, 123
See HEADMAN
- Polygyny* at Kotzebue, 166, 244
 in myth, 106, 131, 156, 188
See MARRIAGE
- Population*, Eskimo, 3, 243
 increased, in myth, 77
 Kíngegán, 135-136
 Nunivak, xvi, 6
- Porcupine* snared by Kobuk, 207
- Porcupine-quills* in decoration, 174
- Port Clarence*, King islanders near, 102
- Portraits*, Cape Prince of Wales, 148 pl.,
 152 pl., 158 pl., folio pl. 708
 Diomedé islanders, 128 pl., 132 pl., 134 pl.
 Hooper Bay native, 90 pl.
 King islander, folio pl. 703
 Kobuk, folio pls. 721, 722
 Kotzebue, folio pl. 710
 Noatak, 202 pl., 204 pl., folio pls. 717, 719
 Nunivak, 20 pl., 38 pl., 42 pl., 56 pl.,
 60 pl., 66 pl., 68 pl., 72 pl., folio
 pls. 688, 690-694, 696, 697
 Selawik, 230 pl.-238 pl., folio pl. 720
- Potato*, Alaska, gathered for food, 36, 113, 164,
 208, 226
See PLANTS
- Pots*, clay, made at Tin City, 145
 of the Noatak, 196-197
 value of, 192
 wooden, of Nunivak, 36-37
See CLAY; EARTHENWARE; GREASE-
 POTS; UTENSILS
- Pouches*, talismans kept in, 165
See BAGS; POKES
- Power* derived from spirits, 123, 165
 derived through talismans, 16, 80
 exhibited in dances, 156-158
 in myth, 86, 89, 92, 106
- Power* of medicine-men, 38
 of wolf-spirit, 82
 represented by masks, 39
 transmitted, 133
See SEAL-POWER; SPIRIT-POWER
- Prayers* for newborn, 49
 for success in hunt, 72
 of kaiak-maker, 15
 to spirits, 73
- Prenatal knowledge* in myth, 110
- Prisoners*, children taken as, 54
- Prohibition*. *See* TABOO
- Property* deposited with dead, 104, 149-150,
 210, 245, 262
 disposal of, of dead, 227, 228
 in dogs, 22
 in nets, 28
 in songs, 60
See DIVISION
- Property-marks* on implements, 16, 42, 140
See TALISMANS
- Protectors* for harpoon-points, 24
- Ptarmigan* caught at Kotzebue, 167
 eaten by Nunivak, 36
 in myth, 130, 189, 201, 218
 netted by Noatak, 196
 snared by Kobuk, 207
 snared by Selawik, 227, 263
 taken on Little Diomedé, 113
- Ptarmigan-feathers* as pottery binder, 197
- Ptarmigan-skins*, parka of, in myth, 79
- Puberty ceremony* absent at Little Diomedé,
 120
- Puberty customs* in myth, 93-94
 Kotzebue, 166
 Nunivak, 11
 Selawik, 227
See ADOLESCENTS; BOYS; GIRLS
- Puffins*, hunting of, 33, 47, 53, 113
 used for food, 36
- Punches* of Nunivak men, 40, 41
- Pungóhpük*, a Nunivak village, 6
- Punishment* for adultery, 121, 148, 166, 228
 for disobedience to spirit, 211
- Purification* by mourners, 121, 149, 245
 following burial, 121
See BATHING
- Putúgük*, story of, 153

- Qigttánit*, a season, 12
Quail in myth, 204
Quarrels, how settled, 55
Quills. See EAGLE-QUILLS; PORCUPINE-QUILLS
Qunanfnru, portrait, folio pl. 703
- Rabbit-furs*, trade in, 167
Rabbits, hunting of, 164, 168, 196, 207, 227, 262, 263
 in myth, 184, 218, 219, 232
Race, *kaiak*, in myth, 251
 to meet visitors, 175
 with *kaiaks*, 53
 See FOOT-RACE
Racks, drying, house poles used as, 100, 112
 for boats, 15, 16, 20, 44 pl., 47, 48 pl., 51, 72, 114, 141, 142, 151, 152
 for cooking utensils, 100
 for drying clothes, 104
 for drying food, 34, 34 pl., 35, 52, 64 pl., 91, 94 pl., 118 pl., 133, 179, 184, 225, 226
Raid by Indians, 262-263
 See WARFARE
Range of the Eskimo, xv, 3
 See HABITAT
Rat in myth, 246
Rattles of horn, 198
Raven in myth, 94, 215-217
Ravenous baby, a myth, 259-260
Rawhide, lashings of, 17, 18, 22, 41
 lines of, 14
 See LINES; SEALSKIN; SKINS; WALRUS-SKINS
Reanimation in myth, 251
 See RESURRECTION
Receptacles for sewing devices, 42
 See BOWLS; BOXES; DISHES; POKES; UTENSILS
Red oxide. See IRON OXIDE
Reindeer, caribou crossed with, 32
 food supplied by, 196
 herd of, folio pl. 689
 hunting of, 4
 on Nunivak island, 5, 32
 See MEAT
Reindeer-fat in Whale ceremony, 114-115
Reindeer-sinew, bird-nets of, 29
 how prepared, 42-43
 See SINEW
Reindeer-skin, clothing of, 10, 32, 243
 how tanned, 44
 in myth, 92, 134
 trade in, 32, 161-162
Religion of the Eskimo, 244
 See CEREMONIES
Rescuer, Selawik story of the, 228
Respirators used in sweat-bath, 43, 165
Resurrection in myth, 89, 125, 131-132, 221, 223-224
Riches in myth, 92-93, 107, 110
 See WEALTH
Ridicule in Messenger feast, 175
 in myth, 95, 154, 181, 183, 200, 204, 219, 232
 of relatives in ceremony, 64-65
Rings worn at Bladder feast, 64
 See ORNAMENTS
River-beds, mythic origin of, 216
Robes, skin, in myth, 76, 134
 See CLOTHING; COSTUME
Rock cod as a talisman, 16
Roe. See FISH-EGGS
Root-picks of Nunivak, 41
Roots distributed in myth, 156-157
 drum hoops fastened with, 40
 food, in myth, 76, 106, 127
 gift of, to messengers, 189
 house-covering sewn with, 209
 skimmer mesh made of, 43
 used for lashing, 27
 See FERN-ROOTS; PARSNIPS
Rope-jumping, a diversion, 51
 See GAMES
Ropes made of grass, 47
 See LASHING; LINES
Sacrifice, human, in myth, 125
 of berries at birth, 49
 of clothing of corpse handlers, 210
 of food in Messenger feast, 67-68
 of paddles in myth, 151
 to bird-spirits, 148
 to dead, 94, 149
 to dead in myth, 91
 See FOOD-OFFERING; OFFERING

- Sails* for umiaks, 21
 used by Noatak, 195
- St. Lawrence island*, dialect of, 3
- Salmon* caught by Kobuk, 208
 caught by Nunivak, 35
 ceremony regarding, 212
 in myth, 132
 season for fishing, 47
See FISH
- Salmonberries* used as food, 113, 208, 226
See BERRIES; FOOD; PLANTS
- Salmon-eggs*, body rubbed with, 229
See FISH-EGGS
- Salmon-skin*, receptacles of, 42
- Salmon trout*, season for catching, 47
- Salt lake*, mythic origin of, 105
- Sámik*, legendary hunter, 197-198
- Sand-bag*, game of, 51
- Sardines* used as food, 35
- Sawtooth mountains* in myth, 105
 painted on drum, 198
- Scaffold-burial* at Kotzebue, 166
See MORTUARY CUSTOMS; PLATFORM-BURIAL
- Scalping* not practised, 54
- Scandal* in myth, 91-92
- Schlúmyoq*, Spirit of the Universe, 74
- School* at Kotzebue village, 161
- Scoop*. *See* ICE-SCOOP
- Scrapers*, bone, of Noatak, 194
 for dehairing, 45
 for parchment-making, 46
- Scratcher* used in walrus-hunting, 143
- Sea*, berries offered to, 72
- Sea-animals* brought by medicine-men, 126
 importance of, 244
 in myth, 76
See ANIMALS; HAIR-SEAL; SEAL; WALRUS; WHALE
- Sea food*, an Eskimo staple, 32, 34, 113, 162
See ANIMALS; BELUGA; CLAMS; CRABS; FISH; HAIR-SEAL; MUSSELS; SEAL; SEA-LION; SHRIMP; SNAILS; WALRUS; WHALE
- Sea-fowl*, when hunted, 47
See BIRDS; WATERFOWL
- Sea-gull* in myth, 85-86
See GULL
- Sea-horse* as a talisman, 16
- Seal* attacked by bear, 118
 brought by magic, 251
 effigy of, made of snow, 122
 Eskimo dependence on, 4
 in myth, 58, 76, 77, 85, 105, 125, 132, 258
 magically created, 92, 125
 maskette representing, 39
 migration of, 47, 74, 111
 prayers for abundance of, 72
 protection of young by, 64
 represented on objects, 24, 42
 traded at Kotzebue, 163
See HAIR-SEAL; INTESTINE; MEAT; SPOTTED SEAL; WHISKERS
- Seal-bladders*, floats made of, 143
 in ceremony, 57
 in myth, 81
- Seal-blood*, glue made of, 36, 59
 paint of, 37, 59, 66
 used in tattooing, 12
- Seal-blubber* as food, 34
 trade in, 214
- Seal-bone*, magic, in myth, 110
 talisman made of, 165
- Seal ceremony* at Nunivak, 47
- Seal-holes*, how enlarged, 17
- Seal-hunters*, feast to, 165
- Seal-hunting* aided by spirit, 133
 Cape Prince of Wales, 137, 142, 145-146
 ceremonies for, 113
 equipment for, 23, 27, 52 pl., 54 pl., folio pl. 695
 from kaiaks, 12, 17
 in myth, 79, 95, 108, 110, 127-128, 160, 180, 201, 205, 236, 250, 252
 King island, 99, 101-104, 108
 Kotzebue, 162-163, 168
 Little Diomedé, 117
 Noatak, 194, 200 pl.
 Nunivak, 27-28, 31-32, 47, 51
 season for, 47, 181, 188-189, 191
 unknown, in myth, 235
See HUNTING
- Seal-intestine*, parchment made of, 46
 parkas made of, 10, 243
 used in decoration, 42
See INTESTINE; PARCHMENT

- Sea-lion*, blubber of, as food, 34
 how divided, 31
 hunting of, 23, 30, 47, 101-102, 117, 142, 145
 in myth, 240
 migration of, 74
 prayers for, 72
- Sea-lion bladder*, floats made of, 145
- Sea-lion skins*, how treated, 45
 snare lines of, 33
- Seal meat* at feasting, 168, 173
 eaten raw, 168
 in myth, 132, 240
- Seal-nets*, invention of, 28
 overhauled and set, 47-48
 See NETS
- Seal-oil* as food, 112, 208
 earthenware rubbed with, 197
 food of foxes, 188
 magically produced, 156-157
 trade in, 162, 194, 214, 227
 trade in, in myth, 235
 when prepared, 47
- Seal-power* in myth, 133
 See POWER; SPIRIT-POWER
- Sealskin* attached to sacred pole, 70
 ball of, in myth, 157
 bladders covered with, in rite, 61
 boats covered with, 13, 228
 boots made of, 11, 45
 caps of, in ceremony, 69
 clothing of, 10-11, 133, 243
 floats made of, 18, 45
 given to hosts, 176
 houses covered with, 136
 how tanned, 44-45
 in myth, 78, 92
 lines made of, 18, 42-43, 162
 mittens of, in Messenger feast, 174
 nets of, 27-28, 103, 145
 pokes of, 34, 45, 164, 208
 symbolism of, in ceremony, 68
 talisman pouches of, 165
 talismans on, 16
 thimbles of, 42
 trade in, 194, 214, 227
 used in decoration, 173
 See HAIR-SEAL; SKINS
- Seal-spirits* in myth, 79-80, 131
 See SPIRITS
- Sea-man*, myth of, 127-129
- Sea-monsters* in myth, 203
 See MONSTER
- Sea-parrots*, hunting of, 47, 53
 used for food, 36
- Sea-serpent* in myth, 90
- Seasons*, burial customs affected by, 121-122
 changed in myth, 251
 for activities, 53, 146, 167-168, 196
 for bird-hunting, 164
 for ceremonies, 55, 56, 66, 67, 71, 73-74
 for fishing, 168, 191, 196, 226
 for hunting, 30, 32, 34, 35, 85, 113, 137, 142-143, 163, 168, 181, 189, 191, 194, 195, 197, 205, 226, 250
 for netting, 47, 51, 145-146
 for storing supplies, 145, 173
 for trading, 162, 214, 227
 of the Nunivak, 12, 46-48
- Seaweed* eaten in myth, 183
 magic created with, 128
 mat made of, in myth, 248
 torch bound with, 174
 See KELP
- Sedge* used as food, 36
 used as tinder, 41
- Seduction* in myth, 185
- Seines* used in fishing, 29, 35, 163, 195, 207-208
 See DRAG-NETS; FISH-NETS; NETS
- Selawik*, account of, 225-228
 kaiaks of, 194
 legend from, 220
 marriage custom, 244
 mortuary customs, 244-245
 myths of, 228-239, 261-263
 portraits, 230 pl.-238 pl.
 shelters, 243
- Selawik river*, trade on, 161
 view on, 226 pl.
- Sentinel rock* visited in myth, 253
- Serpent*, a mythic monster, 86-87, 203
 in myth, 216, 220-221, 238
 See MONSTER; SEA-SERPENT
- Serpent killer*, legend of, 201-203
- Servants* in myth, 95-96
 See SLAVES

- Seward peninsula*, dialect spoken on, 3
- Sewing*, a test of ability, 181
done by women, 139
implements for, 42
taught in myth, 91, 184
See CLOTHING; DECORATION; NEEDLES;
SINEW
- Sewing bag* in myth, 79
- Shamans.* *See* MEDICINE-MEN
- Shavings*, heads stuffed with, 173
respirators made of, 165
used in fire-making, 174, 184
- Shellfish* as food, 112
eaten in myth, 183
See CLAMS; CRABS; MUSSELS; SHRIMP
- Shells.* *See* CLAM-SHELLS; MUSSEL-SHELLS
- Sheshalik*, fishing at, 167
Kobuk custom at, 212
Noatak visits to, 194
visited by Kobuk, 214
- Shirts*, decorated, trade in, 214
See CLOTHING
- Shismareff*, fishing and hunting near, 168
scene of legend, 179
- Shismareff inlet*, a boundary, 135
- Shókók*, mythic character, 203
- Shooting.* *See* ARCHERY; FIREARMS; GAMES
- Shouter*, a myth, 260
- Shovels*, bone, of Nunivak, 33
- Shredders* for sinew, 42
- Shrimp*, how obtained, 112-113
used as food, 35
- Siberia*, clubs obtained from, 184
Eskimo in, xv, 3
journeys to, 102, 144
medicine-men of, in myth, 129
trade with, 103, 112, 145, 161, 167, 192
visible from Alaska, xv, folio pl. 705
visited in myth, 110, 132, 253
visitors from, in myth, 126, 191
- Signal* for food, 55
used in ceremony, 66
- Sign-language* in myth, 191
See PICTOGRAPHS
- Signs*, wishes expressed by, 146
- Silvuk*, proper name of Selawik, 225
- Siluk*, portrait, 128 pl.
- Sinew*, belts made of, 138
bow-string of, in myth, 77
how prepared, 42-43, 184, 194
nets made of, 168, 196
objects lashed with, 18, 23, 41, 67, 139
snares made of, 33
thong of, on drum, 40
used in tattooing, 12
See CARIBOU-SINEW; REINDEER-SINEW
- Sinew-threader* in myth, 77-78
- Singing* after hunt, 140, 254
as a diversion, 244
at Bladder feast, 57, 59-66, 85
at Messenger feast, 69-71, 75, 146
by boatmen, 116
by hunter and wife, 142
by medicine-men, 129
by spirit in myth, 77
by walrus-hunters, 144
during ceremonies, 50, 66-67
for talismans, 151
for visitors, 213
in myth, 78, 81, 125, 130, 132-133, 156-157, 171, 179, 189, 215, 224, 230-231, 233, 257, 259
in Whale ceremony, 114-115
See SONGS
- Sinkers* for nets, 28-29, 102, 207
See NET-SINKERS
- Sisálk.* *See* SHESHALIK
- Siuktínyi*, mythic character, 131
- Skimmers* for slush, 43, 92
- Skin*, human, mask of, in myth, 258
- Skin-dressing* by women, 244
taught in myth, 184
See TANNING
- Skinning*, mythic origin of, 75
- Skins*, corpses lashed in, 210, 228, 244
cured by smoking, 28, 44
exchanged at Messenger feast, 70
how divided by hunters, 28, 31
medicine-men paid in, 212
of first catch presented, 209
parkas made of, 9-10
placed over dead, 245
season for sewing, 48
shelters covered with, 243
talismans of, 165

Skins traded by Kobuk, 207

worn in mythic game, 159-160

See ANIMAL-SKINS; AUKLET-SKINS;
BEAR-SKINS; BEAVER-SKINS; BIRD-
SKINS; CARIBOU-SKIN; DEERSKIN;
DOG-SKIN; DUCK-SKINS; EAGLE-
SKINS; FISH-SKIN; FOX-SKIN; FUR;
GULL-SKINS; HAIR; HAIR-SEAL;
HAWK-SKIN; INTESTINE; LOON-
SKINS; MARTEN-SKINS; MINK-SKINS;
MOOSE-SKIN; MOUNTAIN-SHEEP
SKINS; MUSKRAT-SKINS; OTTER-
FUR; PARCHMENT; POLAR BEAR;
PTARMIGAN-SKINS; RABBIT-FURS;
REINDEER-SKIN; SALMON-SKIN;
SEA-LION SKINS; SEALSkin; SQUIR-
REL-SKINS; TANNING; WALRUS-
SKINS; WEASEL-SKINS; WHALE-SKIN;
WOLF-SKIN; WOLVERENE-SKIN

Skull of mythic monster, 204

See WOLF-SKULL

Skulls, animated, in myth, 90

in cache, 138

Skunk caught in deadfall, 207

Sky, mythic journey to, 90-91, 120

the home of spider, 85-86

Sky-man in myth, 130

Slate, harpoon-points of, 139

Slaves in myth, 183, 185

See SERVANTS

Sledge island, trade with, 102

Sled-runners of bone, 169

Sleds carried on kaiaks, 269

deposited with dead, 50

in Kaiak ceremony, 72

in Messenger feast, 70

in myth, 78, 80, 88, 89, 91-93, 203-204, 218

Nunivak, 19, 22-23, 48 pl., 52 pl., 58 pl.

season for repairing, 146

symbolism of, in ceremony, 68

used in seal-hunting, 168

used in transportation, 48, 144, 163, 169,

175, 179, 181, 185, 186, 188, 189, 198,

232, 240, 250, 254, 255

See DOG-TEAMS; WOODWORKING

Sleeping, bench for, 9

Sleight-of-hand of medicine-men, 213

See MAGIC

Slings, birds taken with, 113

game played with, 143

used by boys, 120

Smelt, how caught, 35, 208

Smoke-hole, dead taken through, 50, 121, 149

how used in Whale ceremony, 115

lamp-frame hung from, 63

objects passed through, 58, 63, 176

of Noatak houses, 193

of Nunivak houses, 7

whalebone fence of, 109

Smoking, skins cured by, 28, 44

See TOBACCO

Snails, saltwater, as food, 35

Snares in myth, 83, 199, 220, 250

of whalebone, 100

used in hunting, 22-23, 33-34, 143, 164,

168, 177, 196, 200, 207, 227, 257, 262

See HUNTING

Snipe hunted at Kotzebue, 164

used as food, 36

See BIRDS; FOOD

Snow, body rubbed with, 72

crying stopped with, 94

eaten with food, 53, 59, 164

seal effigy of, 122

Snowbird in myth, 130

novice instructed by, 211

Snow-house in myth, 198-199, 201

used at puberty, 93

Snowshoes in myth, 201, 217-218

in ptarmigan-hunting, 189

Social customs, Kotzebue, 164

Little Diomedea, 119-123

Nunivak, 48-53

See HOME LIFE

Social organization of Eskimo, 244

Socks, grass, worn in boots, 11, 47, 124, 243

placed on dead, 121

Sod cut with adzes, 41

houses covered with, 112, 162, 184, 193,

208, 217, 225, 243, 263

magic, in myth, 215-216

storage pits covered with, 35-36

used as talisman, 165

used in cache-making, 47, 184

use of, in graves, 210, 245

See GRASS

Sole used as food, 97

See FISH

Songs after kajak-making, 13, 15

composed at Kotzebue, 52, 165

composed at Messenger feast, 53

during voyage, 102

family, of Cape Prince of Wales, 146

hunting, 13, 15, 72, 104

in myth, '87, 92, 124, 125, 183, 190, 215,

236, 245-250, 252, 259, 262

in Walrus ceremony, 74

medicine, in myth, 153

mortuary, in myth, 223

of boat-owner, 140

of childbirth, 15, 73

of mythic medicine-men, 89

of the dead, 165

to spirits, 89

See SINGING

Soot, a paint ingredient, 66-67

bodies covered with, in myth, 95

faces blackened with, 58, 59, 67-70

used in decoration, 41

Soup, how prepared, 36

of dock-leaves in myth, 93

Spear deposited with dead, 50

fish caught with, 48, 218

flint-headed, used in hunting, 184

in myth, 76, 105, 129, 159, 215-216, 235,

259, 262

miniature, on maskette, 39

mythic monster killed with, 203

parsnips tied to, in ceremony, 57, 62

toy, in ceremony, 74

used as club, 57

used in hunting, 102, 103, 113, 134, 142,

144, 151, 163, 164, 168, 195, 196, 231,

240, 255

varieties of, 269

See FISH-SPEAR; HARPOON; IMPLEMENTS; JAVELINS; LANCE; THROWING-SPEAR; WEAPONS

Spearmen in myth, 180

Spear-points, bone, of the Noatak, 194

exchanged in myth, 153

of flint, 184

of ivory, 244

Spear-shafts of willow, 216

Spider in myth, 85-86

Spirit-animals in myth, 191

Spirit Land. See AFTERWORLD; LAND OF SPIRITS

Spirit marks on men's house, 155-156

Spirit medicine-men in myth, 156-157

Spirit of the Universe in myth, 74

Spirit-power, food offered to, 209

how imparted, 165, 244

implements approved by, 139

importance of, 151

in myth, 124-126, 129-130, 150, 183, 190,

191, 220-223, 231, 236-237, 239-

240, 246, 251, 253, 256-257

loss of, in myth, 254

of medicine-men, 210-212, 215, 245

of medicine-woman, 180

represented by talismans, 15-16, 59, 138

See POWER; TALISMANS; TRANSFORMATION

Spirit road of the dead, 50

Spirits, beluga, how regarded, 163

characteristics of, 109, 155-156
concept regarding, 244

evil, in myth, 76-77, 86, 94, 250

in Bladder feast, 57, 61, 64, 65

in myth, 77-78, 90, 129-132, 134

invoked with song, 89

offering to, in legend, 56, 170

of sea-animals, 72, 80, 131

of the dead, 47, 50, 94, 104, 122-123, 149-150, 210, 245

power derived from, 165

prayers for, 73

racers accompanied by, 47

talismans originated by, 60

See AFTERWORLD; FLOUNDER-SPIRIT; LAND OF SPIRITS; SEAL-SPIRITS; WOLF-SPIRIT

Spirit-woman in myth, 132, 181-182

Spitting to remove taint, 177

Spoons made of horn, 194

made of wood, 37

See UTENSILS; WOODWORKING

Spotted seal in myth, 249

Spring Hunt ceremony, Nunivak, 56, 71-73

Spruce, Nunivak bows of, 27

Selawik arrows of, 226

- Spruce-bark*, houses covered with, 225
Spruce-hen in myth, 219-220
Spy, legend of the, 256-257
Squirrels caught in snares, 143
 in myth, 83, 224, 246-247
 mythic origin of, 216
Squirrel-skins, caps of, 10
 clothing of, in myth, 180, 190
 necklaces of, 173
 parkas of, 10, 243
 trade in, 112, 145, 162
Staff carried by messenger, 189
 decorated, in legend, 171-172, 174
 decorated, in Messenger feast, 176
 magic, in myth, 106
 See INVITATION-STICKS; WALKING-STICK
Standards of measurement, 13, 71
Stars, belief regarding, 90
 See SPIRIT OF THE UNIVERSE
Starvation in myth, 105, 127, 150, 153, 188,
 200-201, 240
 prohibitions to prevent, 122
Stealing in myth, 94
 See ABDUCTION
Steaming, utensils shaped by, 58
 See SWEAT-BATH
Stomach, how divided by hunters, 32
 See PARCHMENT; WALRUS STOMACH
Stone, arrow-points of, 27
 evil expelled with, 149
 implements of, in myth, 75, 80, 84, 105,
 109, 110
 knife, magic power of, 109
 lamp of, in myth, 251
 lamps made of, 184, 193
 magic, in legend, 182
 net-sinkers of, 28
 spirit-power represented by, 204
 teeth preserved by biting, 149
 See FLINT; JADE; SLATE
Stones, bleeding, in myth, 251
 caches made of, 36
 caches weighted with, 208
 graves covered with, 50, 104, 121, 132,
 149, 245
 houses built of, folio pl. 706
 houses weighted with, 225
 in whales' kidneys, 152
 VOL. XX-40
Stones, seal killed with, 30
 used in cooking, 184, 196-197, 208, 226
 used in food storage, 34
 used in shaping utensils, 36, 58
 See ANCHOR-STONES; IMPLEMENTS; NET-
 SINKERS; SINKERS
Storage of food, 30, 34-36, 47, 48, 144, 164,
 173, 208, 226-227
 of food in myth, 80, 105
 utensils used for, 36
 See CACHES; POKES
Storerooms, King island, 100
 Little Diomedé, 112
 Noatak, 193
 Nunivak, 7-8
 Selawik, 225, 231
Story-telling as a diversion, 244
 by the Noatak, 195
 for girls, 166
 in Bladder feast, 61, 65
 in men's house, 146
 in myth, 201, 202, 230, 233, 248
 in sweat-bath, 165
 time for, 46
Stoves, Swedish, used by Noatak, 193
Strangers. *See* HOSPITALITY; VISITORS
Straw on Bladder feast costume, 59
 See GRASS
Strength, how preserved, in myth, 88
Strong Young Man, myth of, 256
Suicide in myth, 252
 unknown to Nunivak, 55
Summer Hunting ceremony, Nunivak, 56
Sun, course of, followed at burial, 57, 62, 104
 course of, followed in ceremony, 60
 course of, followed in myth, 76, 90, 128
 See DIRECTION; SPIRIT OF THE UNIVERSE
Sun-man, legend of, 199-200
Sunrise, hunting song at, 64
Supernatural power. *See* POWER; SPIRIT-
 POWER
Swallow in myth, 218
Sweat-bath at beginning of ceremony, 66
 at Bladder feast, 58-61, 65-67
 at marriage, 48-49
 before Messenger feast, 70
 exchange of wood for, 63
 following birth, 49

Sweat-bath in men's house, 244

in myth, 83, 250

Kotzebue, 164-165

Nunivak, 7, 8, 43

utensils shaped in, 36, 58

Sweeping. See CLEANLINESS; HOUSE-CLEANING

Symbolism in Whale ceremony, 114-115

of ashes, 152

of food and game, 62

of gifts in ceremony, 68

of masks, 38

of protection in Bladder feast, 64

of rays from lamps, 176

of sacred staff, 67

of seal, 142

of seal-whiskers, 153

of whale-hide lines, 101

See TALISMANS

Taboo by adolescents, 80

by mothers, 60, 103, 148, 166

by mourners, 104, 121-122, 149, 210

enforced by medicine-men, 212

food, of Kobuk, 212

of beluga by women, 195

of talismanic creatures, 16

of work, 163, 167

regarding fish, 201

Tahôptk, portrait, 134 pl.

Tails, garments ornamented with, 10, 233

painted on kaiaks, 15

Talismans as property-marks, 16

beads as, 258

headbands as, 235-236

how obtained, 245

in myth, 77, 79, 109

kept in caches, 138

marked on faces, 67

marked on utensils, 40, 59

of hunters, 72, 151, 152, 246

of Kobuk, 213

of Kotzebue, 165

of weasel-skin, 255

on drum, 40

on food vessels, 37

on hunter's cap, 246

on implements, 18, 23

*Tailsman*s originated by spirits, 60

painted on bladders, 63

painted on kaiaks, 14-16, 71

power of, 151

walking-sticks as, 198

See POWER; SPIRIT-POWER

Tallow given in Bladder feast, 63

See BLUBBER; FAT; FOOD

Tally-sticks. See INVITATION-STICKS

Tanning at Nunivak, 44-45

in myth, 88

season for, 144

See FUR; SKIN-DRESSING; SKINS

Tattooing by Eskimo women, 243

in myth, 110

Nunivak, 11-12

represented on masks, 39

Tea. See BEVERAGE; HUDSON'S BAY TEA

Tears used as talisman, 165

Teeth, belief regarding, 149

used as talismans, 165

See WALRUS-TEETH

Telepathy in myth, 182, 186-187, 230, 237

Teller, Eskimo trade at, 102

fishing at, 144

Theft of game in myth, 257

See ABDUCTION; STEALING

Thimbles of Nunivak, 42

Thongs, uses for, 21, 23-24, 32, 45, 270

See LASHING; LINES

Thread made of sinew, 194

Throwing-spear, bear hunted with, 117-118

Nunivak, 25

See JAVELINS

Tin City, clay found at, 145

crabs at, 143

Tinder, of what composed, 41

See FIRE; SHAVINGS

Tobacco as a gift, 192

trade in, 161, 167, 193-194

Toggles attached to nets, 28-29

belt, of ivory, 10

for float-lines, 18

Tomcod caught at Kotzebue, 163

caught in myth, 253

how taken, 143

season for seining, 48

- Tomcod* used as food, 97
 See COD
- Tongs* used in cooking, 226
- Tools* deposited with dead, 50
 of Nunivak men, 40
 See IMPLEMENTS
- Tooth.* *See* TEETH
- Top-spinning* in myth, 127
- Torch* in Messenger feast, 174, 177
 in myth, 179
 visitors welcomed with, 175
- Torture* in Noatak legend, 205
 See CRUELTY; ORDEAL
- Tossing in blanket*, a diversion, 51
- Towel* of grass in myth, 253
- Toys*, weapons as, in myth, 88
- Trade* at Little Diomedé, 112
 at Messenger feast, 146
 by King islanders, 102
 by Kobuk, 193, 207, 214
 by Kotzebue, 161-163, 167, 212, 214
 by Noatak, 193, 195
 by Selawik, 226, 227, 263
 costumes affected by, folio pls. 696, 697
 in food products, 244
 in myth, 150, 183, 186, 190, 235, 250
 with Point Barrow, 194
 with Siberia, 103, 112, 145, 161, 167, 192
 See EXCHANGE
- Trader*, legend of the, 191-192
- Transformation* in myth, 75, 77, 78, 80, 82, 84, 89-94, 105, 126, 129-130, 152-155, 158; 183-184, 188, 200-201, 205, 215-220, 222-223, 230, 234-239, 252, 255, 261-262
- Transportation*, how conducted, 179
 of game, 142
 sleds used in, 48, 144, 163, 169, 175, 179, 181, 185, 186, 188, 189, 198, 232, 240, 250, 254, 255
 See BOATS; CANOES; DOGS; KAIKAKS; SLEDS; TRAVEL; UMIKAKS
- Trap*, myth of the, 177-179
- Traps*, season for setting, 48
 used by Hooper Bay Eskimo, 97
 used by Selawik, 226-227
 See DEADFALLS; FISH-TRAPS; NETS; PITFALLS; SNARES
- Travel* by the Noatak, 194, 195
 food provided for, 188
 See BOATS; DOGS; KAIKAKS; SLEDS; TRANSPORTATION; UMIKAKS
- Traveller*, Kobuk, legend of, 217-220
- Trays* for kaikak lines, 19, 24
- Tree-man*, legend of, 183-185
- Tricks* played by spirits, 122
- Tricksters* in myth, 84-85, 154, 177, 261
- Trousers*, caribou-skin, how made, 184
 decorated, in legend, 170
 described, 243
 dog-skin, in myth, 258
 for travelling, 232
 Nunivak, 10-11
 sealskin, in myth, 133
 Selawik, 226
 wolf-skin, in myth, 181
 See CLOTHING; COSTUME
- Trout* as a talisman, 16
 caught by Kobuk, 208
 caught by Nunivak, 35
 caught by Selawik, 226
 in myth, 250
 season for fishing, 47
 See FISH; FOOD
- Tuberculosis* at Hooper bay, 98
 how treated, 44
- Tábiyábiyúb*, mythic personage, 249
- Tug-of-war* by boys, 137
 by women, 65
 in ceremonial feast, 50
 See GAMES
- Táktuk*, mythic personage, 125
- Tumpline* used in myth, 253
 See LINES
- Tunnels*, houses connected with, 6-7, 243
- Tusks*, walrus, in myth, 109-110, 155
 See IVORY; TEETH
- Tuttkuk*, a narrator, 167
- Úb'rik*, the underworld, 122
- Úbuk*, story of, 126-127
- Úgiyakñ*, portrait, folio pl. 693
- Ugúkník*, legend of, 204-205
- Úkowáhhüh*, portrait, 92 pl.
- Ululína*, legend of, 190-191
- Umiaks*, covers for, 45

- Umiaks*, equipment of, 270
 framework of, 182 pl.
 hauled by dogs, 194
 in myth, 92, 133, 245
 of Cape Prince of Wales, 140 pl., 144 pl.
 of Kotzebue, 182 pl., 186 pl., 190 pl.
 of Nunivak, 20-22, 186 pl.
 used as shelters, 53
 used in hunting, 116, 117, 195
See BOATS; CANOES; KAIAKS
- Unalakleet*, basketry of, 38
 dialect spoken at, 3
 fish-traps of, 207
- Únqlít*, dialects of Alaska, map, 3
- Uncleanliness* of Hooper Bay Eskimo, 98
- Underworld* in myth, 122, 127, 128, 134
- Ũngŭktúngŭk*, mythic character, 133-134
- Universe* represented by masks, 38
 Spirit of the, 74
- Ũñroásiuk*, a hunter in myth, 252-253
- Ũñgêhoáčhín*, mythic character, 92-93
- Ũnurŭtŭk*, mythic character, 134
- Urine*, bathing in, 72, 82, 93, 166, 180, 181, 202
 pot, in myth, 155, 156
 sugar of, for healing, 44
 used for cleansing, 15, 115
 various uses for, 43-46
- Utensils*, cooking, of wood, 184
 how shaped, 58
 in Whale ceremony, 114-115
 in women's house, 9
 of the Kobuk, 208
 of the Selawik, 226
 when made, 196
 wooden, in myth, 76
 wooden, of Nunivak, 36-37
See BOWLS; BOXES; DIPPER; DISHES;
 GREASE-POTS; HANDICRAFT; LAMPS;
 POKES; SPOONS; WOOD
- Uyowŭtchq*, portrait, folio pl. 696
- Valuation* in trade, 192
 of bolas, 143
 of skins, 212
- Vegetation* of King island, 99
 of Little Diomedé, 111
 of Nunivak island, 5
See PLANTS
- Vessels*, wooden, in myth, 75
See BOWLS; DISHES; EARTHENWARE;
 POKES; RECEPTACLES; UTENSILS;
 WOODWORKING
- Vigil* kept by hunters, 140, 195
 of lamp-keeper, 62
 over the dead, 121, 148-149
- Village* on Hooper bay, folio pl. 699
See HOUSES
- Villages*, composition of, 244
 of the Nunivak, 5-6, 6 pl., 12 pl., 16 pl., 48
- Visitors*, how treated, 53, 83
See MESSENGER FEAST
- Vocabularies*, Eskimo, 264-277
- Vomiting* of beings in myth, 131-132
- Walking-stick*, a talisman, 198
 borne by dead, 52
 bow used as, 186
 in myth, 57, 89, 127, 180, 202
 of hunter, 201
- Walrus* as food, 34, 126
 Eskimo dependence on, 4, 103
 food of, 112, 154
 magically created, 92, 125, 251
 man taught by, a myth, 153-154
 migration of, 74, 111
See INTESTINE; MEAT; WHISKERS
- Walrus-bladder*, bags of, 18
 drumhead of, 40, folio pl. 692
 floats made of, 145
- Walrus-bone*, fire borne on, 115
- Walrus ceremony*, Nunivak, 56, 74
- Walrus-head* used in ceremony, 74, 198
- Walrus-hunting* aided by spirit, 133
 at Cape Prince of Wales, 137
 at Little Diomedé, 113, 117
 by King islanders, 99, 101
 how conducted, 12, 23, 27-28, 30-32, 47,
 51, 57, 102, 122 pl., 137, 142-144
 in myth, 110, 131-132
See HUNTING; NETS
- Walrus-intestine*, parchment of, 46, 126
- Walrus-oil* as food, 112
- Walrus-skins*, dead covered with, 104, 149
 drying of, 124 pl.
 how divided, 31
 how prepared, 45-46

- Walrus-skins*, importance of, 103
in house construction, 100
lines made of, 18, 42-43, 139, 162
nets made of, 27-28
pokes made of, 52
storehouses covered with, 112
talismans on, 16
trade in, 102, 162, 167, 195
umiak-covers of, 21
- Walrus-spirit* in myth, 94, 126-127
- Walrus stomach*, drumhead of, 40, folio pl. 692
- Walrus-teeth* as talismans, 16
used in decoration, 173
- Walrus-tusks* in myth, 109-110, 155
- Wand game* at Nunivak, 51
- Warfare*, Kobuk and Noatak, 205
Nunivak, 54-55
parkas used in, 10
Selawik, 263
- Washing* of whales in myth, 152
See BATHING; CLEANLINESS; SWEAT-
BATH
- Watáwiya*, Nunivak village, 6
- Water*, ball of, in myth, 216
walking on, in myth, 251
- Water-bags* of Nunivak, 18
- Waterfowl* of Cape Prince of Wales, 135
speared from kaiaks, 12
See BIRDS; FOWL; SEA-FOWL
- Waterproof garments*. See BLANKETS; BOOTS;
MITTENS; PARCHMENT; PARKAS
- Wealth*, how acquired, 123
in myth, 132-133, 182, 183, 188, 215-216,
219, 221-222, 230, 234, 239, 250, 256,
258
See RICHES
- Weapons* given for labor, 94
given to hosts, 176
mythic origin of, 75
of Hooper Bay Eskimo, 98
placed on hunter's grave, 262
practice with, by boys, 50
season for making, 48, 146, 196
talismans on, 16
toy, in myth, 88
See HANDICRAFT; IMPLEMENTS
- Weasel* as a talisman, in myth, 109, 255
in myth, 77
- Weasel* snared by Kobuk, 207
trapped at Hooper bay, 97
- Weasel-skins* as spirit-powers, 237
clothing decorated with, 174
trade in, 214
worn by dancers, 172
worn in legend, 170
- Weasel-tails*, belt ornamented with, 233
- Weather*, hunting affected by, 101
See SEASONS; WINDS
- Weaving*. See BASKETS; MATS
- Wedges* of ivory, 41
- Weeds* eaten in myth, 221
See PLANTS
- Whale*, Eskimo dependence on, 4
in myth, 85, 105, 169
magically created, 92, 125
shoulder-blade of, in myth, 81-82
See BELUGA; KILLERWHALE; MEAT
- Whale-blubber*, trade in, 162, 194, 195
- Whale-boat*, Cape Prince of Wales, 140 pl.,
folio pls. 707, 709
- Whale-bone*, club handles of, 184
in house construction, 111-112
mythic paddle of, 228-229
placed on grave, 149
shovels made of, 33
sled shoes of, 22-23
used by spirit, 134
used in contest, 234
- Whalebone* divided among hunters, 116, 141
smoke-hole fence of, 109
snares of, 100
- Whale ceremony* of Little Diomede, 114
See WHALE-HUNTING
- Whale effigy* in myth, 92
- Whale-hunters* in myth, 129, 150-153, 203
- Whale-hunting* by King islanders, 101
by Kotzebue, 168
by Little Diomede islanders, 113-115
ceremonies for, 113, 244
imitated by children, 142
in myth, 131, 134, 151, 152, 180, 253-256
methods of, 137-142
story of, 116
- Whale-man*, legend of, 258-259
- Whale meat* at feasting, 173
how dried, 94 pl., 118 pl.

- Whale meat* in myth, 127, 150-151, 240
- Whale-oil* as food, 112
trade in, 162, 194, 195
- Whale people*, land of, a story, 151-152
- Whale-skin*, how used by hunter, 140
- Whale-spirit* in myth, 131, 151-152
symbolism of, 101
thirst of, quenched, 141
- Whale-whiskers*, drum-handles of, 171
offering of, 176
snare made of, 257
used for tying, 173
- Whiskers* given to hunters, 134
seal, in myth, 153
See SYMBOLISM; WHALE-WHISKERS
- Whitefish* caught by Kobuk, 208
caught by Selawik, 226
used as food, 35
See FISH
- White whale*. See BELUGA
- Widows*, how treated, 121
- Wife*, false, story of, 221-223
See WIVES
- Wife-beater*, legend of, 252
- Wife-stealer*, a legend, 94-96
See ABDUCTION
- Willow*, arrow-shafts of, 207
boat-frames of, 263
corrals built of, 196
drying racks made of, 225
fence of, in myth, 260
fishing-tackle of, 207-208
food-bowls of, 226
house-frame made of, 208-209, 217, 225
house of, in myth, 200, 237
mythic genesis of, 216
paddle-handle of, 228
pottery frame of, 197
respirators made of, 43
spirit exorcised with, 210
used for bedding, 179
- Willow-bark* eaten in myth, 219
fish-nets and -traps of, 226
- Willow-leaves* used as food, 35
- Winds*, belief regarding, 267, 273
ceremonial directions of, 60
spirits travel with, 50
- Wissler*, Clark, cited, 3
- Wives*, exchange of, 108, 166, 244
stolen, rescued, 232-235
See WIFE
- Wolf* as a talisman, 152
feast for first kill of, 209
in myth, 77, 78, 93-94, 199, 246
- Wolf-claw* in cache, 138
- Wolf-hair*, hood ornamented with, 9-10
- Wolf-head* in myth, 76
masks in Messenger feast, 174
- Wolf-hunting* by Selawik, 263
in myth, 184
- Wolf-people* in myth, 260
- Wolf-skin*, caps of, in ceremony, 69
dead covered with, 167
trade in, 167
trousers of, 181
- Wolf-skull*, head-dress of, 176
in cache, 138
- Wolf-spirit* in myth, 79, 82-83, 94, 198-199
- Wolverene* caught in deadfalls, 207
feast for first kill of, 209
in myth, 218, 232, 246
trapped by Selawik, 227
- Wolverene-hair*, hood ornamented with, 9-10
- Wolverene-skin* attached to sacred pole, 70
belt of, in myth, 233
boots of, 11
clothing decorated with, 11, 170, 180, 181, 183
costumes of, 209
gifts of, 192
pillow of, for dead, 167
trade in, 145, 162, 194, 214
- Woman*, afterworld presided over by, 122
Diomedes, 132 pl.
first, in myth, 105
Hooper Bay, 92 pl.
- Woman Who Has Power*, in myth, 93-94
- Women*, aid by, in travel, 196
aid in fishing, 35
at Messenger feast, 146
at whale-boat launching, 151
bathing by, 43
berries gathered by, 36, 164, 167-168, 226

- Women*, burial customs regarding, 50, 210, 245
 care of food by, 35
 clothing of, 9-11, 243
 costume of, in Messenger feast, 174
 customs of, following a burial, 149
 dance performed by, 101, 170
 earthenware made by, 145
 food brought by, 62, 146, 165, 168, 174, 230, 234, 244
 food brought by, in myth, 171-173, 248
 food of, at childbirth, 148
 games of, in myth, 181
 games played by, 50-51, 65
 gifts to, in myth, 182
 implements of, 42, 43
 in Bladder feast, 58-59, 61, 62, 64
 in Hunting ceremony, 73-74, 140-141
 in Kaiak ceremony, 72, 73
 in Messenger feast, 69, 174
 in myth, 125, 150
 in mythic ceremony, 183
 in walrus-hunt, 143
 in Whale ceremony, 114-115, 137
 mittens of, 11
 Noatak, folio pls. 716, 717
 Nunivak, 20 pl., 24 pl., 28 pl., 30 pl., 32 pl., 42 pl., 66 pl., 68 pl., 72 pl., folio pls. 691, 693, 694, 697
 Nunivak, labrets of, 12
 occupations of, 45, 46, 48, 51, 139, 164, 168, 179, 208, 244, 262
 of Kotzebue, dance by, 165
 seal symbolized by, 142
 Selawik, 234 pl., 236 pl., 238 pl.
 share in hunting products, 116-117
 stolen in myth, 220-221
 taboo concerning, 163, 195
 tattooing by, 12, 243
 visitors welcomed by, 175
 whale-bone given to, 141
 why weaker than men, 75
 wishes of, expressed, 65
 work of, in myth, 235
See DIVISION OF MEN AND WOMEN
 FEAST; MARRIAGE; MEDICINE-
 WOMEN; WIDOWS; WIFE; WIVES
- Women's house* absent at Cape Prince of Wales, 146
 in myth, 80, 88, 91, 93, 95
 of Alaskan Eskimo, 243
 of Nunivak, 6, 7, 9
See HOUSES
- Wood*, arrow-points of, 27
 as a talisman, 16
 berry-buckets of, 36
 borne by dancers, 176
 caches covered with, 208
 caps of, 30
 carving of, 165
 dipper of, in myth, 90
 eye-shades of, 19
 for sweat-baths exchanged, 63
 harpoon plugs of, 23
 harpoon protectors of, 24
 how shaped for bows, 27
 hunting gear of, 138
 knife-handles of, 41, 43
 masks of, 38-39, 80 pl., 82 pl.
 net-floats of, 28
 objects of, in cache, 138
 ornaments of, for Messenger feast, 69
 skin-scrapers of, 45
 sled-runners of, 22
 snares made of, 34
 spear-shafts of, 25, 26
 talisman boxes of, 138
 talismans of, 16
 tool-boxes of, 40
 umiak frame of, 20-21, 182 pl.
 utensils of, 35-37, 58, 74 pl., 75, 76, 87, 119, 184, 162, 226, 272
 value of, 48
See DRIFTWOOD; FIREWOOD; SPRUCE;
 WILLOW
- Wood*, Charlie, portrait, folio pl. 721
Wood-gathering in myth, 254-255
Woodworking by Alaskan Eskimo, 244
 by Hooper Bay Eskimo, 98
 by Nunivak, 36-37, 40, 41
 season for, 48, 196
- Work* tabooed for births, 49
- Worms* in myth, 77, 239
- Wrestling* in myth, 234
See CONTEST; GAMES

Yáganük, mythic character, 203

Yarn, boots ornamented with, 11

Yelling, why improper, 75

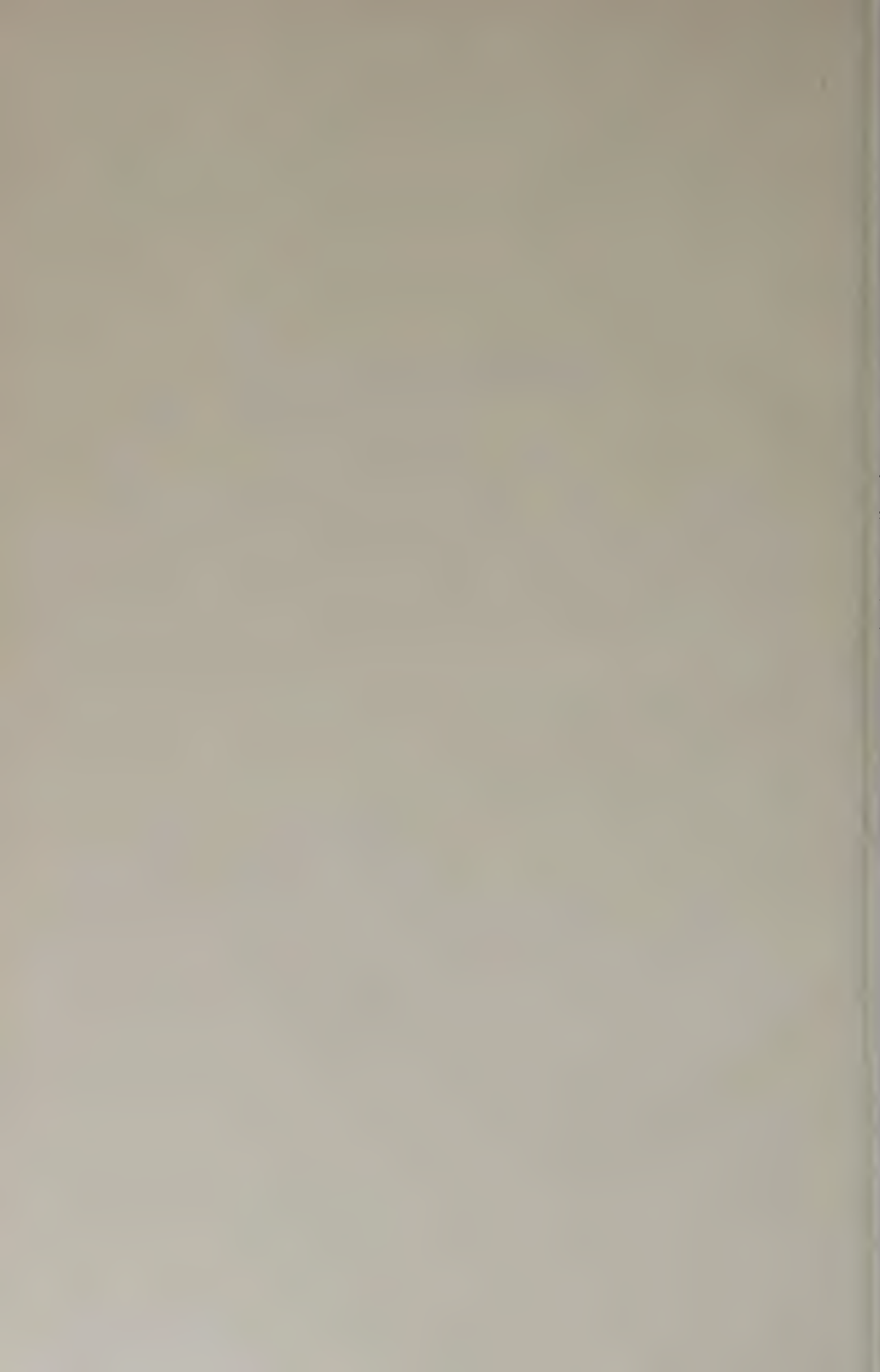
Youth, how preserved in myth, 88

Yukon river, dialect spoken on, 3
in myth, 219

visited by King islanders, 102

Yúmük, story of, 110

THE END OF VOLUME XX



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